HD. 82
8,000

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

# REPORT

OF THE

# OFFICIAL LANGUAGE COMMISSION

1956

PRINTED IN INDIA BY THE GENERAL MANAGER,
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS, NEW DELHI, 1957

*Price Rs. 3·87 nP or 6s. 3d.*

# *ERRATA*

| *Page* | *Line* | *For* | *Read* |
|---|---|---|---|
| (*ii*) | III. (1)—line 2 | Inda | India |
| 18 | foot note | information | information. |
| 27 | 3 | Madrasas | Madressas |
| 28 | 4 in Col. 2 in the table | | 27,049,522 |
| 28 | 6 in the table | ·00010 | ·00016 |
| *28 | 7 in the table | 7· | 7·43 |
| 56 | 2 | under | suffer |
| 86 | 4 from bottom | *of* | of |
| 106 | 15 | of | at |
| 114 | 31 | i | in |
| 130 | 29 | Government to take all these factors into account and | apart from what we have reproduced in paragraph 2 |
| 131 | 6 from bottom (excluding foot note) | Accountant-General | Accountants-General |
| 141 | 7 of foot note | *ii*) | (*ii*) |
| 142 | 2 of para. 4 | Government | Governments |
| 171 | last para., first line | (Paragraph number not given) | 19. |
| 177 | 38 | 1,000 | 4,000 |
| 179 | last para., first line | (Paragraph number not given) | 8. |
| 183 | 11 from bottom | Depa | Depart- |
| 184 | 11 | Servic | Service |
| 189 | last line of foot note | tisties | tistics |
| 198 | 3 of para. 13 | liguistic | linguistic |
| 203 | 41 | after sufficiently | after a sufficiently |
| 271 | 9 | sarvajñam | sarvajñan |
| 294 | 28 | Krośnó | Krśnó |
| 307 | 8 from bottom | Śaintán-ká | Śaitán-ká |
| 380 | last line | सिफ | सिर्फ |
| 381 | 1 | जाना। | जाना है। |
| 448 | 1 against Sr. No. 13 (column 4) | Hind | Hindi |
| 455 | 2 | Gujarat | Gujarati |
| 456 | 1 (of heading) | Regiona | Regional |
| 456 | 27 | former | former. |

[*P.T.O.*

| *Page* | *Line* | *For* | *Read* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 456 | 7 from bottom | year | years. |
| 456 | 6 from bottom | hav enerally | have generally |
| 458 | 14 | Madhy | Madhya |
| 460 | 2 from bottom | fo | for |
| 468 | 1 (of heading) | ID CIDE | INCIDENCE |
| 469 | 10, Col. 3 *in the table* | 6,69,07 | 6,69,073 |
| *469 | last line Col. 1 | n and | chin and |
| 472 | 4 of Article 343 | nternational | international |
| *474 | 7 of Article 351 | rimarily | primarily |
| 483 | 5 of para. 7 | me | mere |
| 483 | 7 of para. 7 | as medium | as a medium |
| 491 | 21 | Dictionares | Dictionaries |
| 491 | 22 | branchies | branches |
| 491 | 43 | that | that it |
| 492 | 1 | his | this |
| *492 | 5 (first word) | s | is |
| 492 | 29 | udiciary | judiciary |
| 492 | 11 from bottom | anguage | language |
| 494 | 11 from bottom | owards | towards |
| 494 | last line | ' enfranchising | ' enfranchising ' |
| 495 | last line | Official | Official |

*These errors occur only in some of the copies of this Report.

# LETTER FROM SHRI B. G. KHER, CHAIRMAN, OFFICIAL LANGUAGE COMMISSION, TO THE PRESIDENT OF INDIA, FORWARDING THE REPORT OF THE COMMISSION.

OFFICIAL LANGUAGE COMMISSION,
*Bombay, 31st July* 1956.

FROM

SHRI B. G. KHER,
CHAIRMAN,
OFFICIAL LANGUAGE COMMISSION,
BOMBAY.

To

THE PRESIDENT OF INDIA,
NEW DELHI.

DEAR SIR,

I have the honour to submit herewith the Report of the Official Language Commission appointed by you in pursuance of the provisions of Article 344 of the Constitution (Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs Notifications Nos. 43/9/55-Public-I, dated the 7th June 1955 and 22nd July 1955).

The Commission had been instructed to make their recommendations to the President not later than the 31st date of July 1956 and I am glad it has been possible for me to submit the Commission's Report to you by that date.

Apart from the Report together with its Appendices and three notes, one of explanation and two of dissent, a Supplementary Volume prepared in the Commission's office by its Research Unit and comprising papers relating to certain basic data is forwarded herewith in the hope that this material will be of use for any subsequent examination of these issues. The views or opinions expressed in the Supplementary Volume are not necessarily the views of the Commission which is not responsible for them.

2. In forwarding the Commission's Report, I am constrained to make the following observations with reference to the two Notes of Dissent and the third Note of Explanation appended to it. The purport of these observations was stated at length at the last session of the Commission held on the 25th July 1956 in Bombay.

3. The last meeting of the Commission was held on the 25th July for the purpose of considering any such notes, dissenting or otherwise, which the members might want to append to the Report the main

text of which they had approved (subject to such possible dissent) and signed at the end of the previous meeting held at Srinagar from the 11th to 20th June.

I quote relevant extracts from the Minutes of the meeting of the 25th instant.

"The Chairman pointed out the significance of the Report in the present conditions in the country and the importance of every member of the Commission approaching the issue with a due measure of a sense of responsibility. He further pointed out that it was necessary, even if we could not agree, that we should not do anything that would cause harm to the larger interest of the country. He said that while he would scrupulously respect any genuine disagreement and while of course such disagreement must be expressed in the form of a minute of dissent, he was constrained to point out certain considerations relating to propriety and form which must be observed in a minute of dissent. A minute of dissent is always read together with the main report and should properly be restricted to the element of disagreement and the argument necessary to support the views of the dissenting member embodying the disagreement. A minute of dissent is not a fresh dissertation or thesis and the inclusion of matter already covered in the Report or a refutation of views *not* supported or countenanced in the Report have properly no place in it. In conclusion he appealed to the members who had sent in their minutes of dissent that:

(a) They should confine their minutes of dissent to specific points of disagreement;

(b) Supererogatory observations not inconsistent with the Report, or re-statement of matters already in the Report, or expositions which only re-state what is there already in the Report in a different way, should be avoided and pruned away from the minutes of dissent. Otherwise the general reader will get a wrong impression about the extent and character of the dissent;

(c) When views in the main Report are quoted or referred to for refutation, the quotation or reference should be such as not to give a wrong impression."

This request of mine found general support from all other members of the Commission. Two or three members who had specific points of disagreement limited to particular issues, have seen their way to the disagreement being indicated by foot-notes which have been embodied at appropriate places in the Report.

4. The genuine points of disagreement in the two Notes of dissent appended to the Report with reference to particular conclusions and recommendations relate to points of great importance (but not those in the note of explanation). The Report touches upon many fields and aspects of the complex issue of languages in the country, and has arrived at many conclusions and recommendations; some are factual or non-controversial and the bulk of them are not disputed

in any of the three Notes. It would be seen that the extent of disagreement is quite limited, even though in the case of the two dissenting Minutes it relates to basic issues.

5. I must record my profound unhappiness at the fact that the dissenting members have not found it possible to grant my request that they might avoid inclusion of material in their Notes which by positive statement or by implication might create a wrong impression about the contents of the Report. At the meeting of the 25th July the other signatories of the Report expressed their grave concern about the mis-representation to which they would be exposed because these Notes contained matter which ascribed views and opinions to the main Report incorrectly. A request was made to me on behalf of the signatories of the main Report that they should be allowed to append a 'post-script' in which they would point out such "acts of commission and omission" in the dissenting Notes and prevent such misrepresentation. I ruled that such a post-script would be out of order. This has made it all the more necessary for me to state all the circumstances in order to avoid any misrepresentation.

6. In what follows, I indicate how large portions of these three Notes are merely a re-statement of matter already in the Report: I also controvert one or two points relative to procedure and notice some unfortunate expressions and incorrect ascription of views.

In paragraph 1 of his Minute of Dissent Dr. Subbarayan expresses his feeling that "more evidence should have been secured...... For instance students in the Universities should have been examined in every State" in regard to difficulties of study of "scientific, technical and technological subjects in a language which is not yet developed sufficiently to be a satisfactory vehicle of such a study."

I invite attention to paragraph 2 of Chapter I of the Report in which the procedure followed by the Commission in taking evidence has been described. It has been the Commission's endeavour to seek the widest expression of opinion on the subject-matter of its inquiry. And even apart from the fact that ample evidence has been taken on this particular point, if this suggestion had been made while the Commission was taking evidence, I should have at once acceded to the taking of such further evidence. The first time that Dr. Subbarayan makes this suggestion is in his Minute of Dissent. I respectfully differ from his view.

In the same sentence Dr. Subbarayan also states that he cannot help feeling that "more thought (should have been) bestowed on the solution of the problem of such great importance as to what should be the official language for our country and the measures necessary and the time required for the progressive introduction of this language for all official purposes and for higher education". I am pained that Dr. Subbarayan should suggest that sufficient thought was not in fact bestowed by the Commission which had taken such great pains to obtain material and ascertain views from all over the country and give its best thought to them.

Both Dr. Subbarayan and Dr. Chatterji have been, it is stated in their notes, impelled to take a view different from the other

signatories of the Report, by the outbreaks of linguistic passions and intolerance witnessed at various places in connection with the proposals for the reorganisation of States. It is suggested by implication that other signatories of the Report have been heedless of these matters. Nothing could be farther from the truth or less fair to the other members. Indeed it is precisely because of these unfortunate manifestations of linguistic intolerance and exclusiveness that the issue of forging stronger links through a common linguistic medium amongst the different linguistic regions of the country, as a powerful factor towards its 'emotional integration', has become a matter of such crucial importance, as so frequently stated by us.

Dr. Subbarayan observes "I fear that in the entire Report there is very little evidence of understanding, imagination and sympathy for the non-Hindi-speaking peoples of India." (Ref. paragraph 3).

I submit this is grossly unjust to all the other members. It is particularly distressing to me that one of the members of the Commission should appear to suggest that he is the sole repository of "understanding, imagination and sympathy" for the non-Hindi-speaking peoples of India as against all the others including the remaining members representing the great regional languages, besides Hindi, of the country. In the main Report it has been observed "......we grant entirely the *bona fides* and sincerity of all views advanced including those with which we have wholly differed. We ask for the credit of neither less nor more for the view that we have ourselves taken of the matter." It is a sad reflection for me that a member of the Commission and a co-signatory of this statement is not prepared to do as much to the colleagues with whom he worked for over a year in search of answers to these problems! There are several other grossly unfair aspersions in these two dissenting Notes but I refrain from quoting more.

7. Large portions of Dr. S. K. Chatterji's and Dr. Subbarayan's notes are merely repetitive of what is already stated in the Report. I quote below a few instances and give references to portions of the Report in which the points have been already dealt with very adequately:

| | |
|---|---|
| (A) The importance of the English language as a 'pipe-line' of scientific knowledge and as a 'window' on the rest of the world; | Chapter IV, paragraph 3.<br>Chapter VI, paragraph 6. |
| the continued employment of the English language for scientific and technical studies; | Chapter VI, paragraph 6.<br>Chapter XV, paragraph 5. |
| that in our consideration of the place of the English language in India one must not be actuated by animus against a foreign language as such; | Chapter IV, paragraph 3.<br>Chapter XIV, paragraph 7. |

| | |
|---|---|
| the part that the English language has played in furnishing 'a common platform' to the intelligentsia of the different linguistic regions in India's recent political history; | Chapter IV, paragraphs 2 and 3.<br>Chapter XV, paragraph 3.<br>Chapter XIV, paragraph 7. |
| the beneficial leaven of new ideas and forms which acquaintance with English language and literature brought into Indian social life and the literatures of the regional languages, etc. | Chapter III, paragraph 5. |
| (B) The special significance of the English language in the sphere of law and administration of justice and the greater length of time that it would take before other linguistic media could replace this language in these spheres. | Chapter IX, paragraph 3.<br>Chapter X, paragraph 4.<br>Chapter XI, paragraph 1. |
| (C) The present-day undeveloped character of the Hindi language (I would point out as of other languages of India) and the need to develop it before it can replace in its appropriate sphere the current linguistic medium of the English language. | Chapter IV, paragraphs 1 and 6.<br>Chapter V, paragraph 1.<br>Chapter XV, paragraph 7. |

More specifically, even amongst the "recommendations" made to the President by these two dissenting members ('B' of Dr. Chatterji's Note and Paragraph 25 of Dr. Subbarayan's Note) the following are no different from the recommendations of the Report:—

| | |
|---|---|
| (1) There should be no restriction on the use of the English language for all or any of the official purposes of the Union. | Chapter VII, paragraph 16. |
| (2) That the use of the English language be continued as now both in the High Courts and the Supreme Court for a long time to come and the States be given the liberty to use their regional languages side by side with English in their subordinate courts and so on. [Reference b(ii) of paragraph 25 of Dr. Subbarayan's Note]. | Chapter X, paragraphs 8, 9 and 15.<br>Chapter XI, paragraph 1. |

| | |
|---|---|
| (3) The international form of Indian numerals which have been once accepted for the convenience of the whole of India not only for easy communication but also for scientific purposes be retained in pan-Indian Hindi. But for Hindi as a regional language, Hindi forms of the numerals may be continued subject to the use of the international numerals side by side or alternatively. | Chapter VIII, paragraphs 8 and 9. |
| (4) A language cannot be developed to order and the preparation of a time-schedule before a language is actually developed will be futile and exasperating because it is impossible to be certain of achievement. | Chapter XV, paragraph 10.<br>Chapter VII, paragraph 17. |
| (5) The States may adopt the language of their region as the medium for all State purposes if they think it desirable and easy to do so. Examinations conducted by the State Public Service Commissions may be in the regional languages with option given to the candidate to have either English or Hindi as the medium. | Chapter VIII, paragraph 2.<br>Chapter XII, paragraph 19. |

*N.B.*—(5) above is not in Dr. Subbarayan's Note.

8. The main and basic disagreement of these two Notes of dissent is contained in the following remarks:

> "The question of progressive use of the Hindi language for the official purposes of the Union be kept in abeyance for the time being........ It will finally rest with the different States using their own different regional languages to decide, after Hindi has been voluntarily adopted by them and a knowledge of it has spread $\frac{\text{among their intelligentsia}}{\text{throughout their territory}}$, to what extent Hindi can be used for communication between the Union and the State Governments and between one State Government $\frac{\text{and}}{\text{to}}$ another."*

Furthermore Dr. Subbarayan recommends that English must find a place in Schedule VIII as one of the languages of India and Dr. Chatterji would have English and a whole host of other languages admitted into this Schedule.

*In this quotation and those that follow where the words used by Dr. Subbarayan differ from those used by Dr. Chatterji, they have been indicated as alternatives below the line.

So far as the substantive disagreement is concerned, I make no comment beyond stating that both these points, which were vigorously advocated by these members, were deliberated upon at great length by the Commission (*vide* minutes of the May and June meetings of the Commission) before framing its final views.

As regards the inclusion of further languages in the Schedule, a reference is invited to paragraph 19 of Chapter IV of the Report in which the point is fully dealt with. The dissenting members might have at least answered the points made therein. A mere averment once again cannot illuminate the matter any more.

In general the impression is likely to be formed from a perusal of these two Notes (1) that the main Report seeks to eliminate the English language; (2) that it does so not on objective grounds but on grounds of sentiment and animus against English; (3) that it seeks to impose Hindi on sectors appertaining to the proper field of regional languages; (4) that it does so regardless of the present deficiencies of the Hindi language and (5) that it purports to bring about its immediate substitution in place of English. It will be manifest to even a casual reader of the Report that this impression is grossly unjust to the views expressed in the Report.

9. So far as Shri Maganbhai Desai's long Note of Explanation is concerned, it is only a re-statement of points which already find full expression in the Report at appropriate places. The only important specific points of disagreement that I can see in his Note are the following:—

(1) The Constitution should be amended so as to cast a definite duty on the State Governments to introduce compulsory instruction in Hindi.

(2) He disagrees with the view in the main Report relating to compelling Hindi students to learn a non-Hindi Indian language.

Shri Maganbhai also mentions his dissatisfaction at the use of certain terms and expressions in the Report. It was pointed out to him that any such points relating to the manner of expression should have been raised before the text of the Report was formulated, in doing which he along with others had collaborated.

I deeply regret that I have failed in persuading Shri Maganbhai Desai to refrain from recording this long Note and thereby causing avoidable confusion in the mind of the reader.

10. So far as the Notes of Dr. S. K. Chatterji and Dr. Subbarayan are concerned, I deeply regret that they should have thought fit, in spite of my request, to retain certain unfortunate remarks and expressions in their Notes. The reference to the creation of 'two classes of citizens' in India, the allegation of 'Hindi-Imperialism', the denigration of the Hindi language and its 'cultural value and intellectual tradition' are most unfortunate.

Apart from their views about the need to amend the Constitution I deeply deplore that they should have thought fit by implication to

impugn the whole Constitution itself as they do by the following observations:

"Hindi was selected, out of the 14 main languages of the country as enumerated in the Eighth Schedule of / to the Constitution, by the Constituent Assembly of India and *not by a Parliament consisting of properly / directly elected representatives of the people*."* (Italics mine).

[Paragraph 8 of Dr. Subbarayan's note and C(ii) of Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji's Note].

11. There are several inaccurate and unsubstantiated statements in these Notes of dissent as regards the contents of the main Report. These were specifically pointed out to these members but they refused to amend them. To illustrate some of them:

(i) Dr. Chatterji says in third paragraph of part A of his Note and Dr. Subbarayan says in paragraph 2 of his Note that—

"It (that is the Report) is also seeking to place as something conclusive before the non-Hindi peoples of India that it will be both an act of patriotic duty and an urgent and necessary reform to replace English by Hindi *as quickly as possible*, and *to take in Hindi to saturation in their judicial and administrative bases / spheres, in their educational set up, and consequently even in their most intimate being / in every aspect of their life*."* (Italics mine).

Anybody who reads the Report even cursorily will at once see how the italicised portion is gross mis-representation of its contents.

(ii) Dr. Chatterji has argued in 'C' (xii) of his Note against the injustice of Hindi being made the sole language for all-India Civil and other service examinations and how non-Hindi speakers will have to study through Hindi and answer questions in Hindi as consequence thereof. No such view is advocated in the Report in which it is specifically recommended that other regional languages would also be eligible as linguistic media for these examinations.

(iii) "The provisions in the Constitution regarding the use of Hindi as the official language of the Union in certain contexts have been *extended* in the Report". (Italics mine). This statement is obviously incorrect.

Large portions of these Notes recite odd views and proceed to argue against them: these are not the views of the Report at all; nor have they anywhere been countenanced. A wrong impression is likely to be thereby created about the contents of the main Report to which they are appended.

12. Dr. Subbarayan has stated in his note that his point of view was supported by 'the evidence gathered during the inquiry particularly in Bengal, Madras and Mysore and of many distinguished

---

*Please see footnote on page 6.

persons of learning and experience in public life from other States.' In the interest of accuracy I am constrained to point out that this sweeping statement is far from correct. Furthermore he refers (towards the end of paragraph 18 of his Note) in similar broad terms to his view being concurrent with views of certain witnesses and the same remark applied to that statement. Similar remarks would lie against the verisimilitude of support of their views sought to be created by the two dissenting members by quoting certain expressions of views of some eminent persons out of their context.

13. I must also place on record the following: at the stage of formulating conclusions with a view to framing the draft of the Report it became apparent that these two members advocated that it should be recommended that the provisions relating to language in part XVII of the Constitution should be reviewed and amended radically. A quite tenable view of the matter is that such a suggestion is not 'intra vires' of the Commission which was appointed specifically to consider the detailed implementation of the very provisions which these members sought to amend and replace. Indeed this point was raised by other members as soon as such proposals were advocated. After giving deep and anxious thought to the matter—while reserving my view as to validity and legality of such contention—I decided that it would be inadvisable to rule out the discussion of such a suggestion. It is my profound conviction that the burking of any issues, or the ruling out of their expression, does more harm than good. I have every faith in the good sense and the feeling of 'belonging to each other' amongst the general body of our citizens: and I am sure no view, howsoever one may judge it to be, should be blocked. The discerning public may be trusted to judge the merits of the matter. It is for these reasons that I have not thought fit to rule out of order the expression of these views in the two dissenting minutes and I did not prevent the two members from canvassing them in the Commission in the course of its deliberations.

14. With the concurrence of the Government of India, the Secretary of the Commission was deputed to the U.S.S.R. for a short period to study and report on the linguistic problems tackled by that country; a copy of the note furnished by him of his observations there is submitted herewith.

Yours faithfully,

B. G. KHER,

*Chairman, Official Language Commission.*

HD. 82
8,000

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

# REPORT

## OF THE

# OFFICIAL LANGUAGE COMMISSION

1956

PRINTED IN INDIA BY THE GENERAL MANAGER,
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS, NEW DELHI, 1957

'यद्वै वाङ्‍ नाभविष्यन्न धर्मो नाधर्मो व्यज्ञापयिष्यत् ।
न सत्यं नानृतं न साधु नासाधु न हृदयज्ञो नाहृदयज्ञो
वागेवैतत्सर्वं विज्ञापयति वाचमुपास्वेति ॥'

— छान्दोग्योपनिषत्— ७-२-१ ।

If there had been no Speech neither virtue nor vice could be known, neither the true nor the false, neither the good, nor the bad, neither the pleasant nor the unpleasant. Speech alone makes known all this. Meditate upon Speech.

Chandogya-Upanisad, 7-2-1.

## CONTENTS

| CHAPTER | PAGE |
|---|---|
| I. INTRODUCTORY | |
| (1) Appointment ; terms of reference ; membership | 1 |
| (2) Procedure followed | 3 |
| (3) 'Recommendations' and 'Conclusions' | 4 |
| (4) Lay-out of the Report | 5 |
| (5) Acknowledgments | 6 |
| II. LANGUAGE IN THE MODERN WORLD | |
| (1) Language, oral and written, as an indispensable tool of social organisation and human progress | 8 |
| (2) Language in the context of modern society | 9 |
| (3) Language and nationality. | 10 |
| (4) Relevant experience in certain multilingual countries ; Switzerland, Canada and the U.S.S.R. | 12 |
| (5) Brief notice of language reform in Turkey, Japan and China | 15 |
| (6) Setting out of our language problem in the light of experience abroad | 16 |
| (7) The study of English as a second language in some countries of the world | 17 |
| III. THE INDIAN LINGUISTIC SCENE | |
| (1) Waves of migration by different racial groups in historical times in Inda | 19 |
| (2) A brief notice of the evolution of linguistic scene. | 19 |
| (3) The impact of English | 24 |
| (4) & (5) The incidence of educational policies during the British period on Indian languages | 25 |
| (6) The principal components and features of the contemporary Indian linguistic scene | 27 |
| IV. THE INDIAN LANGUAGE PROBLEM AND THE LINEAMENTS OF A SOLUTION | |
| (1) The language problem of India is stated | 31 |
| (2) Is it necessary to displace English ? The argument against such displacement is recited | 31 |

CHAPTER PAGE

(3) The argument is examined and replied to . . 32
(4) Assessment of extent of present linguistic ability in English and Indian languages . . . 33
(5) In our welfare democracy we need must carry on the business of the State in Indian languages . 34
(6) If not English, what other Indian language alternatives are possible ?

The ground on which Hindi is chosen . . . 36
(7) Why not two Union languages, one from the so-called Dravidian and one from the so-called Indo-Aryan language families ? Why not Sanskrit ? . 38
(8) The constitutional settlement . . . . . 39
(9) All responsible opinion accepts it ; only some have doubts as to the adequacy of the preparatory period of 15 years . . . . . . . 40
(10) Multiple aspects of displacement of English . 40
(11) The question is asked and answered as to why we must take up this work in spite of the other calls of the present juncture . . . . . . 41
(12) " Public sector " and " private sector " of the language problem : the language of Education . 43
(13) Translatory effort . . . . . . . 44
(14) Displacement of English does not mean a break with modern thought or scientific progress . 45
(15) The private sector of national life and language in relation thereto . . . . . . . 46
(16) Linguistic capacity in English and international contacts . . . . . . . . 48
(17) Hindi emerges as the inevitable medium for pan-Indian purposes on displacement of English by regional languages . . . . . . . 49
(18) The place of Hindi in the future as compared to the place of English hitherto . . . 50
(19) The question of inclusion of certain languages in Eighth Schedule . . . . . . 51
(20) Linguistic and cultural guarantees in the Constitution ; the approach to certain local language problems is illustrated . . . . . . 53

V. TERMINOLOGY

(1) Importance of terminology in solution of language problem . . . . . . . . . 56
(2) Need for precise terminology as a tool in modern scientific advance . . . . . . . 56
(3) Illustrations as to categories of terminology needed . . . . . . . . . 57

CHAPTER PAGE

(4) Lay and technical terms are not clearly demarcated in practice; the lay expression merges into the scientific term or expression; illustrations from sociological studies . . . . . . . 57

(5) Indigenous terms should be available in respect of certain branches of knowledge and speculation: how the problem of terminology was solved in similar Indian situations in the past; doctrines of 'language purism' deprecated . . . . 58

(6) Promising source for such terminology available in the terms currently in use amongst artisans, craftsmen, etc., below the English-knowing levels. 60

(7) Maximum possible identity in evolving new terminology amongst all Indian languages: certain difficulties in this considered . . . 61

(8) International terminology as a source for making up such deficiencies . . . . . . . 62

(9) Terminological evolution considered with reference to different stages . . . . . . 63

(10) Work done so far in the Ministry of Education. 64

(11) Is co-ordination in fact being achieved in respect of terminology in all the regional languages? Need for acceleration . . . . . . . 65

(12) Re-standardisation: Agency for work relating to terminology . . . . . . . 68

VI. THE UNION LANGUAGE AND THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

(1) How the educational system is involved in the consideration of our terms of reference and issues necessarily connected with it . . . . . 71

(2) Constitutional position regarding "Education". 72

(3) Article 45 of the Constitution . . . . . 72

(4) Medium of instruction at the Primary, Secondary, and University stages: present position . . 73

(5) Minimum Hindi instruction necessary for all citizens. 75

(6) Knowledge of English necessary to be possessed by graduates . . . . . . . . 76

(7) Deterioration of academic standards . . 77

(8) Deterioration of standards of English . . . 78

(9) Re-orientation in the teaching of English necessary . . . . . . . . . 78

(10) Commencement of Hindi/English at the secondary stage . . . . . . . . . 79

(11) Quantum of Hindi instruction indispensable for students in secondary schools . . . . . 80

CHAPTER PAGE

(12) The issue of compulsion in Hindi instruction in secondary schools . . . . . . 81

(13) 'Compensatory compulsion' to Hindi students to take a non-Hindi Indian language ; the merits of the suggestion are discussed . . . . . 87

(14) Medium of instruction in university education : the waste of intellectual effort, sterilisation of original thinking and the blighting and stunting of intellectual growth entailed by the foreign medium . . . . . . . . . 89

(15) How the English medium divides the educated classes from the rest of the community . . 90

(16) Academic standards need not fall due to displacement of English as the *general* medium of instruction . . . . . . . . . 91

(17) Medium : Hindi/regional language: certain pros and cons . . . . . . . 92

(18) Suggested minimum provisions . . . . 94

(19) Instructional facilities in the Hindi medium : should there be Central Hindi Universities? . 95

(20) We feel that the system suggested will be viable and would satisfy the minimum requirements of the case . . . . . . . . 96

(21) Would development of regional languages be prejudiced by this ? No. . . . . . 98

(22) The special case of all-India institutions for higher technical and scientific education . . . 98

(23) Different personal views as to university medium are recorded ; highest common measure of agreement . . . . . . . . . . 99

(24) Consistency of these recommendations with those of the University Education Commission and the Secondary Education Commission . . . 101

(25) Text books . . . . . . . . . 102

VII. LANGUAGE IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—I

(*i*) *Official Language of the Union.*

(1) Progress made in introducing Hindi in the affairs of the Union . . . . . . . . 105

(2) Distinction between the Government of India's work for changing over its own medium of business and its functioning as a leader in other fields of national life to implement the national policy regarding languages . . . . . . 108

CHAPTER | PAGE

(3) Government of India's programme for changing over the medium of its official business . . . 109

(4) What are the prerequisites of such a change-over in the medium of Central administration ? 111

(5) Translation of manuals and procedural literature . . . . . . . . 112

(6) The variety of work included in the compendious term 'affairs of the Union' briefly noticed; special case of certain highly technical and specialised activities . . . . . . 115

(7) Ministries of the Secretariat . . . . 116

(8) The all-India administrative agencies of the Central Government; and the language pattern appropriate to them . . . . . . 117

(9) Review of staff structure of these administrative agencies and appropriate recruitment policies . 119

(10) Training of existing personnel ; present arrangement: whether training should be optional or compulsory . . . . . . . . 120

(11) Necessity actually to introduce Hindi in some measure simultaneously while the 'prerequisites' are under accomplishment . . . . 123

(12) Problem of training considered with reference to the turn-over of personnel ; justification for prescribing minimum Hindi qualification for new entrants into Union Service . . . . 125

(13) Persons of the age of 45 years and above . . 126

(14) Stenographers ; Typists . . . . . . 127

(15) The language of publications . . . . 127

(16) Restrictions on the use of English . . . 128

(17) Preparation of a time-schedule . . . . 128

(*ii*) *Language problem in the Indian Audit and Accounts Department.*

(18) The Office of the Comptroller and Auditor-General, and the organisation of the Audit Department . . . . . . . . 131

(19) The submission to Accountants-General/Comptrollers by State agencies of the returns in a common linguistic medium might be practicable if that was all there was to it . . . . 132

(20) Insistence on papers required by Audit being kept in the Union language, *i.e.*, Hindi, will not be practicable . . . . . . . . 133

(21) Such difficulties already arisen in ex-princely territories . . . . . . . . 134

CHAPTER | PAGE

(22) Suggestion that to solve these difficulties 'Audit be provincialised' is considered and rejected . 135
(23) Outline of solution suggested . . . . . 136

VIII. LANGUAGE IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—II

*Progress made in the use of Hindi in State Administrations*

(1) Progress made quite notable in Hindi region States . . . . . . . . 139
(2) Certain difficulties in the way of such progress in the non-Hindi region States until now . . 140
(3) Measures for 'readying' the administration of non-Hindi States for adoption of Hindi as language of inter-communication . . . . 141
(4) Requiring Government servants in non-Hindi States to pass Hindi tests . . . . 142
(5) Possible introduction of Hindi alongside of English in a segment of inter-State communication . . . . . . . . . 143

*Numerals.*

(6) Legal position as regards Devanagari form of numerals . . . . . . . . 143
(7) Evolution of the Devanagari numerals and international form of Indian numerals . . . 144
(8) Difference of opinion as to whether international form of numerals applies in the case of Hindi as a regional language of a State . . . . 146
(9) No recommendation as to purposes for which Devanagari form of numerals may be used in addition to the international form . . . 147

IX. LANGUAGE OF LAW AND LAW COURTS—I

*Language of Legislation.*

(1) Language for deliberative functions of legislative bodies; legal position . . . . . 150
(2) Recommendations for facilitating self-expression by members . . . . . . . 151
(3) & (4) Language for enactment of legislation; legal position . . . . . . . 152
(5) Entire statute book including State enactments must be in Hindi . . . . . . 155
(6) Reconciliation between the language of enactment and the language of deliberation in legislatures . 156

CHAPTER PAGE

X. LANGUAGE OF LAW AND LAW COURTS—II

*Language of law courts.*

(1) Coverage of the term 'Law courts' in the present context . . . . . . . . 157
(2) Powers relating to prescription of language of various courts and tribunals . . . . 159
(3) Existing position regarding linguistic media in subordinate courts . . . . . . 159
(4) Linguistic medium in High Courts; legal position . . . . . . . . 160
(5) Linguistic medium in Supreme Court; legal position . . . . . . . . 161
(6) The problem of linguistic media in law courts considered generally . . . . . . 161
(7) Distinction between language of proceedings and language of judgments, orders, decrees . . 162
(8) Language of Supreme Court ; individual option to Supreme Court judges during the transition . 163
(9) Language of the subordinate judiciary . . 164
(10) Linguistic medium of the High Courts considered . . . . . . . . . 165
(11) Arguments in favour of regional language/Hindi for High Court judgments, etc. . . . . 165
(12) Intermediate alternatives . . . . . 167
(13) High Court judgments, orders, decrees must be in Hindi . . . . . . . 167
(14) Language of High Court proceedings; translation of documents, etc. . . . . . . 168
(15) Option to individual High Court judges . . 169
(16) Optional use of Hindi in proceedings may be permitted at district and similar levels . . 170
(17) Linguistic media for special tribunals and courts 170
(18) Medium of instruction for legal education . 171
(19) Option to District Judges to deliver judgments in Hindi . . . . . . . . 171

XI. LANGUAGE OF LAW AND LAW COURTS—III

*The dynamics of the change-over.*

(1) No time-assessments of targets made . . . 172
(2) English may continue for Law Courts indefinitely: argument examined . . . . 172
(3) Prerequisites of a change-over considered 175

CHAPTER PAGE

(4) A legal Lexicon . . . . . . . 175
(5) Rendering of Statutes into Hindi . . . . 177
(6) A plan of action for completing the preliminaries . 178
(7) Is it necessary to translate 'case law' ? . . 179
(8) Is it expedient to dispense with 'case law' ? . 179
(9) The phasing of the preliminaries . . . 180
(10) Bilingualism during the transitional stage . . 181

XII. THE UNION LANGUAGE AND PUBLIC SERVICES EXAMINATIONS

(1) The terms of reference noticed: the proposals regarding decentralisation of recruitment by the large all-India Departments of the Union Government recalled . . . . . 182
(2) Competitive examinations held by the Union Public Service Commission . . . . 183
(3) Competitive examinations for recruitment to training establishments . . . . . 184
(4) Combined competitive examinations for recruitment to the Indian Administrative etc., Services. . . . . . . . . 185
(5) Certain general considerations relating to the all-India Services and the competitive examinations . . . . . . . . 186
(6) Introduction of a compulsory Hindi paper in the case of non-Hindi-speaking candidates . 190
(7) How Hindi candidates should be 'equated' with non-Hindi candidates with reference to the compulsory Hindi paper to be prescribed for the latter . . . . . . . . 191
(8) Need for test in the knowledge of English . . 192
(9) Language medium of the competitive examinations; difficulty of 'moderation' in the event of numerous languages being admitted as media . 192
(10) A quota system of recruitment is considered and advised against . . . . . . 194
(11) Suggestions purporting to secure effective 'moderation' while employing several linguistic media and for neutralising the linguistic medium are considered : Conclusion that they do not furnish a solution . . . . . . 195
(12) Introduction of Hindi/regional languages as an optional medium for the examinations after due notice as a beginning in the Indianisation of the medium is recommended . . . . . 197

CHAPTER PAGE

(13) The fear that non-Hindi-speaking candidates would have a permanent and insurmountable handicap with reference to Hindi medium is discussed . . . . . . . . 198

(14) Continuance of the medium of English language for a sufficient period for safeguarding the interests of non-Hindi-speaking candidates is recommended : the question of introducing the regional languages as media is considered . . 199

(15) Union Home Minister's statement of 2nd May 1955 . . . . . . . . 202

(16) Summary of conclusions and recommendations in regard to paragraphs 9 to 15 relating to linguistic media for these examinations . . . . 203

(17) Competitive examinations for recruitment to Central Secretariat and allied offices . . . 204

(18) A greater place should be accorded in these public service examinations to Indian languages and literatures . . . . . . . 205

(19) Optional Hindi medium at certain examinations held by State Public Service Commissions . . 205

XIII. PROPAGATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF HINDI AND THE REGIONAL LANGUAGES

(*i*) *Propagation and development.*

(1) Prefatory . . . . . . . . . . 207

(2) Propagation of Hindi in non-Hindi regions . . 207

(3) How the work done by various voluntary agencies could be improved and intensified . . . 208

(4) & (5) Need for wider facilities for propagation of Hindi as well as of other languages in each linguistic region ; and for greater intercourse amongst the *literati* of all regions . . . 210

(6) Promotion of developmental work in Hindi/regional languages by the Union and State Governments . . . . . . . . . 213

(7) Tremendous opportunities to Indian linguists to help in promoting the country's integration . . 218

(*ii*) *Standardisation of Indian scripts.*

(8) Close affinities and common origin of all Indian scripts . . . . . . . . . 218

(9) The position of Devanagari among Indian scripts. 220

(10) Long advocacy of Devanagari as a common script for India by distinguished Indian leaders . . 220

CHAPTER PAGE

(11) Roman script and Devanagari script : pros and cons regarding adoption as a common script for Indian languages . . . . . . 225
(12) Adoption of Devanagari as an optional script for all Indian languages is recommended . . . 227

*(iii) Reform of the Devanagari Script.*

(13) Certain difficulties of adapting the Devanagari script to modern mechanical equipment are noticed ; problem of stenography . . . 230
(14) Lucknow Conference proposals . . . . 231
(15) No intrinsic difficulties in these matters in Devanagari or any other Indian script . . . 232

*(iv) Which Hindi ?*

(16) Article 351 of the Constitution and its implications . . . . . . . . 233
(17) No separate agency needed . . . . 234
(18) Development of the Hindi language as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India . . . . . . 235
(19) Can Hindi grammar be simplified for non-Hindi persons ? . . . . . . . 237

*(v) The Press and the Indian languages.*

(20) Supply of news in Hindi (and regional languages) by Press agencies . . . . . . 238

XIV. AGENCIES, ETC. FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE PROGRAMME

(1) Work required to be done by Union Government for effecting the change-over of linguistic medium . . . . . . . . 241
(2) Location of responsibility for work relating to administrative field . . . . . . 242
(3) An Advisory Board in regard to language media for law and administration . . . . . 243
(4) A National Academy of Indian Languages . 243
(5) A Central Library for literatures of all Indian languages and a National Institute for training of language teachers . . . . . . . 246
(6) Annual progress report to Parliament . . . 246
(7) Publicising the national policy about languages . 247

CHAPTER PAGE

XV. CONCLUDING REMARKS

(1) Close affinities of and strong common elements in Indian languages . . . . . . . 249
(2) These affinities are a reflection of a basic unity and a common Indian way of life . . . 250
(3) The Indian linguistic problem is the problem of finding a medium for the expression of this cultural homogeneity . . . . . . 251
(4) The problem comprehends all needs of pan-Indian intercourse and the official requirements are only one special cross-section of it . . . . 253
(5) The recommendations in the Report are confined to the official plane ; however, findings on other connected issues have also been recorded . . 254
(6) There is no antagonism between the development of the Union language and the regional languages. Indeed all languages including the tribal and other dialects should be developed and made better vehicles of expression . . . . . 256
(7) Measures for promoting a greater *rapprochement* amongst the Indian languages ; and a greater mutual study and comprehension of languages, literatures and cultural patterns amongst the different linguistic groups in the country . . 257
(8) Language problem is always one of contemporary generation ; national agreement more important than *a priori* perfectibility of the solution adopted. 258
(9) Many agencies besides official agencies involved in language issues . . . . . . 259
(10) Vocabularies cannot be artificially fabricated : The final test is popular currency : Language purism . . . . . . . . 259
(11) There must be interplay of actual use of new terms and their coinage . . . . . . 260
(12) Conclusions and recommendations framed within the constitutional framework . . . . 261
(13) The need to be flexible, as regards details and time-periods ; firm, as regards objectives ; and specific, as regards proximate programmes . 262
(14) Need for adopting a well-considered national language policy and pursuing it energetically . 264
(15) General concern for the unity of the country and anxiety to consolidate it . . . . . 266
(16) Objectivity, realism and tolerance characterised the bulk of the evidence taken . . . . 267

PAGE

(17) The unparalleled difficulties of the language problem in India : expression of confidence that it can and will be successfully tackled . . . 268

(18) Language merely an instrumentality . . . 269

NOTE OF DISSENT BY DR. SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI . . . . . . . . . 271

NOTE OF DISSENT BY DR. P. SUBBARAYAN . . . 315

EXPLANATORY NOTE BY SHRI MAGANBHAI P. DESAI . . . . . . . . . 331

APPENDICES

I. Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations . . . 398

II. (1) Ministry of Home Affairs Notification No. 43/9/55-Public-I, dated the 7th June 1955, regarding appointment and terms of reference of the Commission . . . . . . . 426

(2) Ministry of Home Affairs Notification No. 43/9/55-Pub. I., dated the 22nd July 1955, extending the date for submission of report to the 31st July 1956 . . . . . . . 428

(3) Ministry of Home Affairs Notification No. 43/9/55-Public-I, dated the 25th November 1955, appointing Prof. Ram Dhari Sinha 'Dinkar' as Member of the Commission *vice* Dr. Amar Nath Jha deceased . . . . . . 428

III. Questionnaire issued by the Official Language Commission . . . . . . . . . 429

IV. List of Public authorities and institutions who either sent written memoranda or tendered oral evidence before the Commission . . . . . . 433

V. Statement of Official Language Commission's sittings held at various places to take oral evidence. . 439

VI. Statement showing action taken by the Union and State Governments under the various Articles of the Constitution relating to official language . 442

VII. Statement showing languages in use in the High Courts, Judicial Commissioner's Courts and Subordinate Courts . . . . . . . . 447

APPENDICES—*contd.*


| | | Page |
|---|---|---|
| VIII. | Statement showing the languages in use in the Legislatures . . . . . . . . | 451 |
| IX. | Paper entitled " An appraisal of the existing position regarding Hindi, English and the regional languages in the educational system of the country ". . | 456 |
| X. | Chart showing forms of numerals in the different Indian languages . . . . . . . | 463 |
| XI. | Note on quota systems . . . . . . | 465 |
| XII. | Statement showing incidence of literacy in English in the various States of the Indian Union on the basis of 1951 Census figures . . . . | 468 |
| XIII. | Extracts from the Constitution of India showing specific provisions relating to language . . . | 471 |
| XIV. | Chart showing the scripts used in writing the languages mentioned in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution . . . . . . . . | 475 |
| XV. | Statement showing roughly the volume of employment opportunities in different classes of posts under the Government of India annually . . . . | 477 |
| | NOTE BY SHRI S. G. BARVE, I.C.S., SECRETARY, OFFICIAL LANGUAGE COMMISSION, OF HIS OBSERVATIONS DURING HIS SHORT VISIT OF DEPUTATION TO THE U. S. S. R. FOR A STUDY OF THE LANGUAGE PROBLEM . | 481 |

## CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTORY

1. In Article 344 of the Constitution of India it is provided that 'The President shall, at the expiration of five years from the commencement of this Constitution and thereafter at the expiration of ten years from such commencement, by order constitute a Commission which shall consist of a Chairman and such other members representing the different languages specified in the Eighth Schedule as the President may appoint, ..............'. It is further provided in the same Article that 'there shall be constituted a Committee consisting of thirty members of whom twenty shall be members of the House of the People and ten shall be members of the Council of States to be elected respectively by the members of the House of the People and the members of the Council of States in accordance with the system of proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote'. It shall be the duty of this Committee to examine the recommendations of the Commission constituted as above and to report to the President their opinion thereon. The President may, after consideration of such report, issue directions in accordance with the whole or any part of that report notwithstanding anything in Article 343 of the Constitution wherein the provisions relating to the official language of the Union have been laid down.

Pursuant to the provisions of Article 344, this Commission was appointed by the President under the style and designation of 'The Official Language Commission' on the 7th June 1955 by his Order contained in the Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs Notification No. 43/9/55-Public-I (Appendix II). The terms of reference of the Commission and the procedure to be followed by them were laid down in this Order as under:—

### TERMS OF REFERENCE

It shall be the duty of the Commission to make recommendations to the President as to—

(a) the progressive use of the Hindi language for the official purposes of the Union;

(b) restrictions on the use of the English language for all or any of the official purposes of the Union;

(c) the language to be used for all or any of the purposes mentioned in Article 348 of the Constitution;

(d) the form of numerals to be used for any one or more specified purposes of the Union;

(e) the preparation of a time schedule according to which and the manner in which Hindi may gradually replace English as the official language of the Union and as a language for communication between the Union and State Governments and between one State Government and another.

In making their recommendations, the Commission shall have due regard to the industrial, cultural and scientific advancement of India, and the just claims and the interests of persons belonging to the non-Hindi-speaking areas in regard to the public services.

The Commission may—

(a) obtain such information as they may consider useful for or relevant to any matter under their consideration whether by asking for written memoranda or by examining witnesses, or in such form and in such manner as they may consider appropriate, from the Central Government, the State Governments, the Supreme Court, the High Courts, the Legislatures and such other authorities, organisations or individuals as may, in the opinion of the Commission, be of assistance to them;

(b) regulate their own procedure, including the fixing of places and time of their sittings and deciding whether to sit in public or in private;

(c) appoint such and so many Sub-Committees from amongst their members to exercise such powers and perform such duties as may be delegated to them by the Commission;

(d) visit or depute any of their Sub-Committees to visit such parts of the territory of India as they consider necessary or expedient;

(e) act, notwithstanding the temporary absence of any member or the existence of any vacancy among the members.

The Commission shall consider the evidence obtained by them and make their recommendations to the President as soon as may be practicable but not later than the 30th of April 1956.

The Commission comprised the following Members at the time of its appointment:—

MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION

1. Shri B. G. Kher, Chairman.
2. Dr. Birinchi Kumar Barua, Head of the Assamese Department, Gauhati University, Gauhati—Assam.
3. Dr. S. K. Chatterji, Chairman, West Bengal Legislative Council, Calcutta—West Bengal.
4. Shri Maganbhai Desai, Gujerat Vidyapitha, Ahmedabad—Bombay.
5. Shri D. C. Pavate, Vice-Chancellor, Karnatak University—Bombay.
6. Professor P. N. Pushp, Amar Singh College, Srinagar—Kashmir.
7. Shri M. K. Raja, Editor, 'Dinabandhu', Ernakulam—Travancore-Cochin.
8. Dr. P. Subbarayan, Member, Rajya Sabha, Madras—Madras

9. Shri G. P. Nene, Rashtrabhasha Bhavan, Poona—Bombay.
10. Dr. P. K. Parija, Pro-Chancellor, Utkal University, Cuttack—Orissa.
11. Sardar Teja Singh, Ex-Chief Justice, PEPSU, Patiala—PEPSU.
12. Shri M. Satyanarayana, Member, Rajya Sabha, Madras—Madras.
13. Dr. Babu Ram Saksena, Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Allahabad University, Allahabad—Uttar Pradesh.
14. Dr. Abid Hussain, Jamia Millia, Delhi—Delhi.
15. Dr. Amar Nath Jha, Chairman, Public Service Commission, Patna—Bihar.
16. Dr. R. P. Tripathi, Vice-Chancellor, Saugor University, Saugor—Madhya Pradesh.
17. Shri Balkrishna Sharma, M.P., Delhi—Delhi.
18. Shri Mauli Chander Sharma, Delhi—Delhi.
19. Dr. Hazari Prasad Dwivedi, Head of the Department of Hindi, Banaras Hindu University, Banaras—Uttar Pradesh.
20. Shri Jai Narain Vyas, Jaipur—Rajasthan.
21. Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, Deputy Speaker, Lok Sabha, Delhi—Madras.

We regret to record the sad demise of Dr. Amar Nath Jha, Chairman, Bihar Public Service Commission, on 2nd September 1955. The Commission suffered a great loss in the deprivation of the services of Dr. Jha, who, by his long experience and the distinguished place that he occupied in the field of education, literary activities and public administration, was eminently equipped for assisting the Commission in their complex and delicate task. On the 25th November 1955, the President appointed Prof. Ramdhari Sinha 'Dinkar', Member. Rajya Sabha, in the vacancy caused by the death of Dr. Jha (Appendix II).

On his elevation to the distinguished office of the Speaker, Lok Sabha, Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar resigned membership of the Commission with effect from the 8th March 1956 considering such continued membership inappropriate with reference to the office which he was called upon to fill. The Commission are grateful to Shri Ayyangar for the help and co-operation rendered by him during the period that he worked as a Member of the Commission.

It was originally provided that the Commission shall consider the evidence obtained by them and make their recommendations to the President not later than the 30th day of April 1956. Since however the work of the Commission could not commence until July 1955, on the motion of the Chairman made immediately after assumption of office this period was extended to the 31st July 1956 (Appendix II). We are glad that it has been possible for us to adhere to this time-table and submit our Report by the appointed date.

2. The first meeting of the Commission was held on the 15th and 16th July 1955. The Commission issued a questionnaire soon thereafter (Appendix III). This questionnaire was widely distributed

and copies of the questionnaire were addressed to Governments, governmental authorities, and a large number of public and private institutions and individuals. A total of 1094 written replies or memoranda were received. These include replies from all the Ministries of the Government of India, all the Parts 'A' and 'B' State Governments and most of the part 'C' State Governments, the Supreme Court, the Union Public Service Commission, practically all the State Public Service Commissions, Universities, High Courts and a large number of institutions and societies working in literary and educational fields and other walks of life. Apart from public authorities and institutions, a very large number of individuals including several members of the Cabinet and other ministers of the Central Government and Governors of States in their individual capacity, Chief Ministers and ministers of State Governments, Vice-Chancellors, High Court Judges in their individual capacity, members of Parliament, members of Legislatures, Government officials, persons distinguished in literary and professional pursuits, lawyers, scientists, technicians, professors and businessmen tendered evidence to the Commission.

Apart from the written memoranda received, the Commission undertook extensive tours covering all the major States of the country for the purpose of gathering oral evidence. The Commission's visits were widely publicised in the local press and apart from lists of witnesses drawn up after consultation with the State Governments so as to get the widest cross-section of opinion, the Commission used to invite views generally from anybody else who might be interested in tendering them. A total of 930 individuals or representatives of public authorities and private institutions tendered oral evidence before the Commission.

The issue of language concerns almost every individual intimately and the lively interest evoked by the investigations of the Commission was therefore quite natural and only to be expected. Apart from the abiding interest of the subject-matter at all times, the fact that during this period other circumstances had converged to focus attention on the place of language in the national life of the country, further intensified the widespread interest in the Commission's deliberations. The publication of the Report of the States Reorganization Commission in October 1955 and the enormous canvassing of the issue of reorganization of States on linguistic lines which has taken place over the subsequent months in legislative bodies, the Press and on the public platform, and the incidents attendant thereupon in the meantime, have further highlighted the significance of a proper understanding and treatment of the question of languages especially in the conditions of multi-lingualism obtaining in our country. It has been the Commission's deliberate endeavour to seek the widest and most uninhibited expression of opinion on this issue which touches so deeply every citizen of the country.

3. A word is necessary right at the commencement as to the field covered by the Commission's Report. It will be noticed that the terms of reference of the Commission, literally construed, are somewhat restricted. Thus, for instance, important basic issues such

as the media of instruction in the educational system, the steps to be taken for the development of the Hindi language and literature including such development of the language in terms of the directives of Article 351 of the Constitution, the development of regional languages *pari passu* and harmoniously with the development of Hindi, the place of English in the educational system and in national life generally, are not matters directly within the terms of reference of the Commission. However, all these matters and several others are involved indirectly and by necessary implication in the consideration of the issues specifically charged on the Commission for their recommendations. The language problem of the country has its ramifications in numerous fields of national activity and endeavour and it is impossible to consider, in view of the close inter-relationship of the various facets, any individual issues in isolation. The Commission therefore necessarily had to allow their enquiries to relate to a larger field than that strictly covered by the terms of reference. Right at the commencement, having regard to this, the Commission's questionnaire was issued on the wider canvass and the discussions of the Commission with witnesses have been held all along against this wider background. However the Commission's findings on matters not strictly covered by their terms of reference have been recorded separately as 'conclusions' and distinguished from their 'recommendations' in the 'Summary of conclusions and recommendations' printed as Appendix I to this Report. While making specific recommendations, the Commission have confined themselves to the terms of reference which they were appointed to report upon. The Commission have, however, necessarily had to consider, and have therefore recorded their findings on, these other aspects of the language question which do not fall strictly within their terms of reference, but are necessarily relatable to them. The specific recommendations can be understood only against the background of the view that the Commission take of the entire language problem as delineated in all their findings including 'the conclusions'.

4. The subject-matter of the Commission's enquiry does not lend itself easily to consideration by compartments. Each aspect of it has a bearing on almost every other aspect and several specific issues admit of being considered only against the context of the related general background. The language problem in the sphere of public administration, the problem with reference to legislation and law courts, the place of language studies in the educational system, the linguistic media of competitive examinations for entry into public services, are all issues which touch and bear upon each other in numerous ways: and the whole congeries of these specific issues has to be considered against the general foundation underlying them all, namely, the evolution of terminologies and the developing of the Union and regional languages. In the background of all these issues would lie the general view that one would take of the Indian linguistic scene. the similarities amongst its components and the prospective relationship of the Union and regional languages. While all these add up to a single complex, each issue must, for convenience of handling, be discussed separately. This has made it necessary to recapitulate in different places in the chapters the context as it emerges from other chapters of the Report. In the concluding chapter the threads of the argument are gathered up and a general

synthetic view presented of the problem as a whole and our general approach to its solution.

Supplementary to the main Report of the Commission a supplementary volume* has been prepared in which some of the basic data collected in the Commission's office by their research unit has been compiled in the form of papers. It is hoped that this material will be of use for any subsequent inquiry into this subject-matter. Some facet or other of the complex issue of the country's linguistic media for the various purposes seems likely to be of public interest for a considerable time to come until the linguistic pattern of the future is finally established.

The Constitution contemplates a similar enquiry by a President's Commission at the expiration of ten years from the commencement of the Constitution, that is in 1960, followed by consideration of its recommendations by a Committee of both Houses of Parliament similarly as in the case of this Commission. Having regard to all this, it was felt that it might be of advantage if this Commission, apart from their recommendations, left for future use, all the data and material collected in the course of their enquiries by way of systematic and exhaustive documentation. It is not considered necessary to print the material other than what is included in the supplementary volume*; the rest has however been arranged in a readily available form and submitted to the appropriate authorities together with the Commission's records for possible future use.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

5. The Commission have pleasure in recording their thanks to various authorities and individuals who facilitated the Commission's work or assisted in their labours. A very high proportion of the witnesses, who gave evidence to the Commission, whether in writing or orally, had taken great pains to think out and express elaborately on the various issues arising out of the questionnaire. The Commission were fortunate in receiving exhaustive memoranda from numerous authorities, institutions and individuals notably the State Governments, Universities, High Courts and Public Service Commissions. The Commission are greatly beholden to all these authorities and individuals for their valuable assistance.

The Commission are grateful to the State Governments who had to make during their tours rather elaborate arrangements for the Commission's sittings and for the accommodation of the Members and the staff of the Commission. With a total membership of twenty-one (twenty, since the resignation of Shri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar) including the Chairman, this Commission must have been one of the largest and we have pleasure in recording that, despite the strain on their resources of accommodation which was sometimes involved, all the State Governments made uniformly satisfactory arrangements for the holding of the Commission's sessions on tour.

*Not printed.

Shri D. S. Joshi, I.C.S., Secretary, Home Department of the Government of Bombay, held charge as Secretary of the Commission for about 2½ months prior to the joining of the wholetime Secretary, and we wish to record our deep sense of appreciation of the services rendered by him in the initial stage.

We also desire to place on record our gratitude to the Secretary of the Commission, Shri S. G. Barve, I.C.S., for the splendid work done by him in all aspects of the work of the Commission. The countrywide itinerary of this unusually large Commission and its programme of work were very thoughtfully planned and competently executed. Apart from these normal duties of a Secretary, Shri Barve placed unreservedly at our disposal his large administrative experience as a senior member of the Indian Civil Service and his outstanding abilities. His versatile genius, very quick grasp of the complex issues involved and his uniform courtesy have made a deep impression on all the Members of the Commission. These were invaluable to us in focussing and analysing the complex issues with the consideration of which we were concerned. He was of very great help to us in evolving the conclusions and recommendations and in reconciling diverse points of view to the maximum extent. His work has indeed been very strenuous and exacting. But for Mr. Barve's efficient discharge of his duties we would not have been able to finish our work in the time and manner we have been able to do.

The staff of the Commission carried out their duties competently under the Secretary's guidance and we also record our best thanks to them. We are grateful to the Universities of Andhra and Allahabad and the High Court of Bombay, for kindly sparing the services of Prof. G. J. Somayaji, Dr. Mata Prasad Gupta and Shri V. R. Talasikar, respectively. These officers rendered valuable services as members of the Research staff of the Commission.

## CHAPTER II

## LANGUAGE IN THE MODERN WORLD

1. As has been well said, it is speech that endows man with humanity. In other physical faculties man is no better gifted than many of the animals. Without the instrumentality of speech, co-operation between individuals leading to the organisation of human societies would not have been possible; without speech, equally, the development and cultivation of mental faculties and the accumulation of knowledge which has finally led to the tremendous material progress witnessed in the physical circumstances of living amongst modern communities, would not have been possible. The story of language, therefore, is the story of civilisation.

Reflections about Language, its origin, the part that it plays in the perceptions of the human mind and in the systematisation and reasoning about human experiences have always been amongst the oldest and most constant preoccupations of the human mind. We are not concerned with the theories of how human speech originated. Whether it evolved from a sublimation of animal cries or was developed as a deliberate device to supplement communication by gestures, language as a social phenomenon is known to have invariably characterised all human societies, there being no recorded instance of any human society, no matter how primitive, which did not know the art of speech. In its spoken or written form, language is an indispensable tool to all social existence. Without the facility of communication between human beings which language furnishes, the intricate, comprehending co-operation of human beings in organised societies would never have been possible. Language is the one common indispensable nexus of all forms of human co-operation and therefore permeates all aspects of social organisation, whether on the material, cultural or spiritual plane.

It is a commonplace in linguistics that spoken language antedates written language by thousands and may be millions of years. At the dawn of history whether by accident or in a moment of dazzling perception by an unknown individual genius, the device of writing must have been discovered. Coming as an auxiliary and as a substitute to oral speech, writing multiplied almost infinitely, in the dimensions of both time and space, the reach of human communication. Writing can embalm and preserve for posterity the ideas, reasoning processes and fancies actuating the speaker's mind when he gives oral expression to them. Apart from this extension into the time dimension almost without limit which the art of writing bestows on human expression by endowing it with permanency, as a means of contemporary dissemination also, writing, aided by devices for multiplication, has enormously widened the range of human communication. Indeed, even otherwise, as a means of current communication, writing has certain obvious advantages as compared to oral expression, such as its greater precision, certainty and compactness.

The art of writing may follow one of the two principal lines of development. It may symbolise *directly* the ideas, thoughts and objects; or it may symbolise them *indirectly* through the sounds of the words by which they are expressed. Most of the world's written languages now conform to the latter or the phonetical system of writing, although they may have first passed through some stages of the former or ideographic writing. The Chinese, Japanese and other languages which use the Chinese system are the chief contemporary instances of some of the aspects of the ideographic form of writing. When a written form is achieved, languages attain a measure of stability. Spoken languages without any writing are highly fluctuating and variable. An ideographic language, like the Chinese, as an oral speech has the same variability as any other language; but as a written language, not being related to the sound values of oral speech, it has a high degree of fixity.

The art of writing made possible the recording and transmission of individual experience of human beings, not only from one person to another, but also of each generation to all the succeeding generations. It thus multiplied incalculably the permanency of human expression through the dimension of time. It has made accumulation of knowledge possible, as each succeeding generation can benefit by the knowledge and experience gathered by previous generations and embodied in their writings. The individual experience of a single life is transmitted and added to the collective knowledge of mankind by language aided by the art of writing, and the resulting knowledge in turn is made available as the heritage accessible to every single person coming thereafter.

The history of a language is invariably the history of the cultural life of the human community speaking that language. Whereas literature reflects the musings, thoughts and fancies of the best, or at least the most vocal, minds; language is something to which all members of a linguistic society contribute, no matter in how small a measure. 'Language', said Emerson, 'is a city to which every human being brought a stone.' The development of languages is in this sense fundamentally democratic as distinct from the growth of literature which is essentially the study of thoughts and experiences of particular individuals.

Language, having come to make human communication possible, subsists to facilitate the social life in the intricate modern communities in which human beings now dwell. Nor is it merely an instrumentality of communication; we have so become used to language that it enters into the thought itself and moulds it. Much of our thinking is inevitably in terms of words and phrases; and not always in terms of the objects, ideas or relationships which they are supposed to symbolise.

2. The study of languages as such; their structures; how different languages reacted on each other; how by derivation or by borrowing new vocables are developed in every form of human speech for expressing new experiences and ideas freshly impinging on that human society; how words undergo changes, how dialectal variations are developed, the principles of phonetical change, etc.; these are

all technical matters relating to the science of linguistics with which we are not directly concerned. We are concerned with certain practical issues relating to the use of language in a complex situation; and as a perspective thereto, it might be of use for us to consider the special attributes of language as a means of communication in modern societies.

The art of printing wrought a virtual revolution in the facilities accessible to the common man for increasing his knowledge and for entering into the human heritage, which, in the shape of writings of previous generations, belong as potential legacy to every human being. In recent times, modern means of communication, such as the radio, the film, the press, have further vastly accentuated this development and also in other ways contributed significantly to the 'milieu' in which the problem of language in a modern society must be regarded. These modern means of communication, for one thing, tend to establish, far more widely than ever before, contemporary vogues and stabilise and standardise languages. The mass availability of these means of communication now tends to counteract the natural tendency towards dialectal variation amongst languages and is helping to forge a common uniform speech, such as, for instance, 'King's English' in the English-speaking world.

Language inevitably plays an important part in education. As a medium of communication it enters almost ubiquitously all processes of imparting knowledge of whatever subject it may be: apart from this, a good deal of formal education has naturally to consist of the imparting of knowledge of the language itself as a tool of expression. In modern societies literacy has become an indispensable necessity, for even a modest level of development, for each individual as a member of a modern community. Social organisation is now so complex and intricate and the material equipment of living so highly specialised that modern communities require a high degree of information and skill amongst the generality of their member constituents; and literacy is a practically indispensable means for the purpose of acquiring information or developing skills. Without skilled and literate artisans and farmers, countries cannot progress in the modern world beyond a rudimentary stage, as technological or agrarian advance of any considerable dimensions or character, becomes impossible, even purely as a problem of 'extension', in a society where the mass of its members are illiterate. It is not a coincidence that percentages of literacy are generally indicative of the level of material progress and living standards amongst nations of the world to-day. It is in recognition of this situation that the modern State has, generally speaking, assumed the formal responsibility for the spreading of literacy amongst, and the imparting of a certain level of education to, the general population of the community which it governs.

3. We must say a word about language in its relationship to nationality, particularly with reference to the 'national State' which has now come to be the prototype of political organisation in the modern world. The sense of nationality may derive from one or more of many sources, such as a common homeland, a common sense

of history, a co-partnership in a common cultural tradition, sometimes a common religion as well as a common language: in the consciousness of nationhood as a rule, language is an important element although it may not always be a decisive factor. In spite of the rise of political entities organised largely as national States in modern times, the problem of languages of minorities and of multilingualism generally occurs in a large number of countries. Language is the main or almost sole instrument of inter-communication in a civilised society: modern Governments concern themselves so intimately and so extensively with all aspects of social and even individual existence that inevitably in a modern community the question of the linguistic medium becomes an important matter of concern to the country's governmental organisation. In the conduct of legislative bodies, in the day-to-day dealings with citizens by administrative agencies, in the dispensation of justice, in the system of education, in industry, trade and commerce; practically in all fields in which it has to interest itself in modern times, the State encounters and has to tackle the problem of the linguistic medium. Apart from this practical aspect of language-barriers within a political community, emotionally, as a rallying-point of group consciousness, language serves as a very frequent badge or symbol. Nationality and racial groupings are frequently confused with language groupings. In Europe, for instance, racial or ethnographic frontiers, political frontiers, frontiers of so-called separate nationalities and linguistic frontiers seldom coincide. Political frontiers are historical and arbitrary; racially there has been generally speaking so much intermingling of races that demarcation of frontiers is practically impossible; national consciousness is a wholly subjective feeling: language is a ready and plausible objective distinction and therefore in practice all manner of sentiments of group consciousness attach themselves to the badge of language and it gets often over-worked as a criterion of nationhood. We will be noticing in the next section how this problem has been tackled in a few of the countries of the world where it arises prominently; it may, however, be noted here that the problem of linguistic minorities arises in a very large number of national States all over the world. Let us take some of the countries of Europe for instance; in France, there are half a dozen linguistic minorities; in Switzerland, four different languages are spoken, and all four are designated as national languages; in Belgium, there are three languages; in Spain, there are three or four quite sizable linguistic minorities; the United Kingdom itself is not without its problem of minority languages; and so far as the countries of Eastern Europe, like Czechoslovakia, Poland, Austria and Hungary are concerned, they are all very polyglot, and the problem of language minorities has been a persistent and chronic issue historically in many of them. Since language is the indispensable medium for social intercourse, the mutual unintelligibility of different language groups interposes genuine barriers between such groups. In view of the deep permeation of official activities within the life of a modern community, the selection of the language or languages as 'official language(s)' becomes a matter for deliberate choice, and therefore of great interest and concern to linguistic minorities. Different devices have been adopted in different countries for reconciling the need for a common linguistic medium at the official plane with the comprehensible desire of minority linguistic groups to retain their

separate languages, and educational institutions for teaching them, as part of their distinct identity and cultural life.

4. We notice below briefly how the problem has been tackled in certain countries of the world wherein it arises prominently.

Switzerland is always quoted as an instance of the successful solution of the problem of multilingualism created by the existence of a polyglot population comprising persons speaking different languages as their mother-tongues. German, French, Italian and Romansch are spoken in Switzerland, and all these four languages have been designated as 'national languages': the 'official languages' of the country are the major three, namely, German, French and Italian. The German-speaking population constitutes 72·1% of the total population, the French-speaking 20·3%, the Italian-speaking 5·9%, the Romansch-speaking population 1%, 0·7% being made up by speakers of other languages. Of the 22 Cantons constituting the Swiss Federation, 14 are German-speaking, 3 French-speaking, 1 Italian-speaking, 3 bilingual in German and French, and 1 trilingual in German, Italian and Romansch. The four national languages spoken in the country are placed on a footing of absolute equality, and the three official languages are used in all official dealings between the Confederation and the Cantons and between the Cantons themselves. All federal laws, regulations, notices and publications are issued in all the three languages; all the texts of federal laws and statutes in the three languages are equally authentic; in Parliament, the members have the right to speak in all the four national languages but the proceedings are recorded in the three official languages only; while a member may demand that his speech in one of the three official languages be translated into the other two, in actual practice all the three official languages are used freely in debates; for diplomatic purposes of the Swiss Government, French is generally used as the traditional international language of diplomacy. In the Cantons, the Cantonal languages are the official languages; in bilingual Cantons, both the Cantonal languages being official languages are on equal footing; these official languages are used for all administrative purposes and in the Cantonal offices and law-courts within the respective Cantons. The medium of instruction in all primary and secondary schools is the official language of the region concerned; and within bilingual and trilingual Cantons, as the linguistic areas are geographically distinct, the medium is the language spoken in that particular area. In bilingual towns there would be separate schools for the two languages. In all schools one of the national languages is a compulsory second language; thus in the German-speaking Cantons, French is the compulsory language, while in the French-speaking Cantons, German is the compulsory language: the Italian-speaking Canton can choose either German or French as the compulsory second language. The second language is compulsory from the 5th standard onwards up to Matriculation. The Universities are run by the Cantons, and the medium of instruction is the official language of the Canton concerned. In practice, however, difficulties of language relating to French or German do not arise by reason of the fact that most professors and students are more or less completely bilingual. In the Federal Court any of the three languages of the Confederation, *viz.*, German, French or Italian,

may be employed in all the proceedings; however, every Swiss has the right to demand that the judgment of the courts be in any of the three languages he may specify. In the Canton courts the official language or languages of the Canton concerned are used in all proceedings.

In Canada (according to the figures of the 1951 census) of a total population of 14 million, 9·4 million were English-speaking, 2·7 million were French-speaking and 1·7 million were bilingual in English and French. The majority (80%) of the French-speaking Canadians live in the Province of Quebec. Canada is a federal country where two official languages, *viz.*, English and French, are in use. In the debates of the Houses of Parliament of Canada and the Houses of Legislature of Quebec, and in the respective records and journals of the Houses, both the languages are, used and either of them can be used by any person or in any pleading in any court in Canada. All publications of the Federal and Quebec Governments are issued in both languages, and paper currency and postage are also printed in both French and English. While the working language of the Federal Government is English, letters written in French are answered in French. The working language of the Government of the Province of Quebec is French, but letters addressed to the Provincial Government in English are answered in English. A Translation Bureau is set up within the Federal administration, the duties and functions of which are to collaborate and act for all the departments of the public services in all translation work arising in respect of their activities. In the educational system, the medium of instruction is English as well as French, and there are Universities in which the medium is exclusively English or French, although in each of them arrangements exist for the teaching of the other language. In the field of commerce, while English is the predominant language, French is also used by French businessmen in their dealings with one another and by English-speaking businessmen in their dealings with their clients in the Province of Quebec. French-speaking Canadians have built up a net-work of social and economic organisations: schools, hospitals, co-operatives, newspapers, etc. and are well represented in Parliament.

Canadians of French origin are more bilingual than those of British origin and bilingualism is more wide-spread in urban than in rural areas, among men than among women and among the better educated. However, in recent years, a definite trend towards a wider bilingualism is said to have been noted in Canada. Many periodicals print articles in both languages.

In Belgium there are three languages, *viz.*, Flemish, French and German. Both French and Flemish are official languages and are used in Government proclamations, etc. Generally speaking, the problem is solved by the fact that a large number of individuals are bilingual or trilingual.

In the U.S.S.R. there are about 200 languages and dialects spoken by various linguistic or national groups. Large numbers out of this list of languages are, however, very little developed, and some of them are not in use and had never been in use as literary languages;

yet others were furnished with a script only after the October Revolution. Amongst the more important languages of the U.S.S.R., which are some 16 or so, the Russian language has in all respects an outstanding position. Russian is the native language of nearly 100 million people inhabiting the U.S.S.R. out of a total of some 180 million, the other languages accounting for the whole lot of the rest. The most numerous language after the Russian is the Ukrainian accounting for 36·5 million in the 1939 census and the next most numerous thereafter are: Bielorussian accounting for 8·7 million, Uzbek for 4·9 million and Tatar 4·3 million. Besides, throughout the history of Tsarist Russia, the Russian language had been used as the exclusive medium in education political life and administration. Russian is thus far and away the most outstanding language of the country, which of course changes entirely the relationship of this language with the other regional languages as compared with the Indian situation. It is generally recognised that no language other than the Russian, could play the part of a common language between the different States of the U.S.S.R.

As contrasted with the previous regime, the national policy of the Soviet State, with reference to the linguistic minorities has been very liberal and progressive. The free development of all cultures and languages has been not only allowed but actively fostered by the Russian Government since the October Revolution. Schools have been opened, newspapers started, new literature produced in languages where none existed previously. Within the national Republics of the Union, it would seem that the regional languages find a great deal of scope. In these Republics the business is as a rule conducted in the language of the main population of the respective Republic.

In the field of education also, the regional languages are recognised and encouraged at appropriate levels and the Soviet Government have taken special measures to equip them with scientific literature and pedagogical personnel as far as possible. Thus, for instance, in the schools, institutes and in the University in the Georgian Republic, tuition is in the Georgian language; in the schools and institutes of the Kazakh Republic, tuition is in the Kazakh language, where the native language of a particular nationality is not sufficiently developed as a literary language, the language of a more numerous nationality is adopted as the medium according to convenience, or else Russian is so adopted.

The Russian language is the language of business and correspondence in the Central Government and for inter-communication between the different States. Members of any nationality can, however, it seems, speak in their own language in the representative assemblies including the Supreme Soviet. or in any court and are entitled to address any official authorities in their own language. In Moscow, in the Central Government, all instructions and decisions of State and Judicial bodies, departments and ministries are issued in the Russian language. All laws passed by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. are, however, published in the 16 important languages of the Union. The Gazette of the Supreme Soviet of the

U.S.S.R. is also issued in 16 languages. While there exists in principle the right to a citizen of the Soviet Union to make a written or oral statement in any language of the U.S.S.R., normally the language found to be convenient by most parties is the Russian language. It is said that the desire to study the Russian language is very great among the different linguistic nationalities, and the Russian language is in fact widely studied and known within nationalities where the native language is a different one.

It would appear that in Russia the acerbity of any possible linguistic tensions and discords has been forestalled by the liberal policy of encouraging every language as part of the cultural inheritance of that national group. Any serious linguistic controversy is also precluded by reason of the outstanding position, compared with any other language, enjoyed by the Russian language.

5. We would like to say a word or two about language reform and, very broadly, the way in which this question has been tackled in some countries. In Turkey in the years following the first World War, as a part of the social and cultural transformation initiated in that country under Mustapha Kemal Ataturk a reform of the Turkish language was deliberately and methodically undertaken. In 1928, the Latin script was introduced as a measure of reform along with the Western or International numerals. Simultaneously an attempt was made to replace words in the Ottoman-Turkish drawn largely from the Arabic and Persian stock by words of original Turkish stock. The language reform was carried out by the State almost exclusively through a national association called the Turkish Linguistic Society working in close co-operation with the Ministry of Education. Latterly, however, it is gathered, the puristic drive in respect of vocabulary has somewhat slackened and a moderate linguistic policy is said to have been adopted.

The modernisation of the Japanese language followed the epoch-making 'Meiji restoration' of 1868 after which Japan emerged as a modernised nation with astonishing rapidity, efficiency and success. The Japanese way of writing is basically the same as the Chinese way, that is to say, the ideographic script, with characters estimated to exceed over 80,000. The Japanese have, however, introduced, partially on the ideographic system, a phonetic system, namely the 'Katakan' and 'Hiragava' syllabary consisting of 73 letters each, out of which 48 are original letters and the rest are compounds with orthographic symbols somewhat comparable to the *kanas* and *matras* of the Indian phonetical system. As a result of this modernisation of language, Japan has been able to record a tremendous progress in literacy which has now reached the figure of about 90%, that is to say, a figure comparable to that of the advanced Western countries. The Japanese language is the medium of instruction in the educational system, but Western languages, and especially English, are taught very widely in the commercial and science courses. The technical terms are mostly derived from original Chinese roots.

In China the language problem appears in a very different aspect. In a population of over 460 million, while there are about 24 dialectal variations, the script is uniform. In terms of alphabetic writing it may be said that the script has as many characters as there

are words or expressions. The fact that there is an identical written script, even if there are variations in oral expression of it, results in situations in which two Chinese speakers cannot make themselves understood mutually orally but can converse in writing. An ideographic script, it would seem, is very inhibitive with reference to the development of education, both extensively and intensively, inasmuch as a large portion of the elementary schooling must necessarily consist of acquiring mastery over the linguistic tool in the shape of the thousands of ideograms necessary for expression at a particular level. This imposes obvious limiting factors with reference to the spread of literacy.

Moves for the alphabetisation of the Chinese ideograms have been made for several decades and it seems that a definite policy of alphabetisation is now adopted. In the ultimate analysis the problem of Chinese language reform reduces itself to that of furnishing an alphabetical system of script to the language in place of the ideographic system. From the point of view of vocables, the Chinese language has the same necessity as the Indian languages, to assimilate vast stocks of new terminology which are necessary in the context of modern living and the progress of technology and the sciences.

6. It would appear that the problem of languages, as it arises in our country, is of peculiar difficulty and complexity. A detailed consideration of the Indian linguistic scene will be undertaken in the next chapter; but it might be anticipated that the outstanding feature of the linguistic landscape of India is the fact that there are over a dozen different well-developed languages, each spoken by large numbers of people, prevalent, generally speaking, in compact linguistic regions of the country and with a history and literary tradition going back, variously in the case of each, over many centuries. The languages have also their appropriate scripts in which they are written. In view of the number of languages the problem does not admit of the easy solution that has been successfully employed in countries like Switzerland, Belgium and Canada, of a general and wide-spread bilingualism or multi-lingualism. Nor is one of the languages so outstandingly ahead of the others (except numerically) as to put it altogether beyond any competition as in the case of Russian in the U.S.S.R. The solution, therefore, of allowing unfettered employment of all languages in the assurance that, in their own interests and of their own accord, the different linguistic groups would resort, at appropriate levels, to the one outstanding language medium is not automatically available in the Indian situation. In the Indian situation, it is necessary, at any rate in the marginal overlapping areas, carefully to set out specifically what would be the appropriate fields for the Union and the regional languages of the country.

What exactly would be the appropriate levels in different fields and how the balance between the Union and regional languages should be struck wherever the point arises, would be considered at relevant places in the succeeding chapters of this Report. We would, however, observe that while it is complex and not without difficulty, the problem of such reconciliation is not insoluble. Language is

cherished as an element of cultural identity by the linguistic group who speak that language; and consequently all manner of complexes of group pride tend to accrete around the sensitive subject of language. While each language may be cherished as a cultural expression of a linguistic group, the needs and conjunctures of modern communal existence under the sovereignty of a single State, create the necessity for evolving a common linguistic medium for national levels and for purposes of intercourse between the linguistic groups. The evolving of such a common medium is equally of interest to each of the linguistic groups; and if the problem is approached in a spirit of tolerance, understanding and pragmatic adjustment,—which in some of the multilingual countries of the world have been learnt as lessons of a painful and troubled historical process,—a solution need not be difficult of attainment.

7. One more matter in respect of which experience of other countries would be of relevance and use in our context is the learning of foreign languages as 'a second language' in the educational system, for purposes of keeping in touch with the advances in scientific research and technology. In this respect, the learning of the English language in other countries of the world, where it is not a mother-tongue, would be of particular relevance, both because of the tradition of English-learning in our country and the fact that English is now definitely the foremost foreign second language, more than any other, over the greater part of the world. In France, English has been the leading second language since 1918. In Scandinavia, English has become the leading second language since the Second World War. In Turkey and Greece, English has been established as the principal second language since the Second World War, though, prior to 1939, French was more studied in these countries. In Italy, Spain and Portugal, English is making considerable headway, although French is very popular in these countries, because of the relative ease with which it is learnt by the nationals. English is now widely spread in the Middle-East countries bordering the Mediterranean, where French used to be more popular in the past. In the U.S.S.R., it appears that English is the leading foreign language and it is believed that 10 million school children in Russia are at present learning English and that it is taught in about 40% of the schools in the Soviet Union. A 'foreign language' is compulsory as a subject of study in Russia and it seems English, French and German are available for choice; it would appear that of these English is somewhat more popular than the other languages. In Poland, Czechoslovakia and other East-European countries, English is now widely known and studied, though Russian may be or may become the first foreign language in those countries. In Japan, there is a fairly-long-established tradition of English learning and, although school children may offer English, French or German for examination purposes, the majority are said to choose English. English is generally the first foreign language in Japan; it is taught in all secondary schools from the age of 10 upwards and is obligatory for all 1st-year and 2nd-year University students, no matter what their special subjects. As a rule, and quite understandably, Japanese scholars and scientists have a greater ability to understand written-English than spoken-English. Apart from the attempt by individual scientists, through their knowledge of the English language, to keep

abreast of scientific developments outside their own country, in Japan many Universities and Government Research Laboratories and scientific and learned societies publish journals in English or give English abstracts of articles in journals in the Japanese language, in order to keep other countries informed of scientific developments in Japan. Most of the senior employees of Japanese firms have a working knowledge of English.

This is by no means an exhaustive account of the learning of English as a second language in other countries of the world. It would be clear, however, from this how much importance is attached in modern times to the learning of an advanced foreign language through which access would be available to international scientific and technological developments; and how, currently, it would seem English fulfils this requirement more than any other advanced language.* This point would be of relevance when we come to consider the place of study of English in the educational system of the country.

---

*We are indebted to the British Council for some of this information

## CHAPTER III

# THE INDIAN LINGUISTIC SCENE

In this chapter we will take a bird's eye view of the Indian linguistic scene, very briefly how it has evolved, what are its principal present components and landmarks, and the main issues that arise for consideration from the objective features of this landscape.

1. India is a vast sub-continent admeasuring a couple of thousand miles from north to south and east to west. It is known to have been inhabited during the historical period for at least four to five millennia during which cultural patterns of one sort or another have successively flourished in this land. With an area as large as two-thirds of Europe without Russia, a population that forms a seventh of the human race and a geographical position as a result of which in this part of the world she has been a meeting ground throughout history for people of diverse racial and demographic origins, it is hardly to be wondered at that there should be a great multiplicity and variety in the forms of speech in this country.

It is believed that the oldest people about whose settlement and habitation in India there are some traces were a negroid or negrito race which has largely died out except for a few survivals at a few places like the Andaman Islands, besides of course the elements integrated racially into Indian humanity since. Subsequent to this, a people of what is known as the proto-Australoid racial type may have inhabited large parts of this country. From the forms of speech current amongst these people, the languages and dialects belonging to what is now known as the Austric speech family are derived. It is likely that in the various parts of the country in what were called the 'lower strata' of the Hindu caste hierarchy, considerable elements of this racial origin have survived and probably subsist to this day. The subsequent waves of the Dravidian and the Aryan peoples largely submerged the Proto-Australoids whose forms of speech have survived in some of the primitive and tribal speeches of the country, such as the Mundas, including Santhali, Mundari, Khasi, etc. These forms of speech, although sometimes very rich and distinctive in folk tales, bardic songs, ballads, etc. do not, as a rule, have a literary tradition over any considerable length of time, and in many cases they were reduced to writing only in the 19th century by the efforts of Christian missionaries. The speakers of these forms of speech have by and large to adopt one of the contiguous developed languages as a language of culture and literature and, in fact, this has been going on over a considerable length of time now. The Dravidians and the Aryans who followed them are now the principal components in the linguistic and racial prototype in India, although, as always happens in such cases, they have themselves been influenced in a considerable degree by the previous settlers and their forms of speech.

2. According to the Linguistic Survey of India, there are 179 languages and 544 dialects, and philologists have classified these

into four distinct family groups—Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic, and Tibeto-Burman. For the linguistic evolution of India over recent historic times, the two most important families are the Indo-Aryan and the Dravidian. At the present day the Dravidian languages are mainly confined to the South although there are, from a philologist's point of view, some very interesting remnants in the central and northern parts of the Indian Sub-continent, like Gondi in Central Provinces, Kui in Orissa and Brahui in Baluchistan, remnants which are curious historical survivals from a time when Dravidian forms of speech prevailed over wide regions of the sub-continent and were not confined to the peninsula as at present. It is generally acknowledged that there is an Austro-Asiatic substratum both in the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian linguistic families and the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian forms of speech have profoundly affected and influenced each other. Culturally, the Dravidian peoples have contributed some of the fundamental bases of Hindu religion and civilisation. Amongst the four great literary, or cultivated Dravidian languages of the South, Tamil has the oldest continuous literary tradition going back to the early centuries *circa* the commencement of the Christian era; Kannada literature is also very old, while Telugu is believed to be relatively a century or two younger. Malayalam, considered by some as a younger sister of Tamil, is probably the youngest of these literary speeches. The large proportion of Sanskrit vocabulary with which the South Indian languages are replete, each in a varying degree, is a testimony to the historical synthesis in the Dravidian and Aryan culture patterns and forms of speech that came about over centuries of intercourse and communion between the two peoples. In fact, when during the subsequent period of history, that is to say, from the 11th century onwards, with the advent of the Turks, Iranians and Moghuls from the North-West into the country, the impact of Perso-Arabic linguistic, religious and cultural influences came to bear upon the Indian scene, it was in the South and amongst the South Indian forms of speech, that the prototypes of Sanskritic cultural patterns were preserved in their most unalloyed forms. The South not only shares in common with other parts of the country the philosophy, grammar, mythology and literary tradition of Sanskrit, but has itself contributed significantly to it, as well as preserved it over long centuries in its most pristine form.

The earliest record of the Indo-Aryan language is found in the Rigveda. Apart from the language used in the Vedic hymns, there may have been dialectal variations amongst forms of speech then current, and these are called by scholars the Vedic Prakrits. While these were being cultivated, the Vedic language passed on from generation to generation through an oral tradition, largely in the custody of the priestly classes, substantially without change. Some time *circa* the 7th century B.C., from this base was evolved the standardised language which has since been known as Sanskrit. A great deal of grammatical analysis and research was made by generations of scholars previous to Panini, but the forms of Sanskrit grammar and syntax, as fixed by him have ever since been known as the standard classical Sanskrit. Sanskrit for many centuries thereafter was the one language *par excellence* of culture amongst the *literati* in all parts of India.

Although universally recognised as the language of culture, and widely used by the priestly and intellectual classes all over the country, classical Sanskrit was never the language of the common people. It is well known that the great Mahavira and the Buddha, for the sake of carrying their religious messages to the common people, deliberately and purposefully resorted to Prakrit forms of speech, and most of the Jain and Buddhist literature of the centuries, when these doctrines spread over the sub-continent, and indeed much beyond it, was in Pali and Ardhamagadhi. The edicts of Asoka, which were meant for propagation amongst the public, are composed in the Indo-Aryan Prakrit dialects prevalent at that time.

The Sanskrit language and its literary tradition were not confined to the limits of the sub-continent but became a vehicle for the transmission of the ancient Indian culture into many other lands. Sanskrit inscriptions are to be found, and clear traces of Hindu cultural influence and literary tradition are noticed to this day, in Burma, Indo-China, Malaya and Indonesia on one side, and in countries of Central Asia on the other. Apart from this, the great waves of religious movement in the early centuries of the Buddhistic period carried the message of India to large parts of Asia, like the countries of Ceylon, Tibet, Korea, China, Japan, Chinese Turkestan, etc.

The original Indo-Aryan Prakrits subsequently developed into Apabhramshas or the spoken languages of the masses which, in their turn, evolved into the modern Indian languages. The Sauraseni, Maharashtra, Magadha, Vrachada and Kekaya were the main Apabhramshas, from which the modern Indo-Aryan languages are believed to have originated. Thus from the Sauraseni have sprung Western Hindi, Rajasthani, Punjabi and Gujarati; from the Maharashtra, Marathi; from Vrachada, Sindhi; while Bengali, Assamese and Oriya have originated from the Magadha Apabhramsha.

With the advent of the Turks and Iranians in the North in the 11th and in the South in the 13th century, was ushered in a tremendous new impact which profoundly influenced the Indian linguistic scene for all time thereafter. Sanskrit had been the pan-Indian language of culture previous hitherto; with the advent of Turko-Iranian power in India, the official language, Persian, with a large importation of Arabic loan-words began to operate in varying degrees over the linguistic scene in the country. These centuries of contact with Persian, Arabic and Turkish have resulted in large importations of words of Arabic and Persian origin which form a good though varying proportion today of the vocabulary of most of the Indian languages. During this period in peninsular India with its rich Dravidian languages, due to the Muslim incursions in the North not having established themselves over large parts of the South, the Sanskrit language was preserved more than anywhere else as a pan-Indian medium of communication. Much of the literature produced during this period bears evidence to the influence of Sanskrit on the development of Dravidian literatures, both in regard to language and thought. In fact, traditionally the South had been the haven for Indo-Aryan culture even during the previous challenge of Jainism and Buddhism to Brahminical Hinduism which emanated from Magadha and traversed large parts of the sub-continent. The

establishment of political empires by Turks and Moghuls operated directly on the local dialects in and adjacent to the seats of power, apart from their indirect influence on the languages of the country. In the North a form of speech first known as Hindi, Hindui or Rekhta and subsequently known as 'Zaban-e-Urdu' came to be developed and in the Deccan at the courts of Golconda and Bijapur from the 14th century onwards a literary language known as 'Dakhni' developed independently. Subsequently they passed through many fluctuations and ultimately their literary forms came to employ the Persian script and large elements of Persian vocabulary, as well as to draw increasingly their inspiration from Persian literary tradition and the atmosphere of Islamic faith and culture. The grammar and syntax of Urdu, however, have always been identical with that of Hindi. In the earlier periods the literary works in the language first known as Urdu, and then known as Hindustani, show a far greater catholicity as in the works of Amir Khusrao. A number of Hindus have also contributed to the literary tradition of the Hindustani or Urdu language.

Contemporaneously, while these developments were shaping in the areas directly under the influence of the Muslim rulers, a virtual renaissance was taking place amongst the great languages of the country. Several of the regional *languages of India other than the Dravidian languages trace their literary tradition from about the commencement of this era. Jnaneshwar in Marathi, Tulsidas and Surdas in Avadhi and Brajabhasha, Guru Nanak in Western Hindi and Punjabi, Vidyapati in Maithili, Chandidas in Bengali, Shankardev in Assamiya, Saraladas in Oriya, Narsi Mehta in Gujarati and many others produced during these centuries the large bulk of

---

*A word of explanation is necessary regarding the terms we have used with reference to different languages.

It may be noted that the Constitution nowhere uses the term 'national language' with reference to Hindi. The terms used are 'Language of the Union' or 'Official Language of the Union'. The term used with reference to official purposes of the State is 'Official Language of a State'. Chapter II of Part XVII has a heading 'Regional Languages'. Apart from this the term 'regional language' also is nowhere used in the Constitution.

We have seen in ministerial pronouncements the Union language Hindi referred to as 'national language'; we have also seen all the languages of the Eighth Schedule referred to as so many 'national languages'. The term 'national language' has come to acquire a certain specific though not quite precise context of meaning in the light of the recent political history of European national States. Since the place contemplated for the Union language and the official languages of the States, or the languages in Eighth Schedule does not exactly convey this context of meaning, we have avoided the use of the term 'national language' altogether. We sometimes refer to 'national language policy' but it will be seen that the meaning intended to be conveyed is entirely different, namely, the national policy regarding languages.

It is usual in general parlance to refer to the languages in the Eighth Schedule as 'regional languages'. Of these, Sanskrit which was returned as a mother-tongue by only 555 persons in the 1951 census has no region to which it can be related. In the same way the speakers of Urdu as a mother tongue are not relatable always to any particular region. For these reasons reference to languages enlisted in Eighth Schedule as 'regional languages' is not without some little anomaly. However it is necessary for conducting the discussion conveniently to have a suitable term for referring to the languages enlisted in the Eighth Schedule and we have adopted the practice of referring to them (except for Sanskrit) as 'regional languages'. The term 'regional language' is used with reference to the language of the region.

literary, religious and speculative literature, most of it in the form of poetry, which our present day languages possess. This upsurge represented on one hand a breaking away from the previous tradition of using Sanskrit, Pali and Apabhramsha as the languages of culture and addressing the intellectual classes rather than the common people; and on the other hand and to some extent, a purposeful cultural self-defence against the Muslim, Turkish and Persian incursions with their political backing. There were at the same time several instances of Muslim rulers in India patronising these languages.

There are laws of phonetic change and dialectal regeneration which all the time continue to divide and distinguish languages; these forces amongst others must have operated inexorably though imperceptibly over these long centuries during which the modern Indian languages evolved. Geographical factors including the means of communication as well as other factors such as the divergencies in aptitude of the human tongue and other vocal organs which seem to bear some relationship to climate as well as racial types have also not been without influence. Words also undergo mutations in the course of transliteration from one set of characters to another, sometimes being changed utterly out of recognition in the process. All these factors have been operative on the Indian linguistic landscape all along until finally the contemporary linguistic scene emerged.

It is said that language changes almost every ten miles everywhere in the world. It can easily be imagined how, during the centuries of India's ancient history, different languages, although stemming from the same trunk, developed differences, imperceptible over short stretches of time and territory, but quite distinctive as time passed; subsequently, variant forms must have got fixed until eventually, entirely separate and mutually unintelligible languages came to be established. Even today, while we speak in terms of linguistic areas as if they were territories divided quite unmistakably by natural frontiers and draw maps to show the linguistic regions separately one from the other, in point of fact at the frontiers of each region the transition from one language to the next is not sudden, but very gradual and almost imperceptible. If one were to travel from village to village from one end of the country to the other, it will be found that, as one passes from one linguistic region to another, there are imperceptible changes in a particular direction over every few miles. Thus the Bengali as you travel Westward will shade off into Maithili; the Maithili on the South will shade off into Bhojpuri; Bengali to the South-West into the Oriya and so forth across the entire sub-continent—not excluding the languages styled as of the Dravidian family. Literary forms and expressions and the grammar, syntax and other structural elements of languages become firm and relatively immutable with the arrival of the printing press. When we talk of, say, Oriya language being different from Bengali on the one hand and Telugu on the other, we are really comparing the literary prototypes of these languages. But the statement is a generalization and simplification of the fact that by innumerable shades in the intervening territory, one language as spoken merges into the others.

Of the intimate relationship between the various Indian languages and the imperceptible way in which one shades off into another, Grierson observes as under:—

> 'Although Assamese differs widely from Marathi and a speaker in one will be unintelligible to the other, a man could almost walk for twenty eight hundred miles from Dibrugarh to Bombay and thence to Dardistan without being able to point a single stage where he had passed from one language to another'.

3. The operations of the trading companies coming from the West, of which eventually by far the most prominent was the East India Company which commenced its operations in 1623 in India and ultimately gave birth to a British Empire embracing in its ambit the entire sub-continent, brought in another element into the Indian linguistic scene. Traces of the linguistic impact were left wherever it was operative. Thus in the Marathi language, and in a greater degree in the Konkani language, have entered a number of words of Portuguese extraction. But consequences of a far more profound character ensued from the impact of the English language after the establishment of British rule over the whole country. In the early years of British rule the authorities were more concerned with the revival of Indian learning than with the imparting of what was then known as 'English education', meaning thereby the English language as well as the scientific knowledge of the West. In 1781 Warren Hastings founded the Calcutta Madressa, and the Banaras Sanskrit College was established in 1792. In the East India Company Act of 1813 a special provision was made for a lakh of rupees being allotted to education annually. This represents the first recognition during the British regime of governmental responsibility for organising a general system of education in the country. In the early years this provision was interpreted as being intended principally if not exclusively, for the advancement of learning in the classical languages, *i.e.* Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic. During these years it was supposed, as stated by one exponent of this view-point, that 'the Hindus had as good a system of faith and morals as most people, and it would be madness to give them any kind of learning other than what they possessed'. From another aspect but in support of the same policy, one of the Directors of the East India Company is reported to have observed that 'they just had lost America from their folly in having allowed the establishment of schools and colleges, and it would not do for them to repeat the same act of folly in regard to India'.

During the years following the renewal of the Company's charter in 1813 there took place one of the first great debates relating to educational policy in India. The two points of view which contested for recognition in this debate were; one, which came to be known as the Orientalist school, and the other the Anglicist school. In a very general way, it may be stated that the Orientalist school wanted to encourage the cultivation of the classical knowledge and literatures of India, whereas the Anglicist or modern school wanted to inculcate knowledge of modern sciences through the English language. Raja Ram Mohan Roy was a very strong advocate of the latter school, of which the foremost official sponsor was of course Macaulay. Following the famous minute recorded by Macaulay in this

connection, a resolution was passed by the Governor-General Lord William Bentinck in 1835 laying down that all the funds at the disposal of Government would thenceforth be spent in imparting to Indians a knowledge of English literature and science. This and the subsequent statement of policy known as Wood's Despatch of 1854 laid the foundation of the educational system of the country for several decades thereafter.

4. We are not concerned with the history of education in India directly in the present context. It is, however, necessary to record, particularly in view of the fact that in course of time this aspect of the matter came to be lost sight of for several decades following, that Sir Charles Wood's Despatch of 1854, which has been described as the *Magna Carta* of English education in India, embodies a clear recognition of the importance of the indigenous languages of the country in its educational system. The Despatch, while it enunciated the aim of education as 'the diffusion of the improved arts, science, philosophy and literature of Europe; in short, of European knowledge', laid down that the study of the spoken languages of India was to be encouraged and that both the English language and the spoken languages of India were to be regarded as the media for the diffusion of European knowledge. It goes on to say 'It is neither our aim nor desire to substitute the English language for the vernacular dialects of the country. We have always been most sensible of the importance and the use of the languages which alone are understood by the great mass of the population. These languages, and not English, have been put by us in place of Persian in the administration of justice and in the intercourse between the officers of Government and the people. It is indispensable, therefore, that in any general system of education the study of them should be assiduously attended to. And any acquaintance with improved European knowledge which is to be communicated to the great mass of the people whose circumstances prevent them from acquiring a high order of education, and who may not be expected to overcome the difficulties of a foreign language, can only be conveyed to them through one or other of these vernacular languages'. The 'percolation theory' of education, for which this State document is famous in the history of Indian education was to be accomplished by knowledge of Western arts and sciences percolating to the masses through the Indian languages which they understood; the knowledge having been first obtained by the classes undergoing higher education through the medium of the English language. This policy, however, came to be implemented in practice only so far as the imparting of English instruction was concerned. While the literatures of Indian languages did record a very impressive development during these years, until as late as the 'thirties of this century, the medium of instruction for the greater part of the educational system continued to be the English language; and owing to their not being used either for purposes of an educational medium or in the higher spheres of administration, the judiciary, legislation and pan-Indian public life, the Indian languages failed to develop the expressions and literature appurtenant to all these aspects of life.

5. It is a matter for speculation whether much of the difficulty at present met with owing to the developmental deficiencies of the Indian regional languages could not have been avoided; and more

than that, whether the sterility that blighted original thinking and research amongst the generations which received higher education in the following decades, might not have been obviated if the other part of the official policy of Sir Charles Wood's Despatch, *viz.* using the Indian languages as a medium of instruction for the sciences, had been as diligently followed as the first one relating to the encouragement of Western science rather than Persian or Sanskrit literatures. It is instructive to see what happened in Japan in the decades following the shock of realisation of backwardness, in terms of modern knowledge, which was administered to the Japanese people by Commodore Perry's incursion into Japanese waters in 1857. Systematic steps were taken in Japan to send out bands of young men for taking education in fields of scientific advance wherein the West had so manifestly outpaced them. All this knowledge was later on made more generally available to the Japanese people through the Japanese language. In 1942 Mahatma Gandhi wrote an article in the 'Harijan' comparing the position that obtained in Japan with the process that was followed in this country. He wrote: 'You know what has happened in Japan. The thousands of boys and girls in the Japanese schools and colleges receive their education not through the medium of English but through Japanese. Their script is difficult, but it is no bar to their learning it and they have not given it up in preference to the Roman. Not that they boycott English and other European languages. But they economise their energy. Those who need to learn them do so for enriching the Japanese thought with knowledge which the West alone can give. They take care to turn into Japanese all that is worth taking from the West. That is because the mind of Japan's youth is fresh and alert. The knowledge gained thus has become national property. The rapid progress (of the Japanese) was due to the restriction of the learning of the Western mode to a selected few and using that for transmission of the new knowledge among the Japanese through their own mother-tongue. Surely it is easy enough to understand that the Japanese could never have adapted themselves to the new mode, if they had had to do so through a foreign medium'.

Perhaps the fact that in India we had to contend not with one universal national language but with a dozen regional languages current as speeches in different parts of the country made such a course of action much more difficult—although one cannot see why it should have made it altogether impossible—than it could have been in Japan. It must also be recognised that for a long time, in the early years, the demand from politically conscious Indian opinion was persistently for still more opportunities for higher education and for the learning of the English language. A knowledge of the English language—as distinct from the thought to which it opened an access—was itself looked upon as the key to political advance in the country as well as a great liberalising force in Indian social polity.

Although the Indian languages would have of course developed to a far greater extent if such a policy had been followed, the period of the 19th century nevertheless represents a great renaissance in the indigenous literatures of the country. In many of the Indian languages the previous literature was largely confined to poetic compositions of a traditional or semi-religious character. In those days the modern indigenous languages were not studied as a rule beyond

the elementary stage, and the higher formalised education of the country was largely through Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic in the Tols and the Madrasas. With the advent of knowledge of English and of English literature, the Indian languages blazed into a large number of new lines of literary composition: social plays, the short story, the novel, the essay, etc. Previous to this, in many Indian languages there was no strong tradition of prose-writing, except for historical accounts in some languages, *e.g.*, Marathi, Oriya and Assamese. The advent of the printing press and the opening out of new vistas of literary forms and features, as evinced in English literature, resulted in bringing about an unprecedented efflorescence of literatures in the regional languages. While one may deplore that developments have not occurred in the Indian regional languages to equip them as vehicles of expression for all purposes in a modern society, the fact that we are in a position even to think in terms of switching over in all fields of activity to Indian languages, though after a preparatory period, is itself a testimony to the great advances that have occurred in these languages and their literatures, following the impact of Western science and English education on the intellectual classes in India.

6. The linguistic Survey of India records 179 languages and 544 dialects in the country as current at present. These statistics have, however, to be read with a great deal of caution. For instance, as many as 116 of these dialects enumerated are merely small tribal speeches belonging to the Tibeto-Chinese speech family which are found only on the northern and north-eastern fringes of India and are current among a very small proportion of the country's entire population; similarly several more are insignificant speeches belonging to other language groups. Then there are a large number of forms of speech which do not have to be reckoned in a list of contemporary, cultivated or literary languages. Thus, for instance, Rajasthani, Bhili, Central Pahari, Western Pahari, Eastern Pahari, Kosali, Maithili, Bhojpuri, Marwari, etc., although current as forms of oral speech and although some of them were once highly cultivated for literature, —do not have to be enumerated as separate literary languages because the speakers of these languages in general now look upon Hindi as their language of literary expression. In a vast country like India, obviously, for the issues with which we are concerned, it is the languages of the large, advanced and organised groups with a current literary practice and tradition which have to be taken into account. These, including the special case of Sanskrit, are the 14 regional languages enlisted in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution. The population returned as speaking these languages as their mother-tongues in the 1951 census was as under:—

| Language | No. of people speaking | Percentage to total population |
|---|---|---|
| Assamese . . . . . . . . | 4,988,226 | 1·39 |
| Bengali . . . . . . . . | 25,121,674 | 7·03 |
| Gujarati . . . . . . . . | 16,310,771 | 4·57 |

| Language | No. of people speaking | Percentage to total population |
|---|---|---|
| Hindi, Urdu, Hindustani and Punjabi }* . . . . | 1,49,944,311 | 42·01 |
| Kannada . . . . . . . | 14,471,76 | 4·05 |
| †Kashmiri | | |
| Malayalam . . . . . . . | 3,380,109 | 3·69 |
| Marathi . . . . . . . | 27,049,522 | 7·57 |
| Oriya . . . . . . . | 13,153,909 | 3·68 |
| Sanskrit . . . . . . . | 555 | ·00010 |
| Tamil . . . . . . . | 26,546,764 | 7·4[illegible] |
| Telugu . . . . . . . | 32,999,916 | 9·24 |
| Population returned as speaking other languages as their mother-tongues. | 32,906,787 | 9·22 |
| TOTAL . | 3,56,879,394 | |

*N. B.*—The Census authorities have noted that the languages were recorded as returned by the citizens.

*There was no difficulty in carrying out the census instructions, except in the States of Punjab, PEPSU, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh and Bilaspur. In these States, the returns being incorrect as respects the number of persons with Punjabi or Hindi mother-tongue, the Census authorities have given the above bracketed figures in their all-India tables.

†Comparable figures about Kashmiri are not available in the 1951 census figures.

Of these languages, Sanskrit, with only 500 odd persons returning it as the mother-tongue, need not be considered. Amongst the remaining languages there are, in varying degree, large elements of identity and similarity; and practically all of them draw upon a common literary tradition in Sanskrit, and a common background of thought and experience which may generally be called 'the Indian way of life'; and in their scripts and alphabets all, except for Urdu, are variant expressions of a common Indian phonetical system. Oriya, Assamese and Bengali are closely related although they have their separate literatures. The eastern dialects of Hindi are very closely related to Oriya, Bengali and Assamese. Urdu and Hindi have a common structure, grammar and syntax, their main difference being in the content of vocabulary at the margin, in the case of Urdu the vocabulary being largely drawn from Persian sources and in the case of Hindi from Sanskrit. Within what is known as the Hindi-speaking area, various dialects are spoken, and were once cultivated as literary languages but during the first decades of the 19th century, the *Kharibolí*, one of the component dialects of Hindi, emerged as the standard and accepted form of Hindi writing over the whole of the Hindi-speaking area. Tamil and Malayalam, Gujarati and Marathi, Telugu and Kannada have large common elements and similarities between

them; and, more widely, there are many points where each language has affinities with others, generally the languages geographically propinquent. The pattern of similarities amongst the various Indian languages naturally reflects the factors of geographical as well as historical association amongst the different linguistic groups.

Territorially, these languages except for Sanskrit and Urdu, so far as it is the mother-tongue of Muslims living in different parts all over the country, are spoken in fairly compact regions. Of course, as might be expected, there are large elements with mother-tongues other than the regional language in all parts of the country. All these linguistic groups have co-existed within the geographical, cultural and intermittently political, unity of India over many centuries and there has been ceaseless political, social and religious intercourse amongst them. Apart from the admixture of other language groups that has come about historically within all regions in the preceding centuries, during recent decades which have witnessed a growing industrialisation and urbanisation of the country, a large further intermingling has taken place especially in bigger cities. Larger urban centres all over the country, and more especially the populations of metropolitan towns like Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Hyderabad, Delhi and Bangalore have now a distinctly polyglot composition. With the intensification of urbanisation and industrialisation in the country this trend will undoubtedly further broaden and accentuate.

Generally speaking, on the periphery of the linguistic regions, there is a great deal of bilingualism amongst the population. The data collected and compiled in the 1951 Census gives figures of 'bilingualism' which would be useful principally with reference to these categories of persons. The figures of bilingualism in the Census are compiled with reference to the following instruction in the Census questionnaire:

'Question No. 8—Bilingualism.

If a person commonly speaks any Indian language other than his mother-tongue, record it'.

In a supplementary instruction it was amplified that only one subsidiary language should be recorded.

Accordingly, the information collected is in respect of only one subsidiary language and is confined to persons *commonly speaking* an Indian language besides their mother-tongues. The data is therefore not comprehensive with reference to the linguistic capacity in respect of languages other than the mother-tongue where a person may know the other language but may not commonly speak it not having occasion for the same; or with reference to the linguistic knowledge of more than one language besides the mother-tongue.

Information regarding bilingualism, particularly with reference to knowledge of the Hindi language would, in our opinion, be of considerable use in future in the context of the language problem of the country. We would suggest for the consideration of Census authorities the institution of a question indicative of linguistic ability in

the Hindi language on the part of speakers of non-Hindi mother-tongues all over the country at the next and subsequent censuses.

The main features and land-marks of the contemporary Indian linguistic scene are therefore the following: although the number of languages and dialects enlisted for census purposes runs into several hundreds, the principal languages that have to be reckoned in the Language Problem of India are about a dozen regional languages which are prevalent in fairly compact areas of the country; all these have amongst them, though in varying degrees, strong elements of identity and affinity; all of them suffer from identical deficiencies as linguistic tools for the requirements of full expression in modern societies, arising out of their common supersession in recent decades in certain fields of activity and thought; amongst them the Hindi language has by far the largest proportion of speakers in the Indian population although in the total population this proportion constitutes a minority as compared to the number of speakers in all other languages put together; that in absolute terms, apart from proportions, these regional languages are spoken by large numbers of speakers and many of them would rank high in point of numbers in a world list of languages.

It is for this linguistic landscape that we have to consider a system that will both, comprehend the languages spoken in the regions, as well as adequately service the requirements of the Union of which these regions are components.

## CHAPTER IV

## THE INDIAN LANGUAGE PROBLEM AND THE LINEAMENTS OF A SOLUTION

We have surveyed the Indian linguistic scene and seen how we have current, in different and more or less distinct and compact parts of the country, a dozen great regional languages, several of them spoken by as large a number as, or even a larger number of people than, the speakers of some of the advanced languages of the West. While there is this multiplicity and variety of forms of speech, there is a large measure of similarity and affinity amongst all these languages. This kinship amongst the Indian languages is only a reflection of the fundamental bedrock of a common cultural inheritance which underlies the apparent variety amongst the linguistic and cultural groups of the Indian community. During the last hundred years or so of British rule, while immense changes were taking place in the country, these great languages happened to be cut away from all significant levels of activity, both governmental and private, and the English language gradually came to supersede the Indian languages in the work, activities and thought-processes of the higher intelligentsia of all the linguistic regions. English, in course of time, became the sole means of inter-communication at the all-India level, or the *lingua franca*, of all persons holding positions of authority or prominence in private and public life. With a rich and well-developed language like English at hand, which was the sole means of communication at all-India levels of intercourse, the official language of governance, the medium of instruction for all advanced education and also the language of all the learned professions, no wonder the indigenous languages languished and failed to develop a sufficiently rich and precise vocabulary for the requirements of modern social life, during this period when the progress of scientific knowledge wrought a great revolution in the physical conditions of living in the country. Normally, languages develop in response to the requirements of communication and intercourse felt by societies which speak those languages. Now with the attainment of independence, the problem that presents itself to us is to devise a linguistic medium which we obviously need to subserve the political unity of the country, and, in the words of Article 351 of the Constitution, 'as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India'. The problem has also another aspect, *viz.*, that of developing the different regional languages and also Hindi, as the Union language, so as to make them adequate vehicles of thought and expression in their appropriate spheres on the eventual displacement of the English language. This, in short, is the language problem of India.

2. One of the first questions that arises for consideration in this connection is why there should be any need to make a change in the common medium of the English language which 150 years of British rule have left us as a legacy. The argument runs somewhat as under: English is one of the foremost languages in the world today. In international bodies and conferences, English has in the last ten

years shot ahead of other languages which previously used to share the field along with it and now English is unquestionably the foremost medium of international communication. In many countries of the world, English is being used as the first compulsory second language in the educational system. For instance, knowledge in respect of scientific advances and discoveries is on the whole more quickly available in the English language than in any other, and it is already becoming necessary for scientists and technicians working in various fields in the different countries to know English in order to keep pace with the advances of research in their respective departments of study. We in India happen to have already a considerable measure of linguistic competence in the English language developed over the period of a couple of centuries of British rule, and it would be wantonly foolish to throw away this advantage. Today, English is not only the official language of India and the language of higher education in the country, but it is also the sole medium of communication for non-official purposes in the higher levels of all the Indian linguistic groups. In fact, apart from the English language, there is no existing common medium of expression and if, so to say, by a miracle we were all suddenly to forget our knowledge of English, the different linguistic groups in this country would become mutually unable to communicate with each other. It was in fact through the instrumentality of the common medium of the English language that the intelligentsia of India, drawn from all parts of the country, was able to evolve and formulate national demands which eventually consummated in the attainment of independence by the country. Our knowledge of the English language is in fact the one legacy of British rule for which we have reason to be grateful more than any other, and since the British have departed and the English language can itself do us no harm, it would be totally unwise to throw away this inheritance. Doubts and misgivings were expressed to us, particularly with reference to the deleterious effect on academic standards and on the prospects of scientific advance and research in the country, that the elimination of the English language will have. As one eminent scientist put it to us, the giving up of English would put the clock back in the country in respect of scientific advance by several decades, considerably behindhand as we are already compared to the advanced countries of the world.

3. We have deliberately stated the arguments advanced in advocacy of this point of view at their strongest and without appearing to diminish any of their force or even their vehemence. They have undoubtedly an element of validity, and we hope to demonstrate that due care has been taken of this element in the outline of the solution of the linguistic problem that we envisage: and the broad framework of which is already embodied in the settlement of this issue arrived at in the constitutional provisions. Of course, when it is suggested that the English language cannot for all time be the official language of this country and must be displaced, in their respective spheres by the Union language and the different regional languages, it is not denied that the English language has an enormous wealth of literature and scientific knowledge in it or that it is the foremost means of communication in the world today or that it has served India well in the past as a national platform for the different linguistic groups of the country in the formulation and enforcement of the national demands. Nor is it merely on grounds of patriotic sentiment that it

is suggested that the English language, being a foreign language, must be displaced by Indian languages since India has come into its own on the attainment of independence. Undoubtedly, considerations of national self-respect are not without relevance in respect of language which touches the entire national life of a people so intimately and which is, besides, such a sensitive point of honour in the field of international contacts. However, the main argument for the displacement of English by the Indian languages is not merely that our representatives should be able, like others, to lay claim to a single language as the language of the country in its international contacts. It is not suggested that English be rejected merely because it is a foreign language, for we entirely agree that a language is not the property of any particular nation, and obviously it belongs to all who can speak it. Moreover, in any solution of the linguistic problem, in order that academic and scientific standards do not suffer prejudice, we will have to ensure a sufficient command of English or, for that matter, any other appropriate foreign language or languages, amongst those persons, whether in official or unofficial life, for whom and to the extent to which, it is necessary that they should have a knowledge of that language, as a 'key' to the storehouse of learning and as a 'window' to the rapid progress of technological and scientific knowledge that is constantly taking place in the world. There can be no difference of opinion on the importance of maintaining and enhancing standards of instruction and academic knowledge amongst our leaders in all walks of life; in the sciences, in the professions, in the Universities, in the administration and in public life. *But there is a vital distinction between using a foreign language as a second language, for specific purposes and for certain categories of persons, and its use as the principal or exclusive medium of education or for the conduct of the day-to-day business of the country.* It is perfectly feasible to devise a solution whereby the necessary knowledge of the English language for the appropriate personnel is fully provided for and at the same time a change-over is brought about in the general linguistic media in the fields of education, administration and law courts, so as to bring them into a live and continuous communion with the common people of the country.

This is the *raison d'etre* and justification of the constitutional provisions, *viz.*, that it can only be through the medium of Indian languages that we would be able to bring about that massive resurgence of our national life in service of the ordinary citizen which is implied in the adoption of adult franchise, free and compulsory education, promotion of social justice and equal opportunity and fundamental rights and directive principles of State policy embodied in the Constitution.

4. From the figures of the 1951 census, it will be seen that the number of persons with some degree of knowledge of the English language in the whole country was in all *38 lakhs or slightly more

---

*See Appendix XII.

*N. B.*—At the 1951 Census, 1,71,742 persons were returned with the mother-tongue English. Of these, those who fulfil the literacy qualification have been included in the above figure of 38 lakhs ; but the rest have not been, although they would know the English language.

than one in a hundred. For this purpose, we have taken the passing of S.L.C. or higher secondary examination as indicating 'some degree of knowledge of the English language'. The general average of literacy percentage found in the census of India—1951, was 16.6. Therefore, despite a century and a half, during which the English language finally came to be the sole medium of administration, law courts, higher education and general public life in the country, the number of persons who could be considered as adequately literate in English was only 38 lakhs as against the 6 crores of persons returned as literate in all. It must be pointed out here that the linguistic ability in English commonly to be associated with the educational attainment of S.L.C. standard has been equated for purposes of this comparison with literacy in Indian languages. We feel that the comparison is fully justified taking into account, as we must, the command an Indian would have over his own language even though returned merely as 'literate'. If a comparison were to be made in point of linguistic expression, oral and even written, between an average S.L.C. student writing in English and a person of a fairly moderate or low education writing in his own mother-tongue, the standard of the former is likely to be found inferior to that of the latter. Apart from the present statistical position stated in the foregoing, there is another argument which, in our opinion, clinches the issue conclusively. In Article 45 of the Constitution under directive principles of State policy, it is enjoined that 'the State shall endeavour to provide, within a period of 10 years from the commencement of this Constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years'. It is obvious that the vast expansion of literacy and elementary education contemplated in this directive of policy can be conceived of only in terms of Indian languages and not in terms of the English language. Normally, instruction is and has to be confined to his own mother-tongue or regional language in the case of a child during the primary stage of his education. It is obvious that even if instruction in the English language as a second language were to be commenced on completion of the primary stage and continued until the child completed 14 years of age, the amount of instruction that could be imparted to the child—considering the difficulties of the English language and the fact that its genius is so utterly foreign to all Indian languages—would not be sufficient to leave him with a literacy of anything like a lasting character for the rest of his life.

Already, in all the different States of the Union, a good deal of expansion of primary education has taken place in pursuance of this directive of the Constitution in recent years and the statistical position indicated above in terms of the percentage of literacy returned at the 1951 census must have already improved considerably in favour of Indian languages as a result of this expansion. The statistical position will go on being more and more favourable to Indian languages and less and less in favour of the English language as elementary education further expands towards the fulfilment of the directive of the Constitution.

5. Besides, there is a fundamental difference between the system of governance under which we lived until 1947 and the system which we have forged for ourselves in the Indian Constitution since then,

apart from the fact that the official governing authorities previous to 1947 were a foreign power. The British Government had a different relationship with the masses of India, and as a foreign occupying power they had naturally a much narrower range of objects, interests and activities as compared to what we witness or aim at today. Our Constitution has enfranchised the entire adult male and female population of the country, thus bringing into being the largest democratic electorate ever witnessed throughout history. We are also committed, by the directives of the Constitution and the policies that we have been adopting, to the principles of a democratic welfare society in which each citizen will count for as much as any other. The Indian citizen of today has potentially a greater stake and through his elected representatives the final voice in the affairs of the Government of the country as sharply contrasted with the position under the foreign and non-democratic Government in the past. The British Government, since they did not draw their power from the people of the country or depend for its exercise on majorities in parliamentary legislatures, could afford to conduct the administration in a language that was not understood, and could never come to be understood, by the vast masses of the country. Today when every citizen is a potential beneficiary of our welfare State and has a vote to exercise, it is manifest that the business of the Government can be carried on only in a language or languages which admit of the possibility of each citizen taking an intelligent interest in the affairs of the State and exercising his power of franchise with understanding. We take the liberty of quoting a few pertinent passages from the writings of Mahatma Gandhi on this subject. In 1921 in the 'Young India' he wrote:—

> 'English is a language of international commerce, it is the language of diplomacy, and it contains many a rich literary treasure, it gives us an introduction to Western thought and culture. For a few of us, therefore, a knowledge of English is necessary. They can carry on the departments of national commerce and international diplomacy, and for giving to the nation the best of Western literature, thought and science. That would be the legitimate use of English, whereas today English has usurped the dearest place in our hearts and dethroned our mother-tongues. It is an unnatural place due to our unequal relations with Englishmen. The highest development of the Indian mind must be possible without a knowledge of English. It is doing violence to the manhood and specially the womanhood of India to encourage our boys and girls to think that an entry into the best society is impossible without a knowledge of English. It is too humiliating a thought to be bearable. To get rid of the infatuation for English is one of the essentials of Swaraj'.

And on the 21st September 1947, that is, soon after the attainment of independence, he wrote as under in the 'Harijan':—

> 'Surely, it must be quite easy for the Provincial Governments to have a staff which would carry on all transactions in the provincial languages and the inter-provincial language,

which, in my opinion, can only be Hindustani written in Nagari or Urdu script.

'Every day lost in making this necessary change is so much cultural loss to the nation. The first and foremost thing is to revive the rich provincial languages with which India is blessed. It is nothing short of mental sluggishness to plead that in our courts, in our schools and even in the Secretariats, some time probably a few years, must lapse before the change is made. No doubt a little difficulty will be felt in multi-lingual provinces, as in Bombay and Madras, until redistribution of provinces takes place on the linguistic basis. Provincial Governments can devise a method in order to enable the people in those provinces to feel that they have come into their own.

'Nor need the provinces wait for the Union for solving the question...... If the first step, that is, revival of provincial speech in all public departments takes place immediately, that of inter-provincial speech will follow in quick succession. The provinces will have to deal with the Centre. They dare not do so through English, if the Centre is wise enough quickly to realise that they must not tax the nation culturally for the sake of a handful of Indians who are too lazy to pick up the speech which can be easily common to the whole of India without offending any party or section. My plea is for banishing English as a cultural usurper as we successfully banished the political rule of the English usurper. The rich English language will ever retain its natural place as the international speech of commerce and diplomacy'.

6. While for these reasons it is essential to displace English as the medium of administration at the all-India level by the Union language, as the medium of administration at State levels by the respective regional languages and as the medium of higher education in Universities by some suitable Indian language or languages, it would still be necessary that English is taught well in the educational system to those who have reasons for learning it. We also believe that a reorientation in the teaching of English is called for in view of the different role that it will hereafter play in the country's educational structure. English should be taught hereafter more as a 'language of comprehension' than as a 'literary language'. We have elaborated this point further in Chapter VI while dealing with the educational system of the country.

If the conduct of the official business of the country at the Union as well as at State levels, and the business of law courts, etc. cannot possibly be carried on indefinitely in the existing medium of the English language in view of the imperative requirements of the situation, the point for consideration is, so far as the Union level is concerned, what the linguistic medium should be.

The constitutional provisions have laid down that the official language of the Union and the language for inter-State communication shall be the Hindi language.

Comparisons are very often instituted amongst the Indian languages, as between Hindi and the other regional languages, generally to the disadvantage of the former. The point to remember is that Hindi has been adopted in the Constitution for the official business of the Union and for purposes of inter-State communication *not* because it is better developed than the other regional languages are; not because a greater or more varied wealth of literary output is available in it; nor because it has presently a larger availability of books in the sciences and in different other branches of modern knowledge. It is chosen for performing the job of the official language medium on pan-Indian levels because it happens to be understood and spoken, amongst the regional languages, by the largest number of people. Apart from the 42 per cent. people of the total population returned as speaking this language as their mother-tongue, it is understood to a considerable extent in areas outside the Hindi-speaking areas, in the market places in cities, at Railway stations and in places of pilgrimage where persons hailing from different regions of India and not knowing English have occasion to converse. Besides, owing to the proximity of this language to certain others like Marathi, Gujarati, Oriya and Bengali, it is to a further considerable population a language relatively easy to acquire. Indeed ever since the issue of an indigenous medium of expression at pan-Indian levels began to be discussed in Indian public life, there has never been any serious doubt as to what language should be adopted for the purpose. The status of the official language is not an award for literary merit in a language. A Tagore or a Tulsidas or a Jnanadeva or a Kabir is a literary phenomenon, acting on its own impulses and obeying its own laws inscrutable to us, which raises the status of thought and expression in the linguistic medium of its choice to unprecedented elevations with the flash of its inspired perceptions. For the work-a-day purposes of conducting the administration of the country, enacting statutes and meting out justice through law courts, the quantum of such grace and benediction bestowed on a language is not the decisive factor, howsoever profoundly important it may otherwise be. Herein, we are concerned merely with the prevalence of knowledge of the language in relation to the appropriate sectors of activity and the conclusive guidance relevant is the one to be obtained from the census figures.

So far as regional languages are concerned, Article 345 of the Constitution provides that the legislature of a State may by law adopt any one or more of the languages in use in the State for all or any of the official purposes of that State. Therefore, the constitutional provisions which adopt Hindi, replacing English, at the Union level equally enfranchise regional languages for attaining their due status in the field of administration in their respective regions.

In fact an antithesis as between the Union language and the regional language is wholly misconceived. Rather, the solution of the language problem in India lies in the Union language and the regional languages entering, in their appropriate fields, on the inheritance which will befall to all of them with the displacement of the English language from the unnatural position that it occupies in the country's life. Elsewhere in this report, we have made

recommendations for encouraging the development of all regional languages alongside of the Union language and for promoting a greater *rapprochement* amongst them.

The Union language and the regional languages suffer from identical lacks and deficiencies, at the present moment, originating from identical circumstances through which they passed in the last century and a half. Each of them must be assisted to become a better vehicle for expression and furnished with literature appropriate to the purposes that each will be called upon to serve hereafter, before the full linguistic development and displacement occurs. That is why the Constitution, specifically in the case of the Union language, has provided for a transitional and preparatory period of fifteen years. So far as the State field of administration is concerned, it is competent for the State legislatures likewise to provide an appropriate transitional period and indeed, those State Governments which have embarked on a phased policy of replacement of the English language by their respective regional languages have adopted programmes for similar progressive implementation.

7. In this connection, we would like to notice a suggestion that was made by some witnesses in a part of the country in the course of the oral evidence that we took during our tours. The suggestion is that instead of one language being adopted as the official language of the Union, two languages may be adopted, one each from the two major groups into which the regional languages of the country are generally classified, namely, the Indo-Aryan group and the Dravidian group. The suggestion further proceeds that both these languages should be recognised as official languages of the Union equally and both might enjoy the status of languages for purposes of inter-State communication. This suggestion, though plausible at first sight, would be found on even a slight reflection incapable of furnishing any better solution of the linguistic problem of the country than is embodied in the constitutional provisions. Although languages are grouped together by philologists into linguistic families under two heads, the Indo-Aryan and the Dravidian language groups, within each group equally the languages are mutually unintelligible being entirely separate and distinct languages. Thus, if one of the four Dravidian languages is selected as a second official medium, that is not going in any way to solve the problem for the remaining three linguistic regions within the Dravidian language family. The same would be the position in the family of Indo-Aryan languages. The selection of two official media, while bringing advantage to only one more language region, would simultaneously cast on all the remaining language regions twice the burden of that which has to be borne anyhow by the necessity of having to select one language as the official medium of expression. The suggestion therefore has no advantage.

Through long centuries before the advent of the English in the 19th century, the one common medium of communication between the different regional linguistic groups of India was the Sanskrit language, and time and again it has established its supremacy both as a building and lending language of speech, all the Indian languages depending in varying degrees on its reservoir of vocabulary for

their requirements. It is on the ground of this status that the Sanskrit language has occupied amongst the Indian languages that it is sometimes suggested that the best pan-Indian medium of communication would be the Sanskrit language or some simplified version of it. Sometimes, the suggestion is made as an 'escapist' device so as to avoid having to choose one of the current Indian languages. But this escapism does not commend itself to us. There can be no merit in seeking to adopt as a Union medium a language known to so few to avoid having to select one that is known to by far the largest single group representing over 42 per cent. of the total population. We feel that a solution, which frankly faces the problem instead of seeking to avoid it, would ultimately commend itself to the people of India even if it should inevitably involve some additional trouble to a part of the population. Besides, having regard to the current requirements of a pan-Indian linguistic medium, Sanskrit as such a medium can hardly be considered a practicable suggestion. Only 500 odd persons returned themselves with Sanskrit as their mother-tongue in the 1951 census. In the requirements of the current situation, when what is sought is a linguistic medium that would bring the administration and public life generally close to the common man, it is obvious that Sanskrit is out of question for the same reason for which we cannot carry on with English which is known by barely 1 per cent. of the population. Possibly even in its heyday Sanskrit was confined to the higher classes, while the Prakrits and the Apabhramshas were used amongst the common people.

8. It was after careful deliberation of the various aspects of the situation and consideration of possible alternative solutions that the constitutional provisions were adopted. If we might say so, with due respect, the provisions are very wise and comprehending and make due allowance for the complexities of the situation by providing among other things for a transitional and preparatory period. The constitutional provisions recognise the need for development of the Union language and allow for a period in which it may progressively be promoted. The Constitution empowers the President by order to authorise the use of the Union language in addition to the English language during the transitional period of fifteen years so as to open the way for the Union language developing in the process of being put to practical use. The Constitution also takes note that the process of development might not be completed for all purposes in the scheduled time and, therefore, it empowers Parliament by law to provide for the use of the English language for specific purposes even after the said period of fifteen years. Recognising the peculiar difficulty of change-over in the language medium in respect of legislation and law courts, the Constitution omits these fields from the automatic fifteen-year period and lays down that unless Parliament by law otherwise provides, these shall be in the English language. Furthermore, Article 351 of the Constitution provides that the Union language, that is to say the Hindi language, shall be so developed as to serve as the medium for all the elements of the composite culture of India and in certain ways be enriched by the forms, style and expressions used in the various regional languages and Sanskrit. So far as the script of the Union language is concerned, it is fixed to be the Devanagari script; but the form of

numerals to be used for the official purposes of the Union is prescribed as the International form of Indian numerals in recognition of the widespread use of these numerals particularly amongst the regional languages of the South. It may be noticed in this connection that Article 344 of the Constitution (under which this Commission, for instance, is appointed) specifically provides for such a Commission to consist of a Chairman and members representing the different languages specified in the Eighth Schedule. It is also further provided that the recommendations of such Commission shall be examined by a Committee consisting of thirty members, of whom twenty shall be members of the House of the People (Lok Sabha) and ten of the Council of States (Rajya Sabha) elected in accordance with the system of *proportional representation by means of a single transferable vote.* It is on a consideration of the Report made by this Committee that the President is eventually to issue directions in this matter. It will be noticed that the Constitution specifically recognises that this is not an issue to be decided by a simple majority and makes due provision for this important circumstance.

All in all, the constitutional provisions are not rigid or procrustean but admit of a great deal of viability subject to adherence to certain fundamental essentials and provide specifically for periodical review of progress made. The provisions seek to lay down, so to say, the channels of development, the rate of progress within which would depend wholly on our own efforts in the meantime.

9. Quite apart from the fact that we should not have considered it competent for us to do so, except in points of detail, we do not consider even on merits that there is any ground for not holding that the linguistic settlement embodied in the constitutional provisions is the best arrangement considering all the complexities of the situation. Indeed, apart from the misapprehension that the fifteen-year period might be found to be too short and may have to be extended, the vast majority of responsible opinion received by us endorses the provisions of the constitutional settlement. As regards any possible extension of the time-limit, for reasons we have pointed out elsewhere in the Report, it is premature at this time, and unnecessary so far as we are concerned, to engage ourselves in any prognostication as to whether the objective would be achieved within the time-limit or not and if not, how much longer it would take. This is a matter wholly dependent on the quality and extent of our effort in the meantime and the energy and determination with which we take measures to implement these provisions. It is not the case of even those who are quite sure that a longer preparatory period would be necessary that for that reason our efforts should be relaxed in the meantime. We have therefore been content to proceed within the limits of the constitutional provisions, both as regards their content and in respect of the period of time envisaged, and to make our recommendations as to the steps which we think ought to be taken towards the earliest possible implementation of these provisions.

10. The English language to-day is the common medium of administration at the higher levels in all the States of the Union; it is the language of legislation both of State Legislatures and of Parliament

and the language for the administration of justice in all the Courts of the country; it is also (still largely) the language for all higher education in all the Universities of the country: apart from this, it is to a great extent still the only common linguistic medium amongst the intelligentsia drawn from all the linguistic regions and generally speaking for the public life of the country at all planes of all-India contact; being one of the foremost world languages, it is also the language which facilitates the participation by Indians in international conferences and assemblies. The problem of replacing the English language by Indian languages has, therefore, to be considered with reference to all these aspects of the matter.

So far as the language of administration and the law courts is concerned, for the reasons that we noticed above, we have to seek a gradual displacement of the English language by the Union language and the regional languages in their appropriate fields. It is important to emphasise in this context that the succession of the English language in the fields of administration and law courts is *not* going to devolve entirely on the Union language. The Union language, that is Hindi, is not to succeed English in this respect, in the words of the Madras Government, as to an 'impartible estate'.

In the field of the States' administration, the successors would be the respective regional languages; in the field of the Union administration and for purposes of pan-Indian inter-communication between the Union and the States, the succession would go to the Hindi language. So far as legislation and law courts are concerned, the succession would, in their appropriate fields, accrue to regional languages and to the Union language. The fact that the simplicity of a single common medium for all these varied purposes would now be lost and one language would be replaced by several in their appropriate fields itself creates certain complexities. A detailed consideration of these matters and the question as to how these complexities are best resolved will be found at appropriate places in the succeeding chapters of the Report.

11. It may well be asked, and is indeed often asked, in these discussions of the language problem, as to why we should burden the administrative machinery at this stage of our development, when so many other calls are being made on it and its resources are fully extended and even strained, to effect a change-over in its linguistic medium as well. Since the attainment of independence, a clamorous host of problems, each demanding urgent attention, has emerged on all sides; the administrative resources of the Union and the State Governments have been diluted and weakened, as an unavoidable consequence of the advent of independence, while the responsibilities faced by the national governments at the Centre and in the States are many times those of their predecessors; the country is engaged in the implementation of ambitious measures of economic development and reform and we have just completed the first Five-year Plan and have embarked on a much more ambitious and broader plan of development for the second period of five years. It is therefore asked whether it is at all wise and politic at such a juncture to require the administration to switch-over its medium of expression, even granting that such a switch-over has on merits necessarily to come one

day. Would this not throw the administrative works into a state of confusion and imperil the country's progress?

There is, in our opinion, an adequate, convincing and conclusive reply to this contention. Our Constitution has enfranchised the entire adult manhood and womanhood of the country; the Directive Principles of State Policy have clearly enunciated certain objectives such as promotion of equality of opportunity, imparting of compulsory and free education, prohibition etc. and in the course of their implementation, the administrative machinery of the States in India has been irrevocably committed to the path of progressively attaining a welfare State of which every citizen would be an equal partner as well as a beneficiary. Is it conceivable against this background that we should continue to carry on the country's administration in all its higher reaches in a language which is not understood by 99 per cent. of the country's population? Does it not constitute inherently a grave danger to the smooth and peaceful working out of democratic processes, which are in operation all over the country at all levels of its political life from village panchayat to the Parliament, that the functioning of all superior administrative personnel and of law courts and of everybody of importance and authority in public life, should be in a language outside the comprehension of practically the entire population affected? We have no doubt whatever that anybody who views this prospect realistically would come to the conclusion that it is of the highest and most urgent significance that this dichotomy between the various authorities and so to say their 'subjects', which is basically inconsistent with the main principles on which the country's polity is founded, should be removed as rapidly as it may be feasible to do. Perhaps a good index of the imperatives of the situation would be the fact that political parties, as they sought to widen the basis of their appeal, have always tended to switch over from English to the regional languages, for local purposes and Hindi or Hindustani for pan-Indian purposes. Thus, the Indian National Congress resolved at the Cawnpore session in 1925 that the provincial committees of the Congress should use their respective regional languages or Hindustani in all their business and the Congress and all its Committees at the all-India level would normally use the Hindustani language.

It was in this context that Mahatma Gandhi wanted a change-over to be made almost at once, preparing to face such difficulties as might arise in the process, and deplored every day of delay in making the change as a loss. These considerations relate, so to say, to the primary imperatives of our polity and matters of administrative facility or inconvenience must take a secondary place in relation to them. Besides, it is not necessary that the change-over should create any confusion or retard in any way the country's progress in other respects or slow down the administrative machinery. We have considered at their appropriate places in the Report the various transitional measures that would be necessary to facilitate the change so as to avoid any such deleterious effect on the administration. Indeed, intrinsically the change has in it elements which should on the contrary ultimately make for improvement in the administrative working, once the transitional stage is over. A large number of inconveniences and incongruities, of which we have

become insensible due to having been long accustomed to them, inevitably characterise the present situation in which at all important levels the affairs of the country are conducted in a language which is not understood by 99 per cent. of its population. Wherever the change of medium has been made so far after completion of necessary preliminaries and in an orderly manner, whether in education or in administration, there is good evidence that there has been, *ceteris paribus*, an improvement rather than a deterioration. Thus, in the Hindi-region States where the biggest advances have so far been made in changing the State administration to the regional language, we were told that drafting and noting by the subordinate staff had considerably improved as it was now made with far more understanding and intelligence. In the universities which have changed the medium, other things being the same, the comprehension of students as well as their expression is said distinctly to have improved on the change-over of the medium. These results need not cause surprise and are indeed nothing other than what might have been expected. Provided, therefore, the change-over is made in a phased and orderly fashion and necessary preliminaries are completed for every stage in advance of its implementation, there is no reason why there should be any confusion or retardation of the administrative wheels; indeed after the 'teething troubles' of the transition are over, the stage would be set for a rapid and substantial improvement directly as a consequence of the change of the linguistic medium. Apart from these administrative aspects, which in any case if they had been contrary would have had to take a second place and yield to the larger issues, the fundamental reason as to why the change has to be brought in as rapidly as possible is the decisive consideration that the linguistic medium of administration and law courts must be brought within the ambit of intelligibility by the common man in a welfare democracy in which the ordinary citizen is the final arbiter of political dispensations.

12. This is so far as the field of law, judiciary and the public administration is concerned. These are what may be called 'the public sector' of the problem of languages. There is also 'the private sector' of this problem, namely, the fields of education, the Press, trade, commerce and industry, the learned professions, public life generally, etc.

It was noticed above that the English language is today the common medium of instruction at all higher levels of the educational structure. Here also the multiple succession is going to devolve not entirely on the Union language but, severally and in their appropriate fields, on the Union and the regional languages in the different regions. Already during the last 20 years or so in the field of secondary education the medium of instruction has been switched over from English to the respective regional languages in the different regions of the country. The field now for consideration is the stage of university education.

The prerequisites necessary for the change-over of the university medium of instruction, whether the change-over should be to Hindi or to the respective regional languages, or to both in part etc., are matters which will be dealt with in detail in a subsequent chapter

of this Report. Here we advert merely to the *prima facie* difficulty of imparting education satisfactorily in a foreign linguistic medium. Provided the difficulties of the transition are adequately resolved, a change-over of the medium should make for superior comprehension and act as an impetus for a greater degree of original thinking and capacity for research in different branches of knowledge than has hitherto distinguished the country's higher academic life. We are conscious of course that the general change-over of the medium of education has to be so brought about that the 'pipe-line' of knowledge available in the English language would not in any way be blocked or constricted. We, therefore, envisage a system of higher education in which, as a general rule, university graduates would possess a sufficient command of the English language for the purpose of comprehending writings in that language in their respective subjects of study. Provided this pipe-line is maintained intact, the change of the *general* medium of instruction to an Indian language should result, on balance, in a saving of effort and better comprehension and therefore, *per se*, should be academically welcome.

13. A word may be interposed here about the translatory effort that would be necessary to support such a change-over in the general medium. We are of course conscious that no amount of translatory effort can hope fully to cope with the enormous volume of literature in the way of periodicals and new publications which is continuously becoming available in the English language in different branches of study. We are informed by the Indian Science Congress Association, which is a representative body of Indian scientists and as such speaks with authority, that in the scientific domain we are importing every month some 600 scientific and technical journals in English and some 12,000 to 13,000 books on the various sciences which are published in the English language in the U.K., the U.S.A. as well as other countries. Since, however, at all relevant levels for reception of this stream of literature we postulate a sufficient knowledge of English for purposes of comprehension by all persons likely to have occasion to make use of this literature, we do not have to apprehend any fall in academic standards owing to a *general* change in the linguistic medium. The translatory effort will be principally directed to text-books and an appropriate volume of 'supporting literature'. It is finally a question of balancing advantages and disadvantages of different courses of action. Today, we try and teach *everybody* the English language over the greater part of his educational effort, with the result that everybody is supposed to be *in part his own translator;* that is to say, he imbibes knowledge through English sources, having translated the subject-matter from English for himself into his own thought-processes which, if more or less 'anglicised', could only have attained that state at a disproportionate cost of mental energy and capacity. When the general medium would have been changed over to an Indian language the translations would be done by a small number of people who would save to that extent the expenditure of intellectual energy to all others with corresponding benefit to their capacity for genuinely comprehending the subject-matter. Besides, once we change over to the medium of our own languages the chances of text-books in the Indian languages being conceived and executed as

*original* compositions rather than as translations would itself greatly improve. There need, therefore, be no fall in academic standards by a general change of the medium; and indeed a line should be opened out by such change for improvement in the general standard of academic attainment in due course as the difficulties of the transition are got over and full benefits of a shift to the natural medium of instruction accrue.

14. We might notice here a misconception that is often voiced in this connection. A move towards an Indian language medium and for the shift of the English language from its present position in the field of education to where it properly belongs is not intended to be an earnest for breaking away from scientific progress and 'insulating' India, so to say, from the rest of the world. What the merits and demerits of the vast scientific, technical and consequentially social changes that have come over the world are and how scientific progress should be reconciled and harmonised with our ethical values and cultural inheritance, is a different issue altogether; and the question of the linguistic medium is neutral with reference to any decision of this issue. Those who see a necessary association between the English language and scientific knowledge from the West are not correct: they are confusing the 'vehicle' with the 'contents'. Western knowledge did as a matter of historical fact come to us through the vehicle of the English language; but that is not the vehicle through which it has invariably been conveyed to other parts of the world. Apart from the instrumentality of other Western languages such as French, Dutch and Spanish, which operated in other countries of Asia and Africa in a similar fashion owing to respective political connections, so far at any rate as Japan was concerned, Western knowledge was 'pipe-lined' to irrigate Japanese life and thought through the instrumentality of the Japanese language and not any foreign linguistic medium. There is no reason to suppose that the scientific and technical advances made in the West would not have come to bear on Indian life and conditions but for the instrumentality of the English language in their conveyance. If the educational policies of the British rulers had been different, the Western scientific knowledge could have been brought to bear on Indian life and thought through the medium of Indian languages instead of English; indeed, even if the 'British connection' had not transpired historically, a large and populous sub-continent like India could not have remained isolated from the rest of the world and would certainly have been brought into the eddies of scientific advances and within the impact of the arts and techniques of a modern industrial civilization. Those who therefore talk in terms of the 'English language' and 'the Railway' and 'telegraph' and 'parliamentary democracy' as if all these are necessary collaterals of a single indivisible complex, greatly confuse the issue.

In the same way, it does not mean that we will necessarily cease to be in live and continuous communion with advances of knowledge in the West merely because the *general* medium of higher instruction in the Universities in India would cease to be the English language. It so happens that for us the English language is, for many reasons, the best medium for maintaining the 'pipe-line' with Western scientific knowledge which, as we have noticed above, is essential;

and therefore we have advocated that all persons for whom it would be necessary, a knowledge of comprehension of the English language should be imparted in the educational system. It is therefore a travesty of facts to raise an alarm in connection with the change-over of the general linguistic medium that this is breaking away from modern scientific progress and is an invocation for the return of the Dark Ages to the country!

15. We have noticed above the bearing of the solution of the language problem to what we have called 'the public sector' of national life as well as the field of Education which may be classified as a semi-public sector in this context. There remains to consider 'the private sector' of national life in connection with the solution of the language problem. The English language has been the language of public life not only at all pan-Indian levels of intercourse but also within the linguistic regions themselves at the higher levels at which the participants are principally persons who have received higher education and operate in the upper reaches of authority, in politics or the professions or in public life generally. It is not sufficient merely to replace English in the public sector of national life; in the private sector also the country would need a common linguistic medium. Here again, it would seem that the inheritance would not be, as if by primogeniture, to only the Union language, but within the regions in their appropriate fields, to the regional languages as well.

The Constitution, however, properly limits itself to the question of replacing English by an Indian linguistic medium in the official business of the country. The field of Education lies outside the official business of governance but as there are many points of contact between these spheres and as the linguistic media adopted for purposes of administration and law courts, have a large measure of bearing on the linguistic media in Universities and *vice versa*, we will have occasion to consider in detail the implications of language policy in the field of Education. So far, however, as the exclusively private sector of national life is concerned, namely, the language of journalism, of private commerce and industry, the language or languages used by the *literati* for literary compositions, the language of the films and other media of public communication etc., these spheres of activity are outside the official range and in these spheres there is obviously little or no scope for legislating with reference to any specific language policy. In these fields the issue as between the different languages must be allowed to be settled as it may result from the free inter-action of the various forces and incentives. One might suppose that the linguistic equilibrium that would ultimately be arrived at in these fields will reflect both the need for an all-India language for communication and the extent to which Hindi is a component of the country's linguistic map. The constitutional provisions are relatable only to the official language of the Union and of inter-communication amongst States and the Union and are limited to the strict requirements of this situation.

This is not to say that we underrate the significance of what we have called 'the private sector of national life' in the implementation

of a national Language Policy. Far from it. It is only because this is pre-eminently a field in which the linguistic pattern must be allowed freely to develop as it may, by the voluntary choices of the people, that the Constitution forbears to intervene in it.

Thus, for instance, whether or not on the gradual displacement of the English Press as the chief forum for all-India publicity in the newspaper world and the inevitable growth and expansion of Indian language journalism, all-India organs of opinion in the Union language will come into being and replace the English newspapers or not, is a matter of profound significance to the unity and welfare of the Nation. However, this is a matter wherein the peoples' choices must be allowed to shape the pattern and it cannot be a subject for governmental intervention or legislation. What will be the language of inter-State trade and commerce? What will be the linguistic media appropriate for the much greater volume of inter-regional migration in pursuit of trade and employment that will surely transpire in the future with the acceleration of the country's economic development? Would all such other-region populations not fall back upon Hindi speech as a common denominator? What will be the language of the films and like agencies, and mercantile houses and industrial concerns employing a multi-regional labour force or catering to an all-India clientele? So far as films are concerned, since their custom is as a rule not confined to a linguistic region, this medium is peculiarly sensitive to the linguistic requirements at the pan-Indian level. From the figures supplied to us by the Central Board of Film Censors it is seen that out of a total of 2,835, 35MM and 236, 16MM Indian language films certified during the five years commencing from 15-1-1951 to 31-12-1955, 1,597, 35MM and 129, 16MM films were produced in the Hindi language medium, the balance being accounted for by all the other languages together. During the same period 644, 35MM and 119, 16MM films in English were also certified. It may be noted that the above numerical preponderance of films in Hindi obtains in spite of the fact that, it so happens that geographically, the film industry is predominantly located at centres outside the Hindi-speaking regions of the country. Will not the growth of communications in the country tend to bring out the need for Hindi as the common denominator and thereupon trends develop all over to subserve that need? To what extent will multi-lingualism in the sense of a wider knowledge of each other's language by different language groups act as an alternative or a supplement to the emergence of Hindi as the common factor in all inter-regional contacts? All these are matters of great interest and significance but they lie outside the fields of direct governmental action.

We take the liberty of emphasising in answer to those who raise the misleading alarm of 'imposition of Hindi' that the constitutional provisions limit themselves to laying down the *minimum* requirements with reference to the sectors of activity relatable to official business; for the rest, the field is left wholly free and fair for all languages to attain their proper place in the country's linguistic pattern. For our part also, we have limited ourselves to the necessary consequential measures for sustaining the linguistic settlement for

the official sector reached in the constitutional provisions. In addition to this, we have indicated lines for the overdue enfranchisement of all Indian languages in educational life, their development and a greater and growing *rapprochement* amongst them. For the rest, the natural forces must be left to resolve themselves. Apart from these strict requirements of the solution, what the constitutional settlement envisages and we whole-heartedly endorse, is a 'republic of letters' in which each language including English will find the place that properly belongs to it in the country's national life.

The Indian Constitution envisages a certain political inter-relationship between the units of the Indian Federation. These units are now to be re-aligned on lines in which their territories will march with the more or less compact linguistic regions of the country. These circumstances create greater need for what the Prime Minister has called the 'emotional integration' of the country. However, it is far easier to create the mechanics of political unity than its spiritual counterpart. The business of this Commission, as we see it, is to work out into their specific details the linguistic requisites for that political unity which is enshrined in the Constitution. So far as language has a bearing on the spiritual counterpart, it must be left to be consolidated by the scholars, artists, *literati*, leaders of thought and opinion in the different regions, reflecting as they doubtless will do, the fellow-feeling, mutual goodwill and sense of 'belonging to each other' which the masses of this country deeply entertain, no matter what languages they may happen to be born to.

16. So far as the use of English for purposes of international contacts is concerned, the point is easily met. In the first place, let there be no mistake about what is exactly the place of the language medium in this context. The high position of prestige in the comity of nations that we have come to occupy is obviously the result of our disinterested approach to international problems and the special view-point of tolerance and peaceful co-existence, stemming from our cultural inheritance, which has characterised the stands that our leadership has always taken on international issues. Nevertheless, we are willing to concede that it must be a great advantage to our delegates in international conferences that they should be able to speak with facility in the English language which is one of the two or three commonest media of expression in international conferences and committees. Even simultaneous translations which are generally arranged at international conferences and committees could not be an adequate substitute for the convenience and facility of being able to speak directly in a language understood by the largest number of participants in the conference. But there is no reason whatever why this degree of linguistic capacity in the English language should not continue to be cultivated and attained by those persons who would have habitual occasion for participating in international conferences. We appreciate that apart from persons who habitually so participate there would be others who would have casual occasions for doing so; even so far as these persons are concerned, in the set-up that we contemplate for purposes of higher education, it would still be about as likely as it is at present that persons so chosen for participation in international bodies would have at their

command a good facility of expression in the English language. In any case, the problem relates to a very small section and it is inconceivable that the convenience or facilities of this section should be regarded as decisive for the general medium of education or administration with which we have been dealing.

17. The situation that therefore transpires from this consideration is that, as the English language is gradually displaced in the supererogatory fields it occupies at present due to the antecedents of the present linguistic conjuncture, the regional languages will come into their own. The reorganisation of States on mainly linguistic lines will give an impetus to this development which has been, in some areas, somewhat thwarted hitherto. In Tamilnad for instance the progress towards the use of Tamil in administration and education was not more rapid hitherto, among other things, due to the pattern of the newly reorganised States not having taken shape finally until now.* In this connection we were informed on behalf of the Government of Madras that a conference had recently been convened of the Principals of Colleges, of Vice-Chancellors and of other educational officials and of persons interested in the educational problem, which came to the conclusion that eventually regional language should be adopted as the medium of instruction and an Expert Committee was appointed thereupon to go into the matter and advise Government how this should be done. Once the adventitious difficulties are removed, we have no doubt that the enfranchisement of the regional languages in their respective fields in administration, education and other respects would be very rapid.

With the prospective displacement of English in those supererogatory fields by the regional languages of the country, the need for a common linguistic medium naturally forces itself for consideration, as English would be growingly less able to serve as such as it gets displaced. It is out of this situation that the adoption of Hindi as the Union language emerges. There is no question, and there can be no question, of Hindi being 'imposed' on the non-Hindi areas as is sometimes erroneously suggested. In fact the Hindi-speaking population, though by far the largest single group amongst the speakers of India's regional languages, is itself a minority of the total population of the country being 42 per cent. of the total of all population and 46 per cent. of the total population of all persons speaking the languages of the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution. If English cannot serve as a common linguistic medium for the reasons stated at length above and if it has to be replaced by an Indian speech, inevitably this has to be Hindi. Recognising the need for its development (as of other regional languages of the country) it is provided in the Constitution that it will enter on its appointed field as the Union language correspondingly as it is so developed during a transitional period; as the language appointed for Union purposes of so many millions of non-Hindi population it is specifically provided that it should be developed and enriched in a certain manner reflecting the linguistic inheritance of the country; in recognition of the prejudicial incidence that the implementation of this policy might possibly have, it is specifically enjoined that bodies

*For a fuller discussion of this, please see Chapter VIII, paragraph 2.

like this Commission which have to make recommendations for the progressive use of the Hindi language 'shall have due regard to the just claims and the interests of persons belonging to the non-Hindi-speaking areas in regard to the public services'; in order that the displacement of English may not be made precipitately it is also enjoined on the Commission that in making their recommendations they shall have due regard to the 'industrial, cultural and scientific advancement of India'. These safeguards are intended to avoid prejudice to the country's interests or to the just claims and the interests of persons of particular sections of the population.

Since a common linguistic medium for official Union purposes is administratively necessary (whatever view one may hold about the non-official sector) the need for establishing Hindi as such is of significance correspondingly to the significance of maintaining the country's political unity and integrity. The additional labour that this would entail for those whose mother-tongue it is not, even after everything possible has been done to lighten or alleviate it, is a labour unavoidable in the circumstances and in a cause directly involving the maintenance of the country's unity. Whatever grievances, real or fancied, may be entertained by some persons in regard to the relative pulls and weightages in favour of particular regions in our political life, and whatever views may be entertained as to how any such real or imaginary imbalance should be redressed, the need for a common linguistic medium and the inevitability of Hindi having to fulfil that need, are incontrovertible. There may be differences as to the details of programmes to be undertaken, as regards their sequence or their timings; but the broad policy as such hardly admits of any controversy. The need for adoption of Hindi as the official Union language and the implementation of the measures necessary for the purpose of so establishing it, ineluctably arise out of the situation for all who accept the broad groundwork of the country's constitutional and political structure. The language policy enshrined in the provisions of the Constitution deserves, and we fervently hope will come to enjoy as the real situation is realised, the universal acceptance of all citizens of the country.

18. We noticed in paragraph 4 above that the number of persons who could be counted as literate in English was only about one per cent. as against the general literacy figures of 16·6 per cent. in the census returns of 1951. These figures are relatable to the considera-tion of the English language as a possible mass medium in India as a whole. The notion is entertained sometimes that, while this proportion may be true of the whole country, the proportions would be much more in favour of the English language in certain parts of the country, especially in South India. We give in Appendix XII a table estimating 'literacy in English' compared to the general literacy, drawn up State-wise, so as to bring out, generally speaking, the position in the different linguistic regions.

It will be seen from this table that while there are some variations in the proportions of persons 'literate in English' to those literate generally, in different linguistic regions, there is no basis for the assumption that the proportion of 'literates in English' is unusually high in any of the four linguistic regions of the south or in South

India as a whole. In most of the regions, barring untypical cases like urban areas, even on the basis of the figures of literacy in the census of 1951, the proportion of those returned as literate generally is 15 to 20 times the numbers of those literate in English. There is no warrant for imagining, therefore, that although not for the whole country, English would be suitable as a mass medium in any part of it. It is clear that with the expansion of mass literacy—which can only be in the regional language first and then conceivably in the Union language but certainly not in the English language,—these proportions would be still less favourable to English.

The question is sometimes posed as to whether ultimately the extent of usage of Hindi, the Union language, would be larger or smaller than the present extent of the English language. We have already discussed how Hindi would not in every sense be 'stepping into the shoes' of the English language and how in certain sectors of activity the regional languages will replace English and how further in a residual sector in the higher reaches of scientific research the English language itself may continue to be the medium of discourse. In this sense therefore the extent of usage of the Union language Hindi would be smaller than that of English. In another sense however Hindi will occupy a vastly wider and more important place in the national life of the entire country than English did or ever could have done. Not more than one per cent. of the people have ever had anything like an adequate knowledge of the English language; on the other hand, under the arrangements that we contemplate, every citizen undergoing the universal, free and compulsory elementary education provided in the Constitution will have been imparted at least a lasting literacy in the Hindi language. Therefore, on account of the vastly wider dissemination of its knowledge that we expect to see amongst the entire community in this sub-continent, Hindi will be attaining a place in the country's national life far more broad-based than English ever did or could have done. The fact is that the extent of usage of English at present and the likely extent of usage of Hindi in the future are really not comparable dimensionally as the two languages would be functioning on different planes altogether.

19. We have seen demands from speakers of different languages for their inclusion in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution. Such a demand was made to us by the speakers of the Sindhi language; such a demand has also been made on behalf of the persons whose mother-tongue is the English language.

The Eighth Schedule of the Constitution is framed with reference to Article 344(1), under which Commissions are to be appointed by the President at the end of 5 and 10 years after the commencement of the Constitution, and Article 351 which directs that it shall be the duty of the Union to secure the enrichment of Hindi by assimilating the forms, style and expressions used in Hindustani and the other languages of India specified in that Schedule. Otherwise, there is no particular distinction bestowed on a language, nor is any particular right or guarantee conferred under the constitutional provisions, by virtue of its inclusion in the Eighth Schedule, inasmuch as all other constitutional provisions relating to languages

apply whether or not the particular language is included in the Eighth Schedule. Presumably the demand for such inclusion is sometimes inspired partly by the consideration of 'prestige' that is supposed to accrue to the particular language by such inclusion.

The number of Sindhi mother-tongue persons recorded in the 1951 census is 7,45,434; the number of persons with English as mother-tongue recorded in the 1951 census is 1,71,742. The 1951 census records 23 tribal languages (or dialects) and 24 other languages (or dialects) with speakers numbering a lakh and over, including Sindhi: it also records 63 non-Indian languages including English. The question whether any more languages should be included in the Eighth Schedule or not is not included within, and does not appear to us to be necessarily relatable to, our terms of reference. Nor have we taken evidence with reference to this issue which was raised before us in respect of Sindhi and English only towards the end of our labours. We have, accordingly, no opinion to express on the question whether or not the demand in behalf of these or other languages for inclusion in the Eighth Schedule are legitimate.*

It is necessary to clarify, particularly with reference to the English language, that its non-inclusion in the Eighth Schedule does not in any way preclude the drawing, wherever necessary or desirable, on that language for enriching the vocabulary of the Hindi language. A correct reading of Article 351 of the Constitution would make this position clear. We reproduce below this Article for ready reference:

> '351. It shall be the duty of the Union to promote the spread of the Hindi language, to develop it so that it may serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India and to secure its enrichment by assimilating without interfering with its genius, the forms, style and expressions used in Hindustani and in the other languages of India specified in the Eighth Schedule, and by drawing, wherever necessary or desirable, for its vocabulary, primarily on Sanskrit and secondarily on other languages'.

We understand the scheme of the provisions of this Article in the following sense: so far as the enrichment of the Hindi language by 'assimilating without interfering with its genius, the forms, style and expressions used' in other languages is concerned, the source is restricted to Hindustani and the other languages of India specified in the Eighth Schedule; so far as the enrichment of the *'vocabulary'* is concerned, as distinguished from the 'forms, style and expressions', in the latter clause of the above Article it is laid down that such enrichment may be secured by drawing primarily on Sanskrit and

*Dr. R. P. Tripathi wishes to place his view on record that in his opinion English should be included in the Eighth Schedule which is a list of Indian languages, which expression can also mean languages current in India and not necessarily only those which originated in India. The inclusion of English in the Schedule will inspire confidence in the English-speaking community of India and would also be a facility to Indian Christians whose religious thought is expressed practically exclusively through the means of the English language. Dr. Tripathi wishes it also recorded that in his view the inclusion of the English language in the Eighth Schedule will not cause any harm to the growth of the indigenous languages of the country.

secondarily on 'other languages', that is to say, *all other languages, and not necessarily the languages of India specified in the Eighth Schedule.* The intention, for reasons which are evident enough, is to limit the source to the *languages of India* specified in the Eighth Schedule (and Hindustani, an Indian language, though not mentioned therein), so far as assimilation of forms, style and expressions is concerned; in connection with which process of assimilation also the question of 'not interfering with the genius' of the Hindi language arises. In respect of merely the enrichment of the vocabulary *i.e.* drawing on the vocables of another language, the source predicated is much wider and comprehends *all* languages whether included in the Schedule or not and whether 'Indian languages' or not. The only particularisation here is that the Sanskrit language is to be drawn upon primarily and others secondarily. Therefore there is no inhibition as to drawing for such purposes on the English language. In Chapter V on terminology we would have occasion to examine to what extent this is likely to be necessary.

20. The constitutional provisions regarding the Union language are framed in the same general spirit of liberalism and catholicity in which the other language provisions of the Indian Constitution are framed. Indian cultural inheritance is remarkable for its variety of patterns and origins; the harmonising of these diversities has been the distinguishing feature of the Indian tradition. Language is the loom on which cultural patterns are woven. As we sustain and cherish the various elements entering into India's cultural life, so we must sustain and cherish the different languages adopted as their media by the different cultural groups. The matter of cultural rights is not to be determined merely by brute majorities. The Constitution has, therefore, enacted specific guarantees for cultural and educational rights of minorities. In Article 29 of the Constitution it is enacted that 'Any section of the citizens residing in the territory of India or any part thereof having a distinct language, script or culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same'. In Article 30 it is enacted that 'All minorities, whether based on religion or language, shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice'. It is also laid down that 'the State shall not, in granting aid to educational institutions, discriminate against any educational institution on the ground that it is under the management of a minority, whether based on religion or language'. In an amendment* to the Constitution recently proposed to be made, it is provided that 'it shall be the endeavour of every State and of every local authority within the State to provide adequate facilities for instruction in the mother-tongue at the primary stage of education to children belonging to linguistic minority groups; and the President may issue such directions to any State as he considers necessary or proper for securing the provision of such facilities'. Thus, a positive duty is proposed to be cast on the State to provide for facilities to the minorities for education in the mother-tongue at the primary school stage, apart from the constitutional guarantee to such minorities of the right themselves to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice.

---

*Circulated with the States Reorganisation Bill.

So far as the official language or languages of a State are concerned, Article 345 provides that 'the Legislature of a State may by law adopt any one or more of the languages in use in the State or Hindi as the language or languages to be used for all or any of the official purposes of that State'. It may be noted in this connection that the reference here is to 'languages' in general and not merely to the languages enlisted in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution. With reference to this constitutional provision, a safeguard has been enacted in favour of linguistic minorities in the States. In Article 347, it is laid down that 'On a demand being made in that behalf, the President may, if he is satisfied that a substantial proportion of the population of a State desire the use of any language spoken by them to be recognised by that State, direct that such language shall also be officially recognised throughout that State or any part thereof for such purpose as he may specify'.

The States Reorganisation Commission has suggested with reference to this provision that a State should be treated as unilingual only where one language constitutes the speech of about 70 per cent. or more of its entire population and that where there is a substantial minority constituting 30 per cent. or so of the population, the State should be recognised as bilingual for administrative purposes.

Working the principle further down, the States Reorganisation Commission has recommended that at the district levels if 70 per cent. or more of the total population of a district is constituted by a group which is a minority in the State, the language of the minority group and not the State language should be the official language in that district.

Article 350 of the Constitution further embodies the special directive that 'Every person shall be entitled to submit a representation for the redress of any grievance to any officers or authority of the Union or a State in any of the languages used in the Union or in the State, as the case may be'.

Apart from the major language problem of the country, namely, that of a linguistic medium for the Union and for purposes of inter-State communication and the problem of the regional languages, other subsidiary problems of a local nature arise in certain parts of the country.

In the State of Assam for instance, there is the question of tribal languages and more particularly in what language instruction should be given to children of the tribal areas above the primary stage of education, that is to say, whether this should be Assamese or Hindi. While the children from the tribal areas must receive a modicum of instruction in the Union language as in the case of other children in the country, obviously it is necessary in their own interest that they should acquire a knowledge of the Assamese language also. The tribal regions have intimate economic and other contacts with their immediate neighbours in the plains of Assam in which the Assamese or Bengali language is spoken, and *prima facie* it would appear necessary and in the interest of the tribal area people themselves that they should acquire a knowledge of the language of the

plain with which they would come into economic and cultural contact. Quite likely, similar problems arise with reference to tribal or similar undeveloped languages spoken as a local speech in regions abutting other territories in which one of the major regional languages is spoken. In the Punjab there is the special problem of Punjabi and Hindi and the Gurumukhi and the Devanagari scripts in which they are written; this issue, as far as we know, has now been settled to mutual satisfaction of the two groups by certain special arrangements made in this behalf. There is then the problem of the Urdu speaking population in certain districts of some Hindi-region States. Urdu is of course entirely an Indian language and is besides one of the languages recognised in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution and is entitled in every way to be treated as any other language would be treated in like circumstances. Indeed, the general constitutional guarantees of the Indian Constitution comprehend not merely what may be called 'Indian languages' but even a language like English which is the mother-tongue of some Indians although originally it hails from non-Indian sources. Thus, Articles 29 and 30 of the Constitution guarantee the right to conserve distinct languages and scripts on the part of any section of the citizens residing in India and confer the right to establish and administer educational institutions on all minorities, whether based on religion or language.

Here we would like to refer specially to the case of Urdu which was put before us by individuals and organizations in most of the States which we visited. They spoke of the hardships which they suffered owing to restrictions on the use of Urdu for the official purposes in the various States, and in some cases of the difficulties which they encountered in imparting primary education to their children through their mother-tongue—Urdu. The remedies which they proposed varied from the adoption of Urdu as the second official language in some States to its recognition for certain specific purposes in others. While we listened most sympathetically to their representations, we pointed out to them that our terms of reference limited us to the consideration of problems directly or closely related to the official language of the Union and precluded our going into questions relating to the official languages of the States or into the merits of any case as stated or remedial measures as desired by linguistic minorities. The States Reorganisation Commission, however, has dealt with the question of minority languages in its Report with special reference to Urdu in some places and we have no doubt that the Parliament, the Union Government, the State Legislatures and the State Governments will show the utmost consideration and accommodation for the legitimate claims of Urdu as also for those of other minority languages in the various States.

These and similar other questions do not fall within our terms of reference and, therefore, we do not have to give any definite findings relating to them. We would however allow ourselves to observe that there should be no difficulty whatever in all these issues being resolved to general satisfaction if they are approached in the same spirit of broad-mindedness and tolerance which informs the cultural and linguistic guarantees and other language provisions of the Constitution.

## CHAPTER V

## TERMINOLOGY

1. For obvious reasons, the question of terminology is quite basic to the issue of the development of Indian languages which under at present from quite serious deficiencies in this respect arising out of reasons we have elsewhere noticed.

Normally, a language develops in response to the requirements of expression in respect of new objects, concepts, and situations presenting themselves to the linguistic community, of which that particular language is the medium of expression. The last century and a quarter, during which the Indian languages came to be more or less shut out from the higher fields of administration, education and public life, happened also to have been a period during which changes of an unprecedented magnitude and character occurred due to scientific and technological advances in the material conditions of existence all over the world. If the impact of Western science had borne down on the Indian society through the medium of Indian languages in the way in which it was channelled through the Japanese language on the Japanese society and economy in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the linguistic features of this country would have been very different today. If, as sciences advanced, the knowledge of these advances had been 'pipelined' to the Indian community through the Indian languages, these languages could have kept on developing the necessary terms or expressions for the new objects and concepts, either borrowing such terms from foreign terminology or adapting them, or coining new terms evolved from a Sanskritic or other base to serve the purpose. Not every term so proposed originally would have necessarily found ultimate acceptance, but a process of natural standardisation would have set in and, in course of time, definite contexts of meaning and penumbras of suggestion would have developed through usage behind the different terms and expressions. Since this has not come about, we have now to consider how these gaps and deficiencies may be filled up in the vocabularies of the Indian languages and what sort of promotional effort would be appropriate for doing so most speedily, effectively and appropriately. Since the lack of such terminology is the principal objective handicap in the present employment of Indian linguistic media in the fields of administration, law, education, etc., and in the higher levels of public life, our performance in repairing this deficiency is a matter of the most vital significance for the successful implementation of our language policies.

2. Let us first of all consider what exactly we mean by 'scientific terminology'. Knowledge in any branch is the statement of some valid experience or speculation properly integrated and systematised. For any writing in a branch of knowledge, precise terms and expressions are necessary as tools of exposition. Unless the definitions and expressions are accurately and unambiguously stated, inferences

could not be suggested, or conclusions drawn. There is one special aspect of modern scientific research, which, in particular, makes such precision even more necessary. The stupendous growth of modern scientific knowledge is the result not merely of a few bright people suddenly getting waves of inspiration but the articulation and piecing together of innumerable small discoveries made by different research workers working in similar fields all over the world in a constant stream of co-operation, mutual correction and exchange of experience. Scientific discoveries are no longer made by a solitary Newton lying under a tree and watching the apple fall and propounding, by dint of mother-wit and pure reasoning, theories relating to the gravitational pull of heavenly bodies. Today, the frontiers of knowledge have reached out to such highly specialised terrain, and so much experimental and laboratory work is necessary in connection therewith, that the advance of knowledge occurs, as a rule, by a new fact being discovered or truth being established as the final outcome of an enormous amount of hard labour put in by bands of workers working in different and distant places on identical or largely similar fields of enquiry. It is not by inspired flashes as of lightning that new truths are as a rule revealed; rather is the advance of knowledge more like the sweep of a tide which, 'while tired waves vainly breaking seem here no painful inch to gain', advances far back through creeks and inlets flooding on to shores not previously reached! It is obvious that, in these circumstances, where co-partnership between so many people is involved in the advancement of knowledge, precision and definitiveness about terms and expressions become a matter of the profoundest practical importance.

3. Without wanting to be exhaustive, purely by way of illustration, let us see what kinds of terminology we are going to require for making up this deficiency in the Indian languages. We will require, for instance, names for concrete, natural and physical objects for which precise nomenclature may not be currently extant in the Indian languages, such as any new elements discovered or compounds made; we will need names for phenomena discovered and identified by scientific analysis or investigation, for which there are no such equivalents, *e.g.*, proton, electron, X-ray, beta-ray, cosmic-ray, alpha particles, spectrum, radium, vitamin, chromosome, etc.; we will need names for man-made instruments and machines or apparatus *e.g.*, barometer, telescope, microscope, galvanometer, screw, eccentric wheel, calorimeter, etc.; we will need words for concepts, abstract ideas or properties of subjects of study and specified for purposes of scientific theories *e.g.*, velocity, volume, speed, acceleration, torque, radiation, dispersion, rotation, revolution, momentum, ampere, electrolysis, polarisation, metabolism, radio-activity, refraction and so on. For every specialised branch of knowledge we would require specialised terms for which equivalents would ordinarily not be available in the undeveloped languages, or, even if certain terms current in such languages are in close proximation, they would not have the necessary degree of precision requisite for scientific statement or analysis.

4. There is, besides, no 'frontier', so to say, or a 'fence', dividing what may be called 'terms and expressions of ordinary usage' and

'scientific and specialised terminology'. Terms and expressions which may, for purposes of ordinary, lay expression, be a little loose and unprecise, have to be used with a scientific precision when they are to serve as tools for analyses. This occurs particularly in the sociological sciences for the obvious reasons that these are disciplines, developed out of fields of activity which are within the common experience and conversation of ordinary people. There is a fund of vocables in those fields which is common between lay use and scientific analysis. Thus, for instance, in Sociology and Anthropology, common terms such as 'kinship', 'cognate' or 'blood relationship' may be used with a context of precise meaning not always associated with these terms when commonly used in ordinary parlance. In Politics by the terms 'parliamentary democracy', 'separation of powers', 'sovereignty', 'justiciability', 'representative form of government' and 'proportional representation' certain definite ideas and fields of meaning are intended to be conveyed, as distinct from the relatively loose way in which such terms are used in ordinary conversation. In Economics, for instance, terms like 'marginal demand', 'elasticity of supply', 'Multiplier', 'rent', 'land', 'capital formation', 'investment', 'savings', 'profits', 'progressive taxation', or 'dividend', are used with special meanings. This occurs all the more in respect of expressions in the field of Law and Jurisprudence. Terms and expressions such as 'knowingly', 'intentional', 'dishonestly', 'in good faith', 'estoppel', 'limitation', 'admissible in evidence', 'intend', etc. are used in legal parlance in a specialised sense which has gathered unto itself a whole context of meanings and aurora of suggestions.

When developing terminology, therefore, there would be the problem of coining new terms for entirely new objects or concepts as well as the problem of selecting current terms for investing them with a precise context of meaning.

5. So far as the sciences and speculations with which the intelligentsia in this country were familiar before the advent of the English are concerned, there is bound to be a good deal of material available in the regional languages as well as the Sanskrit texts, which would furnish terms and phrases readily usable towards expression of modern ideas and concepts developed in these fields. Thus, in the fields of Nyaya, Mimansa, Vyakarana, Dharmashastra or religious or philosophical speculations, there ought to be a good deal of terminology available in these texts. Fortunately, most of this terminology is identical amongst all the Indian languages, having all been commonly derived from the Sanskrit language and the Sanskrit texts. Indeed, the problem of terminology is not presenting itself to the Indian languages for the first time. It must have occurred to every writer who wanted first to express himself in the regional languages breaking away from the previous tradition of all learned writings being written and studied in the Sanskrit language. At all such times the problem was solved by writers in the Indian regional languages drawing freely from the reservoir of Sanskrit, which is a particularly rich language in respect of prefixes, suffixes, prepositions, postpositions, etc. Largely on account of availability of terminology in the Sanskrit language and literature, our languages have all along been 'borrowing', rather than 'building up' languages. Indeed, as we will presently discuss in a little more

detail, it is nothing derogatory for a language to borrow terms and expressions; and it is the most natural thing to do, when terms and expressions have to be brought in not merely as additional vocables but as words trailing a certain context of meaning associated by usage with them. Even when writing in English, for instance, on matters touching upon Indian philosophical systems or metaphysical speculation, terms like the following have to be used for adequate expression in the English language: 'Atman', 'Karma', 'Janma', 'Mukti', 'Indriya', 'Dharma', 'Bhakti', 'Nigraha' and so on. Similarly, to the extent to which, in the field of personal relationships, Indian Law as developed and laid down in the ancient Hindu texts was applicable, it has been customary in English judgments to find terms like 'Karta', 'Sambandh', 'Dattaka-vidhi' and so on. When the Jains and the Buddhists wanted to break away from the restricted appeal of the Sanskrit language and to discourse in the language of the masses, they found it necessary to adopt, in their Pali and Ardha-Magadhi writings, the technical terms of metaphysics and religious speculation developed in the Sanskrit language. Before the advent of the British, for several centuries when Muslim rule prevailed over large parts of the country and had a degree of influence over some of the remaining parts, the Persian language had acquired the status of a practically universal language for purposes of courts, administration, law, diplomacy, etc. During this period most of the Indian languages adopted bodily, in varying*degrees, terms from Persian, either as *tatsama* or as *tadbhava* words. The English language, for instance, is supposed to have an unusually large capacity for assimilating loan words from other languages and thus enriching itself; half the words of the English language are believed to be derived from such loan words. In the Queen's English, today, there must be several hundred Indian words which have now become, for all purposes, a part of the English vocabulary. That the Indian element in English is really considerable is amply borne out by the great Oxford English Dictionary. It accords recognition to no less than 900 main words of Indian origin and many thousands of derivatives from these words. All living languages are constantly absorbing words in this fashion. There is, therefore, no place for any doctrines of language purism in the evolving of the new terminology required by our languages. Such new words and expressions, wherever they are necessary for stating an idea, may be freely borrowed from whatever source it may be most convenient to do, provided the new term or expression lends itself to assimilation in the host language. Article 351 of the Constitution lays down, in respect of the Hindi language, that it has to be enriched by 'assimilating, without interfering with its genius, the forms, style and expressions used in Hindustani and in the other languages of India specified in the Eighth Schedule and by drawing, wherever necessary or desirable, for its vocabulary, primarily on Sanskrit and secondarily on other languages'. This formula should be equally applicable in respect of all the Indian languages. The special position accorded to the Sanskrit language is only a recognition of its close relationship with the Indian regional languages and its past use for such purposes in those languages.

*"That all living languages are capable of borrowing and of assimilating the borrowed material, is undeniable; but

the extent to which they can do so varies very considerably under different circumstances...................... Languages have constitutions quite as dissimilar and distinct as human beings.................. Languages of the same class can borrow very freely from each other without difficulty; but from different classes they cannot do so to any large extent without serious injury. The loan becomes an incubus in the one case, and a reproductive and useful resource in the other; or, taking it as a process of hybridization, it becomes agenesic in dissimilar families, and ugenesic...........among similars.'

6. We are, of course, not concerned here with the actual evolution of terminology. This is a matter which has to be tackled over a length of time by an appropriate standing agency. We are concerned only with reviewing, in broad, general terms, the principles which should be observed in the evolving of new terminologies, with assessing, in a general way, the progress made so far, and lastly, with making suggestions as to the lines on which, in our opinion, this work may be done in the future.

A separate paper has been prepared as to the work done in respect of evolving terminologies of the Indian languages by different authorities so far as such information was elicited by us in the course of our enquiries. This is printed as item VIII in the Supplementary Volume.**

There is one more source from which, we believe, a good deal of useful material should be available in building up the new terminologies of our languages. So far as we know, some work has been done in this direction in one or two Universities, but there would appear to be room for a great deal more of research. The technicians, artisans and craftsmen, skilled and unskilled, plying different trades and engaged in different crafts, or exercising their respective professions, have, doubtless, in the course of these decades, when the incidence of scientific advances has in a greater or less degree fallen on their work in the shape of new technique of production, processes, etc., evolved their own 'dialect' in their regional language for their usual occasions. Below certain levels of all these crafts and professions, knowledge of English has never seeped down, and, therefore, the persons working in these fields must have developed their own terms and expressions, probably in many cases adaptations or even 'vulgarisations' of English terms, for answering their daily requirements. Thus, the carpenter, the smith, the plumber, the mason, the mechanic, the weaver, the legal clerk of the attorney, and all such-like persons working at these levels in different trades, industries and avocations, must be daily employing terms relative

---

*This extract is taken from a paper written in 1877 by Raja Rajendra Lall Mitra on 'a Scheme for the rendering of European Scientific terms into the vernaculars of India'. It would appear that there was a discussion of this important problem quite frequently in the educational circles even in those early years, although in fact the amount of literature produced in Indian languages in the scientific subjects was quite modest until recent times.

**Not printed.

to their occupations, which have not yet found place in the dictionaries of the Indian languages. In many parts of the country, for instance, Muktiars and Vakils not versed in the English language used to operate at the lower levels in the legal profession until almost a generation ago; and, from such enquiries as we have been able to make, we have a feeling that it should be possible to obtain quite a number of serviceable terms from the semi-technical vocabularies these people had developed in pursuit of their avocations. Apart from this, so far as the lawyers and the judiciary are concerned, in certain parts of the country where jurisdiction was previously exercised in these fields by the authorities of the former Princely Indian States, enactments were passed in an Indian language and Courts (including, sometimes, the highest) gave their judgments and conducted their proceedings in the regional languages of the respective areas. Thus, in the legal terminology current in those days in the State of Baroda or in the State of Hyderabad or in the States of Gwalior, Indore, or Jaipur, one should be able to find quite a good deal of linguistic material which would be helpful in the evolving of new terminology for these fields. We would suggest for the consideration of those who would be charged with the responsibility of actually evolving terminology that research and exploration may be directed to these fields or rather 'quarries' which, we have reason to suppose, would well repay such trouble.

7. There is one important aspect of this matter of equipping the Indian languages with new terminologies, to which we would like to draw pointed attention. In the course of our enquiry we came upon a practically universal consensus of opinion to the effect that, while evolving new terminology, identity should be aimed at, to the maximum possible extent, in such terminology, with reference to the Union language and all the regional languages. As we noticed above, even in the past, a substantial degree of identity has obtained amongst the Indian languages in respect of technical terms when dealing with the 'Shastras'. For a successful solution of the problem of languages in India, in our view, it is imperative that the same principle of identity should be employed now to the maximum possible extent when building up these supplementary vocabularies for our languages.

We would like to say a word or two with reference to certain practical difficulties that are likely to be experienced in the application of this principle. One of the difficulties is that, in the course of years, Sanskrit words have come to be used in different, or even opposed, senses in some cases, amongst the different Indian languages. It is notorious that words, in the course of years, develop special meanings or fields of suggestion in different languages, the end of such a series sometimes being very far removed from the original meaning of the word. While this difficulty must be recognised and duly provided for wherever it occurs, the nature of its occurrence is more a curiosity than a law of general application, and the field affected thereby would not, we believe, be found to be of such significance or magnitude as to seriously jeopardise the objective of seeking the maximum identity in new terminologies amongst the different languages.

Then, again, sometimes a word out of certain pairs of words, both derived from Sanskrit, is regarded as simple and current in some languages but a little affected and difficult in others. This is, however, a point of detail relating to an infrequent occurrence and would not make any conclusive difference; and, while it must be taken care of, the implementation of the above principle would not be seriously affected by it.

8. Then, there is the further question as to how far it would be appropriate to adopt wholesale scientific international terminology rather than trying to frame our own from any of the possible sources, especially synthetic products, being derivatives from a Sanskrit root.

The Board of Scientific Terminology set up by the Government of India was asked to lay down the principles according to which the international terms may be adapted to the genius of Indian languages. The principles laid down by them are as under:—

(1) By international terminology is meant the scientific and technical terms given in the proceedings of the International Council of Scientific Unions from time to time.

(2) The Board endorses the views of the University Commission and the Central Advisory Board of Education that, as far as possible, international scientific and technical terms should be used in all books written in Hindi and other principal languages of India. International terms of Geology, Zoology and Botany should be adopted as such.

(3) The symbols, signs and formulae used in mathematics and other sciences should be adopted without modification, that is, letters and figures of the Roman alphabet should be used in Hindi.

(4) In preparing dictionaries of scientific terminology the transliteration of the international terms should be given in Devanagari, and then the original in Roman script in brackets. Wherever necessary, a translation and explanation of the terms will also be given.

Here, again, it is not possible to state anything in the abstract on this point, which is not at once obvious and, therefore, redundant. Everybody, apart from doctrinaire purists as to language, would agree that, where it is necessary and convenient to do so, international terms may be adopted. The point arises really in the specific application of the principle to particular cases and has to be considered in respect of each case on its own specific merits. We can only make a few general observations relevant to this matter. One of the considerations to be borne in mind in evolving new terminology is the extent and character of its likely usage. In the fields of the higher sciences the research workers of different countries work as a close fraternity in continuous communion with each other. It is an obvious advantage that, in such fields, they should be speaking in an identical language; and, in any case, since the terms used in these fields do not affect the general language issue, it appears to

us manifestly desirable to adopt, if there is such a thing in that particular field, the terms current in international terminology or, failing that, the terms current in the commonest terminology amongst that class of scientists.

We are conscious that many difficult cases would arise in practice in deciding whether a particular term should be translated or adopted from the English or international terminology: also whether only the root should be adopted and subjected to the rules of grammar of Indian languages including the obtaining of derivatives or a whole family of words should be adopted from the foreign linguistic source. This has again to be decided on merits in each case, although as a rule obviously the former would seem *prima facie* desirable.

Sometimes words in the form they occur conventionally in the English terminology may have incorrect connotations etymologically. Names in Chemistry or Botany, for instance, are often intended to be not merely symbols but to incorporate a certain knowledge of classification, or components or attributes of the substance signified. Where the English technical term is for historical reasons misleading or incorrect in this respect, to adopt it as it stands, would be unjustifiable and the coining of a new name more rational and scientific in its import would be necessary.

It is sometimes suggested in this connection that a good rule would be that terms which are intended to denote attributes should be translated as a rule and terms being names of substances should be adopted from English or international terms where Indian equivalents are not readily forthcoming. We imagine however that there would be many other factors to pay regard to in individual cases and while the above rule may be a good guide in some respects, no such rule could be of absolute validity.

Those who are charged with the coining of new terminology have indeed a very difficult and delicate task of the highest significance to perform. It calls for objectivity and a dispassionate approach apart from scholarship, sensitivity and judgment as to the adaptability of particular terms to the genius of the host language.

9. For the sake of convenience, and as some order of sequence must be followed, the new terminological expressions may be evolved by stages—that is to say, first in respect of secondary schools, then in respect of Universities, and so on. Obviously, however, there has to be close articulation as between terms adopted at the secondary level of instruction and the terms adopted thereafter. The pupil would be carrying his knowledge acquired during the secondary stage to the higher level of instruction; and, if the terminology at the higher level is different from what he has been brought upon, he will have to undergo 're-education' in the new terminology. We recognise that it would not be practicable to eliminate altogether such a contingency. At the lower levels of instruction one would naturally already have, as well as find anew, more easy terms and expressions for the requirements of instruction. At the highest levels, where the persons involved in the colloquy are few, in many cases international terminologies would be more appropriate. In between, there

would be, at appropriate stages, points of transition from the simpler terminologies used in the regional languages at relatively lower levels of education to the more specialised terminology appurtenant to the higher levels of education and research. This, again, is a matter which has to be tackled in the actual evolution of terminologies and on which hardly any general observations could be attempted, which would not be wholly platitudinous.

If the evolving of terminologies is to be co-related as between the different languages, the work has to be done at a plane at which there will be representation of authorities interested in the new terminologies from every linguistic group. Obviously, this means that the work has to be done under Central auspices.

10. From the replies furnished by the Ministry of Education to the Questionnaire of this Commission, and in the course of the evidence given before them by its representatives, the following information is obtained in this regard:—

A Board of Scientific Terminology was set up in 1950 by the Government of India for the purpose of compiling dictionaries of scientific terms. A number of Expert Committees were set up by the Board from time to time, and 19 such Expert Committees are at present working on the following subjects:—

> Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Botany, Social Sciences and Administration, Agriculture, Geology, Zoology, Medicine, Defence, Posts and Telegraphs, Transport, Economics, Railways, External Affairs, Finance, Information and Broadcasting, Engineering and Law.

Lists of technical terms in Hindi for Secondary Schools relating to Mathematics, Physics, Botany, Chemistry and Social Sciences have been finalised. A second set of provisional lists on the following subjects has also been nearly finalised:—

> Posts and Telegraphs, Railways, Transport, Defence and Agriculture.

A third set of lists of technical terms relating to Defence, Zoology, Posts and Telegraphs and Transport has been circulated to various Universities, State Governments, Research Institutions and individuals for comments. Lists of Technical terms in Hindi pertaining to General Administration, Engineering, Information and Broadcasting, Education and Shipping are under preparation. Up to date a total number of 35,000 scientific and technical terms in Hindi have been prepared as detailed below:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Terms finalised up to date | ... | 5,500 |
| Terms under submission to Cabinet | ... | 3,147 |
| Terms published in the form of provisional lists | ... | 7,000 |

The rest of the terms are awaiting the approval either of the Board or of the various Expert Committees concerned.

The annual output of terms at present is about 20,000. This output can be raised by augmenting the staff.

The work actually started in 1952. The number of terms prepared in that year was about 2,000. In 1953 the number of terms prepared was 6,323, in 1954 it was 15,692 and in 1955 the number was 23,145. We were further told in oral evidence that provision has been made for the augmentation of the staff in the Second Five Year Plan, by an addition of five more special officers and 50 more research assistants. We were also told that at a rough estimate it was thought that 2½ to 3 lakhs of terms would be needed to make a general shift in the linguistic medium practicable and that with the additional staff etc. the Ministry hoped to step up the output of such new terms, against 23,000 achieved in 1955, to 50,000 annually.

11. The Commission had specifically put the following queries to the Government of India:—

'(1) Have the Government drawn up any specific programme for the progressive use of the Hindi language for the official purposes of the Union? If so, the details thereof may please be furnished.

(2) The establishment of administrative terminology; the fixation of necessary Hindi terms and expressions of address, correspondence, etc.; the translation of manuals, regulations and procedural literature; and the translation of statutory laws, rules, etc. would seem to be necessary prerequisites to such a change-over.

Have the different stages in this been considered, work and time estimates made relating to different stages? How is the programme for progressive use of Hindi for the official purposes of the Union articulated with such stages?

Having regard to the fact that certain States and other agencies are evolving technical terms either for Hindi or for regional languages, and having regard to the fact that it is desirable to have, as far as possible, identical terms for different languages whenever new technical terms are coined, has machinery been provided for effective co-ordination of such work? And is such co-ordination in fact being achieved?

(3) More particularly, have any (approximate) assessments been made of the number of administrative and other terms which would have to be evolved for the different stages and a time-table drawn up in this behalf?'

The answer to the queries was given in a Note accompanying the Home Ministry's reply, dated 19th January, 1956, in the following terms:—

'(2) There will be the following two stages:—

(i) By the 31st March, 1956, all the designational and general administrative terms and about 15,000 technical terms concerning certain Ministries will be finalised.

(ii) By the 26th January, 1960, the entire work of preparing requisite technical terminology in Hindi and translating manuals, regulations, procedural literature, etc., into Hindi on the basis of the terminologies evolved will be completed.

From 26th January, 1960, onwards, Hindi will be introduced side by side with English in the work of the Government of India. The answer to the second part of this question relating to co-ordination of the work of terminology has already been supplied to the Official Language Commission by the Ministry of Education. The information is, however, reproduced below:—

"The Board of Scientific Terminology set up by the Central Ministry of Education in 1950 has already undertaken the task of co-ordinating the work in regard to technical and scientific vocabulary in Hindi and regional languages. It is in possession of all the work done in this field so far and, at present, in the interest of uniformity and efficiency as far as Government of India is concerned, this Board has taken the sole charge of the work of evolving various scientific and technical terminologies in Hindi."

(3) Approximately 4,000 designational and administrative terms may have to be evolved for this purpose. It is not possible to assess the number of other terms which will have to be evolved as this covers a wide range of subjects.'

In the above reply it is recognised that there is need to co-ordinate the work in regard to technical and scientific vocabulary in Hindi and the regional languages. It is stated that the Board of Scientific Terminology set up by the Ministry of Education has undertaken the task already.

In the sentence following, it is stated that 'as far as the Government of India is concerned, this Board has taken the sole charge of the work of evolving various scientific and technical terminologies in Hindi.' It is also stated that 'the Board is in possession of all the work done in this field so far'.

We are not clear whether the extent to which co-ordination is necessary is fully appreciated. It is not only necessary that the scientific and technical terminologies for the Hindi language should be the same and that, to this end, the work undertaken in the Hindi-speaking States and Universities should be co-ordinated, but it is further necessary that the terminology being so evolved for the Hindi language should also, to the farthest possible extent, be co-ordinated with the terminologies extant in other languages or in the process of being evolved for them by the States, Universities or other authorities interested in their development. We are bound to record that, from what we have seen of this work and from the representations that we have received in this behalf in the States, it would appear that not only has the larger co-ordination as between different languages *not* yet been achieved, but, even the limited co-ordination as between different authorities concerned with the development of new terms and expressions for the Hindi language is not being achieved effectively in practice. We have had numerous representations made

to us in the Hindi-speaking areas on behalf of the States, Universities as well as literary associations that, in the absence of a sufficiently rapid lead in the matter from the Centre, which all of them would have welcomed, they have had to do this terminological work on their own in pursuance of the policy adopted by them for switching over to the medium of the Hindi language in higher education as well as administration. The result of this has been that we have a large number of un-coordinated terminological lexicons independently produced and, in some cases, recognised, in the respective fields by different authorities. This naturally results in anomalies. To illustrate, the Madhya Pradesh, Madhya Bharat, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh Governments have each published their own sets of administrative terms, styled respectively as

1. प्रशासन शब्दावली (मध्यप्रदेश)
2. शासन शब्द प्रकाश
3. बिहार राजकीय प्रशासन शब्दावली
4. Glossary in their publication निर्देशिका to be followed by a fuller lexicon.

The need for co-ordination is recognised on all hands, and we would only impress that the Centre should institute necessary measures forthwith for effectively achieving co-ordination in this important matter.

As regards co-ordination as between the different regional languages, which has also to be simultaneously attempted by the very nature of the case, we are not quite clear that the composition of the Expert Committees, which prepare the vocabularies for different subjects, is sufficiently comprehensive in the matter of representation of regional languages. It would appear that every important language has to be represented on every such Committee and the object will not be achieved by having, on these bodies, representatives of only some of the non-Hindi regional languages in each case. We appreciate that the number of persons with appropriate qualifications for assisting in this work is probably limited and certain difficulties would have to be overcome in securing such comprehensive representation. It may be possible and may be a help in this context to get the preliminary work in the regional languages, in the first instance, done within the respective linguistic regions by the States concerned or the Universities or other literary associations. All these are, however, organisational possibilities which can only be explored by the concerned administrative authorities and we would confine ourselves to pointing out merely the necessity of the Committees finally adopting terms being suitably composed.

As regards the pace of the work also, it appears to us that it has to be quickened considerably in the future if the targets laid down in this behalf by the Government of India themselves are to be attained. In the programme for the first five years, in their brochure on the subject 'Programme for the development and propagation of Hindi' published by the Ministry of Education of the Government of India in 1955, it is stated that it has been planned that, in the preparation of Hindi technical terms, 'the major portion' of this work will

be completed in the first five years. It is more than six years since the inauguration of the Constitution, and it would not appear that the work done so far could be considered a 'major portion' of the work necessary in the preparation of Hindi technical terms. From the evidence that was tendered before us, in some cases by persons working on these Experts Committees themselves, an impression was left with us that the work could be considerably accelerated and its output enhanced if the number of persons engaged whole-time on a stipendiary basis on this work is increased. Here also we recognise that there must be difficulties in obtaining suitable personnel. However, we would advocate the maximum possible acceleration and expansion of this work, to the limits of availability of personnel, towards an optimum calculated to achieve the target. This, again, is a matter of administrative organisation, which has to be ultimately decided upon by the administrative agency concerned.

The advocacy of an acceleration in the speed of the terminological work does not mean that we advocate that the work should be 'rushed' or any of the stages of consultation with the States, Universities, etc., be dropped or 'fudged'. We ask for the organisation being strengthened to produce more adequate results without curtailment of the gestatory processes involved necessarily in such an undertaking.

We are not aware as to the exact reasons underlying the lack of co-ordination. Apparently the enforcement of such co-ordination has not been found practicable even in respect of all Ministries of the Government of India. In the States the lack of co-ordination may have ensued from a measure of impatience on the part of the States wanting to switch over their administration to an Indian language in displacement of the English medium at a faster rate than could be accommodated within the lead available from the Centre. The dangers of bringing about practically a linguistic chaos if there is insufficient co-ordination ought to be obvious to everybody and, we have no doubt, must be widely realised amongst the authorities. If a sufficient lead is forthcoming from the Centre and if the lead is so devised that it could accommodate the varying paces that different States want to adopt in their progress towards displacing English by an Indian language medium, then it ought to be possible to achieve a far higher degree of co-ordination in the future than has been attained hitherto. We are convinced that this is essential and we feel it ought to be perfectly feasible. The organisational set-up that we recommend in this connection would, we hope, be conducive towards promoting more effective co-ordination.

12. Of course the matter does not end after terminological lexicons have been duly produced and published even though they may have been evolved with the greatest care and often the widest possible consultation. Indeed this is no more than merely the beginning. Terms and expressions have to acquire a fixity of meaning, an association of ideas, shades and nuances of thought before they begin to do their appropriate duties in the currency of speech. All words are of course merely symbols and it is by the meaning that we invest in them that they become serviceable vehicles for the communication of ideas. Besides, the new terms, no matter how carefully chosen to conform with the genius of the language or languages, would still be

liable to undergo what may be called grammatical or phonetic naturalisation and get somewhat transformed in the process. We must therefore, envisage two further stages before terminology evolved in this fashion can be thoroughly assimilated into the corpus of the 'host' languages: one would be to start using the new terminology; and the other, to undertake periodical re-standardisation.

In the very nature of the problem therefore it is essential that we do not wait until the last technical term has been minted. As terms up to a stage or other suitable point are evolved, they should be put into use in their respective fields in the text-books, in the statutes and law-courts, in administrative correspondence, in the newspapers and other publicity media. The different processes have to be in operation simultaneously although in an orderly sequence. After an interval of time, re-standardisation of different sets of terms should be undertaken.

One of the important points for consideration is whether after the terminology is adopted, steps should not be taken to enforce its universal use. There is room and need for maximum consultation prior to the adoption of the terms; if thereafter, in important segments, non-standard terms were still to be used, it would be an invitation to linguistic chaos. There is force in this argument. However, if the terminology is evolved so as to represent the best consensus of all important organised opinion in the field *e.g.* Central and State Governments, Universities and other Statutory educational authorities, representative literary associations, appropriate professional interest, etc., then it should in practice be superfluous to summon any coercive powers for securing its practically universal use. Besides, there must be a degree of elasticity 'on the fringes' to permit experimentation and responsiveness to the manner in which particular new terms are received by the people who have occasion to use them. It is to accommodate any such changes subsequently found necessary that we have specifically envisaged a stage of re-standardisation after an interval. While normally the standard terms should be used, there should be freedom to experiment and suggest further adaptations and improvements. The new terminology will be ceaselessly canvassed and analysed in the Press, in the class-rooms, in law-courts and legislatures, and in common parlance; and ultimately the re-standardised terminology will be fixed in its final form taking all such discussion into account.

The dilemma that, on the one hand language cannot be enforced by 'fiat' and on the other without some measure of uniformity in what is essentially a medium for communication, we should only be invoking a linguistic chaos, persistently recurs in the consideration of language policies. We would not like to dogmatise on the principle of it in this context and would leave specific issues to be decided as they arise. Since, however, the practical coverage, under control of the various authorities included within the ambit of previous consultations prior to preparation of terminology in our proposals, would be large, we feel that the need for compelling adoption of terminology would as a rule but seldom arise.

We have given consideration to the question as to whether the best venue for doing this terminological work would be a separate semi-autonomous agency rather than the routine departmental auspices of a Ministry of the Central Government. The present procedure, as we understand, is that the terms, before they are provisionally accepted, are submitted in each case, to the Cabinet for approval! Obviously, Members of the Cabinet could not, as a rule, have enough time for scrutinising this kind of work. Indeed, the detailed work of evolving terminological vocabularies would not appear to fall wholly within the Governmental sphere as such and we would venture to express doubts at the appropriateness of the practice under which large volumes of such vocabularies are periodically submitted to the Cabinet for obtaining their *imprimatur*. While the Ministry of the Government at the Centre, charged with the responsibility in this behalf, would naturally want to lay down principles to be followed and targets to be aimed at and set up an appropriate organisation for the work being done, the actual doing of it might, with advantage, be invested in a separate agency. Apart from the question of suitability of a Government Department as the venue for such work as against a semi-autonomous academic body, we would like to emphasise the need for a long-term planning and continuity of policy in the doing of this work and indeed of other allied work for development of languages to which we have adverted in a subsequent chapter. The reform and development of languages necessary for a full implementation of our language policies is a long-term task likely to spread over a couple of decades or more. It is also a work in which various authorities including all State Governments as well as the Union Government would be interested and therefore should be concerned. It is an undertaking, besides, which obviously transcends the immediate political plane at which Government normally function. We are of the view that the proper location of this work is a matter of the most vital significance. In chapter XIV, wherein we have examined the general issue of agencies for the implementation of the language programmes we consider necessary, we have suggested where exactly this work might be located.

## CHAPTER VI

## THE UNION LANGUAGE AND THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

1. Our terms of reference do not specifically recite the issues connected with the place of the Union language/English/regional languages in the educational system of the country. However, a consideration of these issues is directly involved in a proper consideration of our terms of reference. We have been asked in our terms of reference to make recommendations as to the progressive use of the Hindi language for the official purposes of the Union and as the language of inter-State communication and the language to be used for purposes of enactment of laws by legislative bodies and in the highest organs of the judicial system, namely, the Supreme Court and the High Courts. The whole purpose of this change-over of language in the fields of administration and the judiciary is to bring the functions of these important components of national life nearer to the common people whom they are intended to serve. If there had been an Indian language which was commonly understood over the entire length and breadth of the country, no wider issues touching other aspects of national life would have arisen out of such a change in the medium of the administration and of the law courts. Since that is not so, the consideration of this limited issue necessarily impinges upon what we have called 'the private sector of national life'. The educational system of the country is far and away the most important formal agency for the imparting of a knowledge of languages as indeed it is of other branches of knowledge and skills. Besides, the administrative agencies of the Union Government and the State Governments, the law courts and the professions associated with the judicial system, have to be manned by personnel who have passed through the educational system of the country and acquired, among other things, appropriate standards of linguistic knowledge requisite for the performance of their duties. The educational system, therefore, so far as it is concerned with the imparting of knowledge in the languages—Hindi, English and the regional language—whether as subjects of study or as media of instruction, is necessarily involved in the purview of our consideration.

At the same time we have constantly kept it in our mind that the consideration of the country's educational system in all its multifarious aspects was not a subject which the Commission were primarily appointed to consider. The field of education is vast and bristles with many problems and complexities of its own. It has been considered and reported upon by numerous committees and commissions. In recent years two important sectors of the educational system, namely, university education and secondary education, were reviewed and reported upon by two commissions of the highest authority. The University Education Commission reported in August 1949, that is to say, a little prior to the inauguration of the Indian Constitution on the 26th January, 1950; its recommendations touching the matter of languages, however, show a full comprehension of the nature of the Indian language problem and the likely

directions in which its solutions could be attempted. Of course, the precise solution embodied in the constitutional provisions bearing upon languages was not before the Commission when it reported. The Report of the Secondary Education Commission was submitted in June, 1953, that is to say, well after the country had adopted the solution of the language problem embodied in the provisions of the Indian Constitution. The purpose of our Commission was to consider exclusively the question of languages for Union and inter-State purposes and in the course thereof we have naturally had to take a view as to the main features and landmarks of the future linguistic landscape that we must envisage for the country. In the light of this we came to form certain views regarding the place that may be accorded to the different languages in the educational system of the country. We are, therefore, venturing to offer the views that we have formulated in this context. We have limited ourselves to studying in general terms the quantum of knowledge in the different languages that the educational system in our opinion should strive to impart at different stages. We have also ventured to offer tentatively our views as to the length of the period and the precise stage in the educational ladder at which we think the linguistic knowledge requisite for several purposes could best be imparted. We have, therefore, made suggestions only on the general standards to be aimed at. These suggestions must obviously be reviewed from the viewpoint of framing of curricula and other technical and pedagogic considerations by educationists before they are actually incorporated in the curricula and the time-tables of different classes.

2. Under the Indian Constitution* 'education including Universities except certain Central Universities and Union agencies and institutions for professional, vocational and technical training, etc.' is a subject in the State field of legislation and executive authority. The Banaras Hindu University, the Aligarh Muslim University, the Delhi University, the Vishva-Bharati University of Shantiniketan and any other institution declared by Parliament by law to be an institution of national importance fall within the Union List. Institutions for scientific or technical education financed by the Government of India wholly or in part and declared by Parliament by law to be institutions of national importance also fall in the Union List. A further entry in the Union List relates to 'Union agencies and institutions for professional, vocational or technical training..... or the promotion of special studies or research'. In item 66 of the Union List the following subject is further included, namely, 'co-ordination and determination of standards in institutions for higher education or research and scientific and technical institutions'. It will be for the Union Government and the State Governments so far as their legislative and executive powers extend respectively to consider and implement our suggestions relating to the educational system with a view to its orientation towards helping to accomplish a solution of the country's language problem.

3. There is one more important constitutional provision to which we would like to draw attention as it has in our view an important bearing on the question of language instruction in the educational

*Item 11 of the Seventh Schedule 'State List'.

system. In Article 45 of the Directive Principles of State Policy in the Indian Constitution it is laid down that 'The State shall endeavour to provide, within a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years'.

In pursuance of this objective all over the country there has already been a remarkable expansion of elementary education facilities and no doubt each State is further considering for itself how best it may accomplish the directive of the Constitution. We argued in chapter IV that this important provision of the Constitution envisages that the entire Indian electorate should undergo a course of education which would equip it for the purpose of taking an interest in the governance of the country and that this can be conceived of, besides the regional language, only in terms of literacy in an Indian language adopted as the language for pan-Indian communication, and that this certainly could not be the English language. One of the important purposes which the educational system must, therefore, be oriented to achieve is in our opinion the imparting of a sufficient literacy in the Hindi language by the age-limit of fourteen years so that every Indian citizen, if so inclined, may be in a position to comprehend and keep in touch or associate himself with the trends and movements in public life at pan-Indian levels including the activities of the Union Government, and frame his views thereon as he is entitled, and indeed would be expected to do. We are not aware as to how far in different States the attainments laid down in the constitutional directive would be found feasible of accomplishment by the year 1960. It is evident, however, that even should there be some delay in some States that would not make the least difference to the force of our argument.

4. A note has been prepared regarding the existing position of Hindi, English and the regional languages, both as subjects of study and as media of instruction, in the educational system of the country and is appended as Appendix IX to this Report. More detailed and specific information showing their existing position in the different States and Universities in the form of tables and statements is furnished as item III in the 'Supplementary Papers'.*

It will be noticed that at the primary stage of education throughout the country, generally speaking, the regional language is the medium, except when the mother-tongue of the pupils happens to be different from the regional language and a sufficient number of pupils is forthcoming to offer this language as the medium. In the Hindi-speaking areas of the country Hindi is the medium of instruction at this stage by virtue of its being the regional language of these regions. In the special conditions of Punjab and PEPSU, Hindi is a compulsory subject for the Punjabi-speaking pupils and Punjabi is a compulsory subject for Hindi-speaking pupils even during the primary stage. In certain areas of the country the question of pupils belonging to certain linguistic groups, whose mother-tongue is different from the regional language, arises for consideration. The Central Advisory Board of Education considered this issue in 1949 and resolved as under:—

'That the medium of instruction in the Junior Basic Stage must be the mother-tongue of the child and that, where the

*Not printed

mother-tongue was different from the Regional or State language, arrangements must be made for instruction in the mother-tongue by appointing at least one teacher to teach all the classes, provided there are at least 40 such pupils in a school. The Regional or State language where it is different from the mother-tongue should be introduced not earlier than Class III, not later than end of the Junior Basic stage. In order to facilitate the switch-over to the regional language as medium of instruction in the secondary stage, children should be given the option of answering questions in their mother-tongue for the first two years after the junior basic stage'.

'If, however, the number of pupils speaking a language other than the Regional or State language is sufficient to justify a separate school in any area, the medium of instruction in such a school may be the language of the pupils. Such arrangements would, in particular, be necessary in Metropolitan cities or places where large population speaking different languages live or areas with a floating population of different languages. Suitable provision should be made by the provincial authorities for the recognition of such schools imparting education through a medium other than the Regional or State language'.

We are not concerned with this problem, which appears to have been satisfactorily settled by the policy enunciated in the foregoing resolution. We are concerned only with the question whether, from our point of view, at the primary stage of education in the non-Hindi areas, it is necessary to introduce compulsory instruction in Hindi.

In some States Hindi is introduced as a subject of study from the last class of the primary stage. It has been suggested by some persons that the early age of the children being the most suitable age for language-learning, Hindi should be introduced in the primary stage itself. We are not clear as to the pedagogic merits of this proposition and whether these merits would be strong enough to displace the normal presumption that for the primary stage age-group, namely, fifth or sixth year to the tenth, it is best that the children learn well their own mother-tongue and/or the regional language and are not burdened with the study of any other language. We would leave it to the educational experts to decide whether instruction in Hindi may be started towards the end of the primary stage or not. From our particular point of view we would not consider it essential to do so.

The medium of instruction in the secondary schools, that is to say, including what is called the middle stage as well as the high school stage, is almost everywhere the regional language. The medium of instruction in the Universities, including therein the intermediate stage, continues still largely to be the English language. However, many Universities have made a beginning with the introduction of an Indian language as a medium of instruction and some of the Universities have set before themselves definite targets in point of

time for the progressive displacement of the English language as the medium of instruction by the medium of an Indian language in different faculties and for different stages of university education. In several Universities, particularly in the Hindi-speaking regions and in the Arts faculties up to the stage of graduation, Hindi has been introduced as a medium of instruction sometimes optionally with the English medium. We were told that, wherever such an option is available, the Hindi (or the regional language) medium is fast becoming the generally accepted medium in those institutions. English is, generally speaking, the exclusive medium for the Bachelor of Science and Commerce Degrees except that in certain Universities principally in the Hindi-speaking regions it is optional with Hindi. In the post-graduate and technical studies English is the medium in practically all the Universities.

So far as the teaching of English as a language is concerned, it will be seen that English does not feature as a rule as a language for study at the primary stage; that it is introduced as a subject of study in the middle stage in most States except a few in which it is postponed to the high school stage; that the subject features as a compulsory subject in the secondary schools in most States although a few States seem to have recently started the experiment of making it an optional subject either for the whole or a part of the secondary school stage.

In practically all the Hindi-speaking States Hindi as a language is a compulsory subject of study throughout the stage of secondary education, besides being the medium. It is a compulsory subject of study in some of the non-Hindi-speaking States; in others it is an optional subject of study commencing at different levels in the secondary stage of education in the different States; and in some States it is an optional subject although the providing of facilities for teaching Hindi is obligatory on the school authorities; in some of these last-named States as an optional subject it does not feature either for 'qualifying' or for 'ranking' whereas in others it features for one or both of these purposes.

5. Our concern with the educational system, as stated above, is with the imparting of knowledge of the Hindi language and, as necessarily involved therein, of English and the regional language. We would now proceed to formulate what degree of knowledge in the three different languages with which we are concerned, namely, Hindi, English and the respective regional languages, the educational system should attempt to furnish to its alumni from a linguistic point of view, at different stages in the educational ladder. We would also specify what in our view should be the character and quantum of knowledge of the above languages, at the various stages, having regard to the purposes that we have in view.

In respect of the pupils undergoing free and compulsory elementary education which the Constitution has enjoined that the State shall provide, we consider that the following quantum of linguistic ability should be available. The children until they complete the age of fourteen years will have undergone roughly about eight years of school instruction. During the whole of this period they would

have studied the regional language (or mother-tongue) both as a medium of instruction for other subjects and as a subject of study by itself. For the first four years of the primary stage very probably they would have studied the regional language exclusively. We consider it essential to provide for a minimum of three or four years of instruction in Hindi, the language of the Union, for all children, within the compulsory age-limit of fourteen years complete. Considering the close affinities between Hindi and the regional languages in most parts of India and having regard to the similarities of the turns of phrase, expression and idiom of all Indian languages, reflecting as they do the identities of Indian cultural life and social organisation, we feel that this period of instruction should be sufficient for purposes of imparting to the child a lasting literacy in the Hindi language. We recognise, of course, that a large majority of people in the different linguistic groups in the country would have little or no occasion to use any language other than their regional language for the purpose of their daily and immediate occasions. Regardless of his immediate and everyday occasions, we consider that every citizen of the Republic of India, to which status the child would grow eventually, must be in a position to take an intelligent interest in the affairs of the Union which, at the official and non-official pan-Indian levels, will be conducted in the medium of the Union language. The modern means of communication like the newspapers, the enormous volume of printed literature, Radio broadcasts, the cinema, etc. would doubtless tend to bring in to an increasing extent even such persons into the stream of pan-Indian life and thought. If the State is to incur the immense public expenses which would be involved in providing this degree of free and compulsory education, doubtless there will have to be, as an ancillary thereto, an extensive network of library services through which a stream of varied literature would be made available for further self-education by the neo-literates. Such facilities will have to be provided not only in the regional languages but also in the Union language, in order to enable the citizen to keep in touch with the life of the community to which he belongs at the regional level as well as with reference to his status as an Indian citizen for the purpose of his keeping in touch with all-India affairs and trends of thinking. It must furthermore be remembered that in a democratic form of government, as enshrined in the Indian Constitution, there would be an unceasing stream of political education reaching down to the farthest recesses of the country as a by-product of the frequent election campaigns—for elections to local authorities, for elections to State Legislatures, for election to Parliament—which are inseparable from democratic processes of governance; it is no longer conceivable that even the most backward components of the Indian community would remain hereafter untouched by these vast streams of political activity.

6. At the other end, so far as graduates emerging from Universities are concerned, we must consider the question of the knowledge of the English language which should have been imparted to them. We will consider below the question of the eventual displacement of English as a medium of instruction at the university level of the educational system. The trend is quite unmistakable in our opinion: nor can there be any doubt that, notwithstanding (in the view of

some), the serious, though temporary, drawbacks and disadvantages, the movement represents a shift in the right direction, provided there is no undue precipitancy about it. We are, however, quite clear that, even when English ceases to be a medium of instruction in our Universities, it would be necessary for us for a long time to come to provide that the graduates emerging from our Universities, especially in the scientific subjects, are equipped with a sufficient command of English (or other suitable advanced foreign language) to serve as a 'key' to the storehouse of knowledge not yet available in the Indian languages and as a 'window' to the rapid progress of technology and scientific knowledge that is constantly taking place in the world. It is obvious that we must ensure that educational standards do not deteriorate. We need high standards of knowledge and skills, more than ever, for the prosecution of technological advance in our country and for its economic development, for which immense opportunities have opened out before us since the attainment of Independence. By reason of its own merits, as probably the foremost language in the world today, by reason of the treasures of scientific knowledge in every field that exist therein and the fact that the most up-to-date advances of such knowledge are made rapidly available in that language, and the further fact that for a long time to come we would not be in a position to establish for ourselves an alternative 'pipeline' for the stream of knowledge and scientific progress in the world, the English language must necessarily form a component of the equipment of an Indian graduate, especially in the scientific subjects or technologies and perhaps, to a lesser extent, in the professions. We make a vital distinction between using the English language as 'a second language' for these special purposes and using it as the medium of instruction for the imparting of all knowledge at the important stage of the University in our educational system. While we welcome its progressive elimination as the medium of instruction, we are conscious of the necessity for maintaining adequate provisions and standards for imparting its knowledge, as a language, at appropriate stages and in appropriate faculties in our Universities.

7. It would be convenient at this stage for us to offer a few observations, parenthetically, on the deterioration of the standards of academic attainment generally, and more particularly, the deterioration in the standards of English knowledge which we suspect is more frequently at the back of such criticism. We are in no position to judge as to whether there has been, and continues to be, a deterioration in the general academic standards in the Universities, nor are we in a position to state with any degree of confidence what the genesis of such deterioration is. The evidence that has come before us regarding the working of the faculties through the Indian language media, in those Universities in which such media have been introduced, seems to show that both the comprehension and expression of the students have improved since the introduction of the Indian language medium. Indeed one would hardly expect that the results would be otherwise. We will have something to say, in what follows regarding the prerequisites of a change-over in the medium of instruction, at different stages and for different faculties in the Universities, with reference to the availability of text-books and other supporting literature. Nobody would, of course, advocate

the abandonment of an existing medium of instruction and the adoption of a new one without the necessary reading matter being available to the students and the teaching staff being themselves in a position to instruct through the new medium. We, however, see no reason to suppose that, provided the phasing is properly done, the switch-over from the English medium to an Indian language medium would necessarily involve a falling off in academic standards.

8. So far as the standards of knowledge in English itself are concerned, we have the following remarks to offer. We understand that the University Grants Commission has recently appointed a Committee for investigating this issue specifically and no doubt that Committee would suggest appropriate measures of remedy with reference to any such falling off of standards that, they may conclude, has taken place. English used to be the medium of instruction over large parts of the country at the secondary stage of education as recently as 15 or 20 years ago. It is obvious that, when one studies all subjects through the medium of a particular language, one's ability in that language is likely to be a great deal better than it would be when the language is studied merely as a subject, that is to say, over only a portion of the schooling time instead of over the whole of such time. Apart from this, in more recent years, there has been a deliberate curtailment in some areas of instruction in the English language in the curriculum of secondary education, as well as, a postponement of the stage at which such instruction is allowed to commence. Then there has been a change-over in the medium of instruction in the Universities particularly in the Arts faculties and more especially up to the intermediate stage. If, therefore, on the average, the university under-graduate or graduate today has a lesser linguistic ability in the English language than he used to have in the past, it would hardly be surprising.

9. We are inclined to feel that it is necessary to undertake without delay a review of the teaching methods, the content and the character of instruction in English, which would be appropriate with reference to the changed status of the English language in our educational system*. Hitherto, English has been taught in this country, more or less in the same fashion in which it is taught in the schools in England itself; a state of affairs, which was probably not so anomalous when English was the medium of instruction from the commencement of the secondary stage onwards throughout the educational system. Since, hereafter, we need knowledge of English for different purposes, the content and character of that knowledge, as well as the methods of imparting it, have to undergo a change. English has to be taught hereafter principally as a 'language of comprehension' rather than as a literary language so as to develop in the students learning it a faculty for comprehending writings in the English language, more especially those relating to the subject-matter of their specialised fields of study. No doubt, to a limited extent, a capacity for expression would also accrue and may usefully be cultivated along with the faculty of comprehension; however,

*We have had the benefit of consultations in this matter with the British Council in India, which body has a great deal of experience and special knowledge relating to the problem of teaching English in different countries of the world, and we gratefully acknowledge the assistance that we have received from them.

the change in the character of the knowledge of English apposite to our requirements hereafter, as distinguished from the past, is clear enough. The requirement of a knowledge for comprehending English is mainly a matter of understanding the basic grammar and structure of the language and thereafter, principally, a question of widening the vocabulary in the desired direction. A perception of the literary beauties of Shelley's lyrics or of Shakespeare's poetic imagery is not strictly related to the requirements of the case. A certain number of people in the country would no doubt need to possess the same sort of general and literary knowledge of the English language, which our educational system was designed in the past to impart, for specialised purposes such as those of international communication, in commerce and industry, and other official and non-official international contacts. Special measures could be taken to ensure that such personnel continues to be equipped with such knowledge in the future and special courses of training could be devised to provide such instruction in the educational system or outside. Besides, of course, there will be full-fledged faculties available in our Universities for the specialised study of the English language and English literature in the same way in which there would be such faculties for other important languages and literatures. The special requirement must not, however, determine the general position in the educational system. The point as to what changes in the methods of language teaching are to be introduced, as compared to the traditional methods hitherto followed in our schools and Universities, in conformity with the distinction between imparting instruction in a language as a language of comprehension as distinguished from a literary language, is an issue in pedagogy which must be considered by educational experts. We are concerned here merely to emphasise that the matter needs being looked into from this point of view. We should imagine that the more limited purposes for which, as a general rule, knowledge of English will have to be imparted in the educational system in the new set-up should make it possible to achieve requisite standards within a shorter period of schooling time and permit of a commencement of instruction in the English language at a somewhat later date in the secondary stage.

If graduates are to emerge from the Universities with a degree of knowledge in the English language that we consider necessary and, if as under-graduates, they are to be in a position to comprehend supplementary reading matter in English in their respective subjects, which for quite some time is likely to be necessary owing to paucity of such literature in the Indian languages, it is imperative that they should go to the University with an appropriate measure of knowledge of the English language acquired during the secondary school stage. While the formulation of the exact curriculum, etc. are matters for educational experts to consider, we would tentatively advance the view that it would probably suffice for the purposes that we have specified, if instruction in the English language commenced in the secondary school at a stage about five years pre-S.L.C.

10. We have considered above the requirements of Hindi instruction in respect of the students undergoing free and compulsory elementary education up to the age of 14 years and suggested that

for this purpose instruction in Hindi as a second language may start from the age of 10, that is to say, roughly at the commencement of the middle school stage. Having regard to the content and the quantum of the English language which we consider indispensable for the university under-graduates and graduates we have suggested that instruction in English may start, approximately, at five years pre-S.L.C., that is to say, when the child has completed 12 years of age. So far as the child undergoing free and compulsory elementary education in terms of Article 45 of the Constitution is concerned, it would be a waste to make him undergo any instruction in the English language. Instruction in a language as totally foreign as English is, for such a short period, would serve no lasting purpose at all and would merely result in a curtailment of the educational time available for other subjects and for the regional language and Hindi. We would, therefore, suggest, for the consideration of the State and educational authorities, that the two different 'streams' of students, *viz.*, one 'stream' leaving off education after the stage of free and compulsory education is over and the other 'stream' which would be pursuing academic education further beyond the compulsory stage, should be roughly demarcated for this purpose to avoid educational waste. Of course, these 'streams' should not be treated as wholly exclusive and fairly easy migration will have to be provided for. The 'streaming off' of the children at this level could be easily achieved by merely exempting one stream from the English language classes during which time it might be given other instruction in some useful subject, preferably further instruction in the Hindi language, and we should imagine that it would not present to school authorities any practical difficulties that would be insurmountable.

We are not unaware of the numerous complexities that arise in regard to such 'streaming off' of students, a problem that recurs at many points in our educational system. In the case of large numbers of students, the specific 'purposefulness' that is necessary for a well-ordered educational career is absent; apart from this, the students have not always disclosed their aptitudes with sufficient clarity at the stages of segregation. The 'streaming off' advised at this stage is with reference to the probable prosecution of studies in the academic line after the stage of free and compulsory education. It is advised with the intention that the child should derive the greatest benefit from the schooling it receives, and not to deprive any child of the option of learning English. As advised above, the 'streaming off' will have to be in any case fairly flexible allowing children, subsequently deciding to pursue academic education, to cross over and catch up. Where the arrangement might be misconstrued as a 'deprivation', the State authorities might give to the parents an option of determining whether they would have two years of English education for their children or instead, in the schooling time occupied by this instruction, other instruction in some useful subjects.

For both the streams the commencement of the Hindi instruction should start at the same time. In the case of the students taking to further academic studies at the close of the compulsory stage, instruction in the Hindi language would continue.

11. We have next to consider the quantum of instruction in the Hindi language which we consider indispensable for students in

secondary schools. Having commenced, generally speaking, at the close of the primary or the commencement of the middle school stage, instruction in the Hindi language should, we consider, continue up to the S.L.C. stage. The S.L.C. is a landing-off stage for various purposes including training in specialised technical institutions, in some of which, at any rate, for reasons which we will state below, the medium of instruction might be the Hindi language. By the end of the S.L.C. stage, having learnt the Hindi language for a period of six or seven years, the pupil, we think, would have been placed in a position to follow the instruction, should he decide to land off into such specialised technical training and not pursue academic education at the University. On the other hand, this quantum of instruction, particularly if it is reinforced, as we suggest it should be, during the additional year to be post-joined to the High Schools when university education becomes a three-year course and the present intermediate stage is abolished, should make the student capable of receiving instruction in Hindi at the University, should he join a faculty or an institution in which that language is the medium.

We must draw attention here to an important distinction between the place of Hindi instruction, as compared to the place of English instruction, in the secondary schools. So far as instruction in Hindi is concerned, it will be necessary to impart to the pupil in addition to a knowledge of comprehension of the language, a capacity to express himself both orally and in writing. Having regard to the place that the Hindi language is appointed to occupy in the country's life, a capacity for self-expression in that language would seem indispensable for anybody hoping to participate at pan-Indian planes of intercourse. To this end we would suggest that debating societies, recitations and other activities may be organised in schools, and indeed subsequently at the University as well, to encourage in the students the faculty of self-expression in the Hindi language.

So far as knowledge of the regional language is concerned, since students would have learnt it exclusively at the primary stage, as the medium of instruction throughout the secondary stage, as also, in addition, as a subject for language study through the greater part of the secondary stage, the students passing the S.L.C. should have acquired a high level of linguistic ability in it. It is for consideration whether at the University there need be any further instruction in the regional language/English/Hindi as a subject. So far as the regional language is concerned, we should think it would be unnecessary to provide for it compulsorily, except that it might be an advantage to provide for its further study, in a suitable form, in those faculties where Hindi may have been adopted as the medium of instruction; as regards English, it would seem necessary to provide for a continuation of the instruction in it in all faculties other than those for which English knowledge is not needed; as regards Hindi, in the case of those taking as their university medium a non-Hindi language, we would advise that such instruction be continued.

12. It will be convenient to consider at this stage the important question as to whether instruction in Hindi should be compulsory at the secondary school stage. Several States have already introduced instruction in the Hindi language at different levels of the

secondary school stage. The Government of India have accepted in principle that Hindi should be introduced as a compulsory subject in secondary schools in all non-Hindi-speaking areas, so that, the next generation of Indians may be Hindi-knowing, and they have been pressing this point of view on the State administrations. Many States including Assam, Bombay, Coorg, Hyderabad, Saurashtra and Travancore-Cochin have already made Hindi a compulsory subject in the secondary stage. In certain other States, while instruction in Hindi has been introduced at the secondary stage, it has been placed on an optional basis in one or more of the following several ways. In some, it is not included as a qualifying or as a ranking subject for the purposes of the S.L.C. examination or of any of the previous school examinations. In others, there is no compulsion to undergo instruction in Hindi so far as students are concerned although it is compulsory for educational institutions to provide facilities for the same. In Madras, for instance, where provision is made in all schools for the study of Hindi as an optional non-examination language in the curriculum of secondary schools, and it is obligatory on the part of the management of every secondary school to provide facilities for the study of Hindi, there is *no compulsion on the pupils* to avail of the facility. We were informed by the Madras Government that in spite of the study of Hindi being optional, a very large proportion of the pupils were in fact learning Hindi. The following‡ figures were given in this connection:—

| Year | No. of pupils in all secondary schools | No. of pupils learning Hindi | Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Forms I—VI | Forms I—VI | |
| *1952-53 . . . | 725,806 | 570,800 | 78·6 |
| †1953-54 . . . | 458,679 | 378,965 | 82·6 |
| †1954-55 . . . | 468,409 | 374,137 | 79·9 |

* Composite State.

† Madras State after separation of Andhra.

In justification of its policy of not introducing compulsion in the teaching of Hindi the Madras Government have recited the following arguments. For one thing, even as an optional subject Hindi is being studied by a large proportion of the pupils and the object of compulsion is presumably therefore being substantially achieved.

‡From the Madras Government's replies to the Commission.

Furthermore, to quote the words of the Madras Government's reply in answer to question (18) of our Questionnaire:

'In this State it had not been found possible to make Hindi a compulsory subject of study at the secondary stage for the following reasons:—

(a) According to the existing scheme of language studies at the secondary stage, students have to study two compulsory languages, *viz.*, (1) mother-tongue or the regional language and (2) English. To prescribe a third language, *viz.*, Hindi, as a compulsory subject would go hard against the students of this State.

(b) Unlike the mother-tongue or English, students do not hear Hindi spoken at home or in Society. It is, therefore, difficult for students in this State to attain such proficiency in Hindi as would not affect their promotion.

(c) The introduction of Hindi as a compulsory subject would lead to its becoming a qualifying subject for promotion, thus adding to the chances of students' failure in the examinations. It was the fear of such adverse effect on the educational career of students that had led to opposition from the public to Hindi being made a qualifying examination subject.

As Hindi has assumed increased importance since 1947 only, it is better to spread it gradually without provoking any opposition to the study of the language and without attaching any penalty to the lack of proficiency in the language'.

In the Explanatory Memorandum attached to the Madras Government's reply to the Questionnaire on this point the following observations are made:—

'Two questions will be raised:—

(i) Should not Hindi be given at least the same place as English, after the mother-tongue in particular?

(ii) Should not Hindi be made a subject of compulsory study?

The answer to both questions is in the negative; and it is necessary to set out clearly why this must be so.

**First**—English must be the second language and Hindi the third language for the following reasons:—

(a) English has to be and Hindi cannot be the medium of scientific and professional instruction in colleges; and

(b) English provides and Hindi cannot provide a direct access to creative modern thought. It is true that Hindi might be developed one day to perform these functions. But it is equally true that the mother-tongue would also be

so developed—perhaps even earlier. In any case, this consideration does not make a difference to the requirements of practical action between now and 1965.

**Secondly**—Hindi cannot be made the subject of compulsory study in secondary schools of this State for the following reasons:—

(a) The prescription of a language as a subject of compulsory study entails the consequence that failure to attain a minimum standard in that language will be attended by serious penalty, *viz.*, loss of prospects of admission to colleges, and of admission to all those professions which are limited to college-educated persons. It would be an unreasonable strain on the nervous energy of young students to subject them to the anxieties of such a penalty in respect of three different languages.

(b) The object of the suggestion that Hindi should be prescribed as a subject of compulsory study can only be to secure that a large number of students would learn it more diligently than otherwise. This object will not only not be secured, it will be defeated by the course proposed. For, it will create the apprehension that Hindi is being 'imposed' and, thereby, arouse a feeling of hostility to Hindi. On the other hand, if Hindi continues to be recognised as the third language in all schools, and all practicable steps are taken to raise the efficiency of instruction in Hindi, consistently with its optional character, the knowledge of Hindi is bound to increase steadily in this State. If, as is to be expected, the Government of India require that candidates should have passed an approved school examination in Hindi as the condition of employment under the Government of India, there can be little doubt that the students will voluntarily make good use of the facilities made available to them in all schools.'

So far as the question of expediency and local psychological reactions are concerned, the Madras Government obviously are far better placed for judging them than we would be. While, therefore, in any case the matter must be left for consideration by the Government of Madras, we would like to offer the following observations so far as the general merits of the matter are concerned apart from the question of special local reactions. It may be that in other States somewhat similar considerations are presently coming in the way of introducing Hindi teaching compulsorily in the secondary schools and, to that extent, our observations may have relevance to all such cases although, of course, in each case it would be the State Government themselves who would be best able to decide the issue as indeed they would be best able to judge the position.

One of the arguments is that 'English provides and Hindi cannot provide direct access to creative modern thought'. It may be conceded, as indeed it is true, that Hindi does not at present possess the variety or the abundance of literature of various sorts, including books of knowledge in the sciences and other subjects, in anything like what is available in the English language. It may also be

granted that Hindi cannot presently become a medium of scientific and professional instruction in colleges and that such an attainment on the part of the Hindi language will have to be phased, in respect of the different faculties and over different stages of instruction, over some considerable length of time. However, both these arguments, we submit with respect, are not apposite to the point at issue. Hindi has been adopted by the Constitution and, as we have pointed out above, rightly adopted, as the language of the Union administration and for purposes of inter-communication amongst the States and the Union, and will doubtless be called upon, in other sectors of national life, to replace the English language on its eventual displacement as the pan-Indian medium of intercourse between the different linguistic groups in the country. It is in virtue of this and not because Hindi is the best developed language in India, let alone its being as well developed as English; nor because, the literature in Hindi is more vast or varied than in any of the other regional languages of India, let alone its being comparable to that of the English language, that, these measures are considered necessary for the propagation of the Hindi language in the non-Hindi areas. On the displacement of the English language the country must have a common linguistic medium of expression. Of the various Indian languages in the field the Hindi language happens to be spoken and understood by far by the largest single group although the total Hindi speaking population, being a little over 42 per cent of the total population, is itself a minority if all the non-Hindi languages are clubbed together; it is for this reason that the Constitution adopted the Hindi language as the language of the Union; and by implication of necessary circumstances, it follows that, if India is ever to have an indigenous common linguistic medium, it could only be this language. So far as professional and scientific knowledge is concerned, we are, of course, no less anxious than anybody else for the maintenance of high academic standards and we have in the foregoing paragraphs already indicated how in our opinion a sufficient degree of instruction in the English language could be ensured for persons who would need it in these fields. The Madras Government's answer makes a very valid point when it states that students do not hear Hindi spoken at home or in society and, therefore, there is a difficulty for the students in that State to attain high proficiency in Hindi. Of course, a certain degree of such handicap is inevitable until, by the very propagation of knowledge of Hindi, the situation somewhat improves in the non-Hindi-speaking regions. Elsewhere in the Report, we have noticed the question of improving the quality of Hindi instruction in the non-Hindi areas and of improving the status of the Hindi teachers, and made suggestions for enabling at any rate some part of the non-Hindi-speaking student population to benefit from hearing spoken Hindi, for interchange of students between different Universities and regions, and so forth. All these measures must undoubtedly be pursued with zeal, although we are conscious, that even at their very best, a substantial handicap would still subsist in the non-Hindi areas, especially in the South, due to infrequency of opportunity to hear spoken Hindi in the normal occasions of life. However, since *all* students would partake of this handicap *equally* and as promotions of students or their ranking *inter se* in schools in these areas would *not* be affected by such a common handicap, we do not follow the statement in the Madras Government reply

quoted above, namely, 'It is, therefore, difficult for students in this State to attain such proficiency in Hindi *as would not affect their promotion*'. (The italics are ours). We are also likewise unable to follow the argument next succeeding to this in the quotation above given. If Hindi is introduced as a compulsory subject and it becomes a qualifying subject for promotion, presumably, the standards of promotion would be fixed suitably taking into account these handicaps in learning Hindi in the non-Hindi areas, and, in any case, both the handicaps as well as the promotional standards would apply to all students alike. The obvious and sufficient remedy for this situation is to aim at somewhat lower standards of Hindi in the early years in such non-Hindi areas like the Tamilnad; which standards, one hopes would be susceptible of gradual enhancement as the conditions for such instruction improve. We, therefore, do not see what adverse effect on the educational career of students such compulsion would have or why it must add to the chances of the students' failure in the examinations.

There is another point about this issue of compulsion which we have seen mentioned. It is not known who the 20% odd pupils who do *not* avail of the benefit of optional Hindi instruction are. It is possible that these are from the educationally backward classes. If so, the voluntary character of this instruction apparently prejudices a section of the community who have the greatest need for help and encouragement in educational matters. At lower levels of the educational structure, it is well known that introduction of compulsion is always directly in the interest of the educationally backward classes, since those educationally advanced are capable of looking after their interests without being compelled to do so.

Whether an additional language of study is called a 'second' or a 'third language' is not a matter of much significance to us so long as the necessary minimum of instruction is imparted in it to the pupils. The point that we wish to make is that, for reasons which can be easily imagined, the instruction, both to be given by teachers and received by students, is very likely to be somewhat casual and without the necessary degree of application or earnestness, if there is to be no sort of test or examination as to the attainments of the students. When everybody concerned, namely, the school authorities, the teachers and the students, are spending so much money, time and energy on instruction in Hindi on the present optional basis, the performance in respect of which must necessarily be a matter of conjecture in the absence of any objective standards, it would seem highly desirable that the instruction is placed on the usual formal basis by being made the subject of an examination at the end of the school year. Whether the examination in Hindi should first merely be 'qualifying' and only after some time a 'ranking' examination etc., are details which the local authorities are best placed to judge and, in any case, have the authority to decide.

The Madras Government have made a wise and commendable beginning in arranging compulsorily for the *provision of* instructional facilities in Hindi language in all their schools. We have no doubt that the further logical implementation of the measure would come although of course the timing and the phasing thereof are best

judged by the Madras Government themselves. Hindi is sure to enjoy the position that belongs to it by virtue of the proportion of the Indian population who speak it as the mother-tongue or understand it and its consequential adoption as the language of the Union and inter-State communication. Tardiness to recognise this fact must only cause harm to the persons affected by it. The fact that such a large proportion of the students care to undergo instruction in Hindi in spite of its being on an optional basis would show a widespread and realistic recognition of the circumstances of the case. Our only point is that if provision for teaching something is made, it is only wise that care should be taken that it is taught and learnt well.

13. There is another point which is sometimes argued in this connection which we must notice. It is sometimes suggested that as a compensation for the student population of the non-Hindi-speaking areas having to learn Hindi, the student population in the Hindi-speaking areas should be required to learn one of the regional languages of the country other than Hindi. Sometimes a variation is made on this suggested imposition to the effect that the other regional language, which should be so learnt by the Hindi-speaking students should be one of the four South Indian languages. It must be recorded in fairness and to the credit of all concerned that large numbers of persons in the North, appearing before us as witnesses, advocated such a compulsion; and we came upon others in the South who saw no point in such an imposition!

In a country like India with its rich and varied multilingual heritage, it is obviously highly desirable that ample facilities should be provided for the learning of Indian languages, other than their mother-tongues, by students in the secondary school system of the country. Elsewhere in the Report, we have commented on the ignorance of South Indian languages, history and literatures in other parts of the country and emphasised the importance of special measures for repairing this deficiency from the point of view of the 'emotional integration' of the country. There can hardly be two opinions about the desirability of providing facilities for the learning of more Indian languages in the different parts of the country. So far as the non-Hindi-speaking regions are concerned, since the students would have to learn Hindi in addition to the regional language and English, scope for a further study of another Indian language in the curriculum would appear to be small. The point is, however, of special significance in the secondary schools in the Hindi-speaking regions where only two languages—Hindi and English—will normally feature in the school curriculum. We are of the view that the educational authorities should be encouraged to provide facilities for the learning of other Indian languages by students in these areas to the maximum possible extent and that, where necessary, special assistance should be made available from governmental sources for this purpose.

The *voluntary* learning of more Indian languages and the general provision of facilities for doing so is, however, a different matter from the question whether there should be *compulsion* to individual students in the secondary schools in the Hindi-speaking regions to learn another Indian language as a part of their obligatory school

curriculum. A somewhat similar question arises with reference to the competitive examinations held by the Union Public Service Commission and we have examined it in that context in Chapter XII. We have held there that, for equating the Hindi-speaking candidate with the non-Hindi-speaking candidate in regard to the compulsory paper in the Hindi language that the latter would have to offer, the former should be required to offer a paper of his choice in a group of subjects which, among other subjects of general cultural interest, would include other Indian languages, and particularly, the languages of the South; that is to say, we have *not* recommended that the Hindi-speaking candidates must necessarily have to offer a paper in one of the other Indian languages/South Indian languages. In the case of competitive examinations, where only a limited number of vacancies is available and the point is that one set of candidates would suffer a handicap as compared to the other set, the circumstances are distinguishable and the need for equating handicaps of the two categories of candidates is clear. So far as the general scheme of secondary education is concerned, there is no such direct competition between the students of the Hindi-speaking regions and the non-Hindi-speaking regions and there is not the same need for devising a measure of equivalence in the handicaps. In the case of secondary schools generally, therefore, in our view, there is even less reason to impose such a compulsion than there is in the case of competitive examinations. In this context, we suggest that, instruction in the Hindi language to the students in the non-Hindi-speaking regions is to be looked upon not as a handicap or as a burden but as a facility to them for the acquisition of what is appointed to be the official language at pan-Indian levels of intercourse and thereby of a linguistic ability which they would find useful for all manners of occasions in their after-life.

A compulsory requirement to learn a non-Hindi regional language, whether Dravidian or not, by the Hindi-speaking students would stand on a different footing altogether. Even in the case of a student who would have occasion to go outside the Hindi-speaking areas, to regions in which other languages are spoken, it may be that the student may have acquired a regional language other than that of the region to which his occasions have taken him in after-life. Besides, the number of persons whose occasions would take them outside their linguistic region would be relatively small compared to the total population of the region.

It would be unjustifiable to impose the compulsion of learning such a language on the Hindi-speaking student when the chances of such acquisition being of definite and specific use to him are so small. The correct approach to the issue therefore, in our opinion, is to provide the widest possible facilities for learning other Indian languages in the Hindi-speaking areas and to organise suitable general incentives for undergoing such instruction but not to impose such specific compulsion on individual students.

The matter has therefore to be considered in our view in a different and wholly educational or pedagogic context. It might be considered purely on educational or pedagogic grounds whether the curriculum of the secondary schools in the Hindi-speaking areas

would admit of a further subject in languages. If it would and if the expert opinion of educationists is to the effect that the teaching time spared in the case of Hindi-speaking students by their not having to learn one extra language is best utilised in their own interest by introducing a further language subject, the curriculum may be framed accordingly. In that event amongst the possible options in such a compulsory language subject the various Indian regional languages other than Hindi should feature along with Sanskrit and other languages like French, German, Russian, etc.

**University Education**

14. We must now consider the question of the medium for university education. The various possible alternatives in the field are English, Hindi and the regional languages in the respective areas. It does not require much advocacy to establish the greater suitability, provided certain conditions are fulfilled, of the Indian languages as the general media of instruction in the Universities in the place of English. The argument has two aspects: one, from the point of view of the effect of the medium of instruction on the student himself who undergoes it; and the other, from a social point of view, that is to say, with reference to the place and usefulness of such a student in the community to which he belongs.

Most of what can be said on the subject has already been pronounced, with great clarity and an unusual insistence, in the writings of Mahatma Gandhi. Apart from that, each one of us, who has undergone the course of instruction as it used to be, knows to his cost how much of a wearisome burdening of the memory, a sacrifice of the faculty of independent thinking, and a blunting of intellect has to be incurred in the process of such instruction due to its medium being an entirely alien language. In fact, fully half or more of the educational effort under such a system is engaged in the skill of merely acquiring a sufficient mastery over the medium of expression to the inevitable detriment of subject-matter and original thinking. In spite of the immense amount of effort which under this system has to be expended on the acquisition merely of the facility for expression in the English language, it is doubtful whether a large proportion, of even the best products of the Universities, at the end of their education or ever afterwards, acquire a sufficient mastery of the foreign medium to make them feel completely at home and to release fully their capacity for thought and contemplation from the consciousness and fetters of a linguistic medium imperfectly mastered. A distinguished educationist and man of affairs, one of the foremost in his own field, in the course of his evidence before us stated that, to that day, in spite of the fact that the English language was his language of thinking and his almost exclusive single linguistic tool of thought and expression, he still experienced traces of a handicap of a foreign medium of expression when engaged in consideration of abstruse and difficult concepts in his field of study. It is possible that this handicap of a foreign medium of instruction, never or almost never perfectly mastered, has all along been a 'drag' on original Indian thinking during these decades during which the benefits of higher education have been available to successive generations of Indians passing

through the Indian Universities. It has been argued by some in support of this contention, that during these decades original contributions by Indian scholars, such as would be accepted by international academic opinion as being by way of specific addition to the sum-total of human knowledge in any particular branch of study, have lain more in the fields of natural sciences like physics, chemistry, botany, etc. That such original contribution in the fields of what may be called the 'humanities', has not been considerable, in spite of the fact that, this country has evinced in the past a special genius for the humanities and speculative studies generally, and having regard to the tremendous intellectual status of which this country is potentially capable, would seem to call for special explanation. It is suggested that the explanation at least in part lies in the fact that in the practical sciences the question of the linguistic medium is relatively not so significant as in the humanities wherein the vehicle of expression enters into the argument far more intimately.

As Mahatma Gandhi observed as early as 1916: 'Every Indian youth, because he reaches his knowledge through the English language, lost at least six precious years of life. Multiply that by the number of students turned out by our schools and colleges and find out for yourselves how many thousand years have been lost to the nation. The charge against us is, that we have no initiative. How can we have any if we are to devote the precious years of our life to the mastery of a foreign tongue? We fail in this attempt also.......................'* Then again: "The foreign medium has caused brain fag, put an undue strain upon the nerves of our children, made them crammers and imitators, unfitted them for original work and thought, and disabled them for filtrating their learning to the family or the masses. The foreign medium has made our children practically foreigners in their own land. It is the greatest tragedy of the existing system. The foreign medium has prevented the growth of our vernaculars. If I had the powers of a despot, I would today stop the tuition of our boys and girls through a foreign medium, and require all the teachers and professors on pain of dismissal to introduce the change forthwith. I would not wait for the preparation of text-books. They will follow the change. It is an evil that needs a summary remedy'. Coming from Mahatma Gandhi this is indeed a very strong indictment of the English medium.

It is widely recognised that the general medium of instruction in the Universities has to be eventually replaced by the Indian languages. Of course we recognise that for a long time to come in some of the faculties, especially in the field of scientific studies, English will have to continue as the medium of instruction. As we see the matter, the replacement of the medium will come in what are generally known as the humanities first; thereafter probably in the professions; and lastly in the scientific subjects.

15. The other and equally important aspect of the inadvisability of all higher education being confined to a foreign medium of instruction is the inevitable segregation of the educated classes from the stream of life of the rest of the community, which such a state of

*'Young India'—1-9-1921.

affairs is liable to bring about. Here again, we can do no better than quote from the writings of Mahatma Gandhi:—

> 'Surely it is a self-demonstrated proposition that the youth of a nation cannot keep or establish a living contact with the masses unless their knowledge is received and assimilated through a medium understood by the people. Who can calculate the immeasurable loss sustained by the nation owing to thousands of its young men having been obliged to waste years in mastering a foreign language and its idiom, of which in their daily life they have the least use and in learning which they had to neglect their own mother-tongue and their own literature? There never was a greater superstition than that a particular language can be incapable of expansion or of expressing abstruse or scientific ideas. A language is an exact reflection of the character and growth of its speakers.
>
> 'Among the many evils of foreign rule this blighting imposition of a foreign medium upon the youth of the country will be counted by history as one of the greatest. It has sapped the energy of the nation, it has shortened the lives of the pupils, it has estranged them from the masses, it has made education unnecessarily expensive. If this process is still persisted in, it bids fair to rob the nation of its soul. The sooner therefore educated India shakes itself free from the hypnotic spell of the foreign medium, the better it would be for them and the people.'*

Rabindranath Tagore once likened the university education received by a few Indians to a train with lights flooding the compartments flitting across the countryside. The compartments may be lit up for the passengers of the train but the light is no use for the countryside through which the train passes beyond giving them a blinding blaze! Indeed, higher education, so much cut away from the rest of the community, could not only not do any good to the general mass of the community, it could also not do all the good it might otherwise to its recipients themselves.

We feel that it is not necessary to labour the argument any further.

16. Fears are sometimes expressed that there would be a falling off in academic standards and more particularly in the field of scientific advance and technological development, in which we are already perhaps a generation behind the advanced countries of the world and that 'the clock would be put back' still further if we should abandon the medium of the English language. We, of course, whole-heartedly admit the force of the argument that our scientists and technicians should be in a position to keep abreast of scientific and technological development in their fields of study taking place all over the world. The advances so taking place, we are advised, are available in many of the fields more readily in books, journals and periodicals in the English language than in any other. We have

* 'Young India'—5-7-1928.

been at pains in the foregoing portions of this chapter to stress the importance of equipping our graduates, more especially those who graduate in the scientific subjects and technological skills, with a sufficient knowledge of English for the purpose of comprehending such literature and keeping fully abreast of the advances made elsewhere in the world. If it should be considered necessary to supplement in a special way the knowledge of English possessed by undergraduates studying in some of these and other subjects or departments, steps may be taken by university authorities for providing them further linguistic instruction either in the English language, or, if the particular field of study makes it more profitable, in some other foreign language. We realise, of course, that in scientific research in modern times, knowledge advances by constant collaboration and give and take between workers all over the world working in their respective fields. It is essential that our scientists should be in a position to converse, so to say, in the same specialised dialect with their compeers in other parts of the world. We do not think that the suggestions that we have made would militate in any way against the maintenance and enhancement of standards of scientific knowledge in our country. The misconceptions entertained by some persons in this regard arise out of a mixing up of such specialised linguistic ability necessary on the part of students and workers in particular faculties, with the use of a foreign language as the *general medium of instruction* all over the entire field at the university stage.

17. In any case the trend has been unmistakable in recent years and we have no doubt whatever that a change-over of the general medium from the English language to the Indian languages would come in our Universities progressively in the near future; and we entertain no misapprehensions as regards this trend, provided complete and satisfactory preparations are made and the change is suitably phased and graduated so as not to affect academic standards.

The next point for consideration is whether the university medium should be Hindi or the regional languages; and as a part of the larger question in particular, whether it is imperative that for certain courses or for particular stages of such courses, there ought to be an identical medium of instruction in all Universities in the country, which obviously can only be the Hindi language.

In this connection we have heard it argued that the only satisfactory medium of instruction in education at all stages, including the university stage, is the mother-tongue. Some of us are inclined to the view that, as between different Indian languages, this argument is rather overdone. Of course it is desirable that at the university stage of education where, except in the faculty of languages, acquisition of linguistic ability in itself is not the major aim, but rather the acquisition of knowledge in the subject of the specialised study undertaken by the student, the tool of language should not be such a burden as to inhibit the attainment of substantive knowledge. Having regard, however, to the close similarities between the different Indian languages, the fact that they will have largely identical technical vocabularies, that there is close resemblance in the idioms of expression and turns of phrase amongst the Indian

languages reflecting as it does the identities in the cultural inheritance of the different language groups, and furthermore, that each university undergraduate will, in the scheme that we envisage, come to the University with a good working knowledge of Hindi, we would not view the adoption of the Hindi medium at the university stage in the non-Hindi areas as in any sense unfeasible or out of court.

One of the arguments advanced in support of a common linguistic medium in all Universities in the country is as follows. It is suggested that the Indian intelligentsia, drawn from the various language groups, will not be unified and will get fragmented if the media of instruction in the Universities are various and, therefore, that the unity of the country will be affected adversely. Under the scheme of education that we visualise, university graduates all over the country, having received a minimum instruction in Hindi compulsorily at the secondary stage, will all possess the medium of the all-India language as a common means of communication. Of course, it is true that a non-Hindi graduate will probably as a rule have a higher linguistic ability in his own regional language which, apart from being a language of study for a longer period in his educational career, would also have been his medium of instruction. While therefore the original language of thinking of the intelligentsia in the different language groups might be the respective regional languages, there will have been forged sufficient links between the different language groups, through the instrumentality of a common all-India medium for purposes at any rate of comprehension, to sustain, in all its essential aspects at this level, the country's sense of unity. In the circumstances that obtain in India, the simpler and superior solution of a common medium in all Universities may not be available and one may have to be content with a more complex solution. Even if the Universities ultimately come to adopt different media for some courses of study, the general arrangements that we recommend—namely, (1) a certain minimum of compulsory Hindi instruction in the secondary stage, (2) all Universities admitting Hindi medium candidates for their examinations, and (3) a provision whereunder there will be scope for institutions with Hindi as the medium of instruction wherever and to the extent to which there is a demand for them—would still secure, though probably at their minimum, the essential requirements of the situation so far as the educational system is concerned.

A single common linguistic medium in all Universities would obviate all difficulties of migration of students and teachers and secure to both of them the same high degree of potential mobility which is afforded at present by the common medium of a foreign language. Herein also, in our view, for all the practical requirements of the situation, the solution that we should be propounding would be adequate. We would suggest that in all the Universities where the regional language is the medium of instruction for a faculty, permission should be freely granted to teachers who are unable to express themselves in the regional language to resort to the Hindi language. The students, having undergone a course of compulsory education in Hindi in the secondary schools, should have no difficulty in following the lectures as they would have a sufficient knowledge of Hindi, at any rate for purposes of comprehension. In fact, so far as accommodation of individuals is concerned, we would

advocate the largest practicable liberality in respect of lectures being given even in English by individual professors and lecturers who may not have yet acquired the ability to express themselves in Hindi or the regional languages. We are concerned with the change-over of the general system, and it is desirable, for obvious reasons, to avoid hardships to individuals to the maximum possible extent. The lectures of university professors are rated by their subject-content and not merely on grounds of linguistic ability. It may well be a long time before those who have been brought up in the old order and have learnt and pondered over their subjects in the English language can switch over their thinking to an Indian language and cultivate the ability for expressing themselves adequately therein. It may indeed happen that a full and satisfactory change-over will not take place until a new generation, brought up under different linguistic conditions, has replaced the existing generation. In our view, so long as the change-over of the system generally is brought about, the accommodation of any such individual exceptions makes no difference and ought to be liberal and readily forthcoming.

18. The system that we would recommend, so far as the question of medium of instruction in Universities as between regional language and Hindi is concerned, would be as follows:—

(1) Universities should have the freedom to decide for themselves whether they would adopt the regional language or Hindi as the general medium in their respective Universities.

(2) It may be left to the Universities themselves to decide in concert with each other, and after due deliberation in their established organs of consultation like the Inter-University Board, in what faculties, particularly in the professional subjects and Natural Sciences, and at what stages, particularly whether in the post-graduate stage, the teaching should be through a common medium of Hindi *alone* in all Universities on the displacement of the English medium.

(3) All Universities should in any event be required to arrange to *examine* students offering themselves for any university examinations with Hindi as the medium of instruction.

(4) All affiliating Universities should also be under obligation to offer affiliation on equal terms to any colleges or institutions teaching through Hindi as the medium of instruction for any of their courses in the territorial jurisdiction of the University.

We have noticed in Chapter XI the special case of legal education. When a change-over of the linguistic medium becomes ripe in the field of legal education, we anticipate that such education will have to be provided both in the Hindi medium and in the regional language medium in all regions. The solution is consistent with what is suggested above. So far as other professional faculties are concerned, we have no particular views to urge and would leave the matter for

consideration by the Universities themselves in concert with each other as suggested above.*

19. The question that next arises for consideration is whether, in addition to the provision that the Hindi medium should be eligible for all *examinations* in all the Universities, it is not necessary to provide specifically for the setting up of institutions in which *instruction* through the Hindi medium would be available. A suggestion that might be considered in this connection would be that a provision for instruction through the Hindi medium should be made by all teaching Universities as far as possible in at least one institution in each faculty. We do hope the Universities will consider such a suggestion favourably although, of course, it is not in itself a complete answer to the problem of providing instructional faculties through the Hindi medium. For one thing, such an arrangement would leave out the Universities which are exclusively affiliating bodies. Moreover, in the more popular courses of study, the provision of a single institution at one place might not adequately meet the requirements of students from all over the territory within the

---

*1. Dr. R. P. Tripathi, while agreeing with the Commission's recommendations in this paragraph, wishes to have his following views placed on record :

He personally believes that the medium of instruction at the university stage should ultimately be only one and for obvious reasons it could only be Hindi. The Universities should continue in the meantime the present medium, namely, English and not hustle themselves into adopting any of the regional languages; they should wait until Hindi has been made a suitable and effective medium for all university education. This is necessary for the sake of maintaining standards during the transitional period which is so critical in the life of the nation.

2. While he agrees with the recommendations made in this paragraph, Sardar Teja Singh would like to suggest the following scheme for consideration by the Universities so that as far as possible a uniform system should be built up throughout India in respect of the medium of university education. This scheme in his opinion is calculated to give due place and importance to the regional languages as well as Hindi as media of education and to enable them to develop freely without standing or appearing to stand in the way of each other. Having regard to the place assigned to it by the Constitution and the need to foster the feeling of unity among all citizens of the country, it is imperative that the Hindi language should feature as a medium of instruction in the universities; at the same time as our country is polyglot and the regional languages of the country are entitled to have avenues opened to them for their fullest development, they must also feature as media of instruction at the university stage. Besides the Hindi and the regional languages have their respective specific places appointed to them in the Union and State administrations and consequentially as language media for the Union and State public service examinations. Having regard to all these considerations, Sardar Teja Singh would propose the following scheme for consideration by the Universities :

(1) Regional languages should be the media of education up to the degree standard for all Humanities.

(2) Hindi should be the medium of instruction for all the scientific subjects throughout and for all post-graduate teaching in all subjects.

(3) For professional and technical courses such as medicine and engineering Hindi should be the medium.

The scheme should come into force eventually when Hindi as well as regional languages have developed sufficiently and are in a position to replace English without affecting the requisite standards. For scientific and technical subjects the change-over from English to Hindi will obviously take a longer time. So far as legal education is concerned, it is imperative that for many a year until the High Courts and the Supreme Court give up the use of English the medium of education for law classes should continue to be English. Furthermore, knowledge of English should be made compulsory for all law graduates for all time to come having regard to the nature of our system of laws and judicial administration.

jurisdiction of the University. On the other hand, it may be that even in a teaching University certain exceptions to the general rule would need to be made; for instance, in specialised faculties, for which the number of institutions providing instruction is normally small, the provision of even one institution with the Hindi medium of instruction might mean disproportionate additional cost. At the level of teaching institutions affiliated to Universities, there would doubtless be some large institutions in which the number of students desirous of taking the Hindi medium may be sufficient to make it practicable for the authorities to provide separate teaching in the Hindi medium as well; except for such cases, the provision of both media in the same institution would not, it is contended, be financially practicable as a rule. All in all the situation is too complex for a single solution to be applicable universally, and, apart from counselling that wherever there is demand for instruction through the Hindi medium, every effort should be made by Universities and educational authorities to meet the demand in the interest of the student population of the region, we would leave the matter for being dealt with on the merits of each case by the concerned authorities.

A suggestion has been made that in addition to requiring Universities to offer facilities for examining students in the Hindi medium and to offer equal affiliating facilities to institutions teaching through that medium, the Central Government should themselves establish and run a certain number of Central Universities, particularly in the non-Hindi-speaking areas, with Hindi as the medium of instruction exclusively to replace English as such replacement becomes possible in different faculties. The suggestion proceeds that, furthermore, powers should be taken to authorise colleges or institutions, teaching through the medium of Hindi within the jurisdiction of other Universities, to affiliate to such Central Hindi Universities in certain circumstances to be suitably specified in this behalf. The object of the suggestion is that there should be alternative facilities available for affiliation to institutions teaching through the Hindi medium, should the aforementioned arrangements not prove adequate. The suggestion, while its merits are obvious, would present certain difficulties. Such a provision for 'extra-territorial' affiliation might be regarded as an encroachment on the jurisdictional fields of Universities. Most of the statutes constituting our Universities delimit the boundaries of the University's jurisdiction and, as a rule, institutions within these areas cannot seek affiliation to any other University. The starting of Central Universities with powers for such 'extra-territorial' affiliation would therefore run counter to the established form of university organisation. Besides, administratively there might be difficulties about such Central Hindi-medium Universities supervising over affiliated institutions situate at distant places and within the jurisdiction of other Universities. Altogether, we would advise that such an expedient may be considered only if it is found to be necessary owing to the aforementioned arrangements failing and it being found that Hindi-medium institutions are put to difficulties in securing local university affiliation.

20. In our view, even under the limited scheme suggested in paragraph 18 above, the migration of students and teachers from one University to another would be practicable and it would be possible to engage, without serious difficulty, the services for instructional

purposes of professors with other mother-tongues even where the medium is a different regional language. The system will leave the university and college authorities to determine for themselves in how many institutions instruction through the Hindi medium should be provided. By providing that affiliating facilities should be equally available for Hindi medium institutions and for the examination of students offering the Hindi medium by every University, viability and a sufficient degree of elasticity would be imparted to the system to enable it to respond to the size of the relative demand for instruction through the media of the Hindi or the regional languages. The efficient replacement of the English medium by the medium of an Indian language depends upon preparations made for providing adequate text-books and other reading matter in the language of the new medium. It is impossible to predict to what extent and at what time such literature will become available for new faculties in different regional languages and in Hindi. By leaving the system flexible, we admit of the university authorities making adjustments as the situation develops. They are responsible for the maintenance of academic standards and it is right and proper that this discretion should remain in them. The number of colleges providing facilities in one or the other medium of instruction in different regions will depend upon the relative size of the demand from the student population which, in its turn, would be determined by the employment opportunities and other openings available in the regional language in question as against Hindi. There is no reason to suppose that such an arrangement would be necessarily to the prejudice of the regional language which is destined to replace the foreign medium in all fields of administration and commerce and industry internally within each region. If it should happen that a larger number of students in a particular faculty in a particular region seek instruction in the Hindi medium instead of in the medium of the regional language, this can only mean that larger opportunities are available for students qualifying through the former linguistic medium, and it could surely not be to the advantage of any region to debar the student population of that particular region from availing themselves of such opportunities. When the scales are held even as between the two media and the door kept open for both, as will be done in the system advocated above, the adjustment between the relative demands for instruction through the two media will be the natural resultant of the importance or the utility of the two media as adjudged by the student population whose requirements must obviously be the deciding factor in the situation.

In our terms of reference we have been enjoined in making our recommendations to have due regard to 'the industrial, cultural and scientific advancement of India'. We are satisfied that if the displacement of the English language in the educational system takes place in the manner we have envisaged, no prejudice would be caused to the industrial, cultural and scientific advancement of India and in fact advantages would accrue immediately in the field of cultural development and eventually in respect of industrial, and scientific advancement as well.

21. It is sometimes argued as if a smaller number of pupils taking to the regional language as a result of some of them taking to the Hindi medium, or in certain cases instruction not being available through the regional language medium at all, would abort the development or retard the general growth of the regional language. In our view the fear is exaggerated. It is quite correct that language develops only in response to the needs for linguistic expression; in the past, our regional languages have been shut out from many fields and, particularly the field of higher education in the present context, and have in consequence suffered grave handicaps such as inadequacies of vocabulary, technical terms, forms and expressions. But the exclusion of a regional language as a medium, and of course this applies equally to Hindi as well, from certain fields of specialised scientific knowledge could not be considered as fatal to the development of the language or its general growth. Suppose, for instance, the regional language (or Hindi) is not in use for purposes of higher atomic research; this would mean, at the most, that a certain number of abstruse terms which very likely will be adopted from international terminology and, in any case, would never enter the currency of common speech, would not get developed in that language. This may affect the enrichment of the specialised vocabulary of the language to that extent but could cause no hurt to the development of the language as a linguistic tool for all literary and everyday purposes. Likewise, it is not going to make any difference to the growth and development of a regional language whether the *number* of students studying, say, in the Faculty of Law, in that language is only eight hundred instead of being a thousand, the further two hundred having been lost to the Hindi language on account of the opportunities available in the legal profession for students qualifying through the latter medium.

Besides, we do not agree in principle that the governing consideration in respect of higher education should be the incidental benefit of development to a language and *not* the academic requirements and attributes of higher education itself. Universities exist for maintaining high academic standards and imparting both the content of the knowledge and the zeal to seek it, to their alumni; not merely for language development.

22. The case of institutions for scientific and technical education requires special notice. So far as such institutions are financed by the Government of India wholly or in part, it would be competent for the Central Government to fix the linguistic medium through which instruction will be imparted in these institutions. Obviously this will have to be the Hindi language where students drawn from all over the country from the different linguistic groups may have to avail themselves of such training facilities: it could be the regional language where the students are exclusively or almost wholly from a single linguistic group. The issue, like all such questions, has to be resolved pragmatically, each case being decided on its own specific merits. It may also be that there are at some places State institutions the benefits of which are not wholly confined to students coming from those particular States. Specialised technical institutions like, say, veterinary colleges, schools and colleges of minerology, agricultural colleges, etc., cannot be duplicated all over the States merely because

of a change of policy in the linguistic medium for imparting instruction in such institutions. Nor would it be to the interest of such States themselves to virtually exclude students from other States by adopting the medium of the local language, as the economy of such institutions is likely to be upset by any serious derogation of the numbers of pupils to be catered by them. We have no doubt that in all such cases the States concerned would agree to the common linguistic medium of the Hindi language being adopted as the medium of instruction to obviate all such difficulties.

23. It must be recorded that in the view of some of us, there are certain notable advantages to be gained if it were possible eventually to adopt a common medium of instruction in all Universities over the greater part of university studies. Apart from the advantages of 'mobility' in respect of both teachers and students in the Universities in all the regions in this event, in the view of some of us, it is imperative for serving the country's national unity that the intelligentsia in all the linguistic regions should have been educated in a common linguistic medium. There are other variations within this view: some of us think that, if not for all subjects, at any rate, for studies in the scientific subjects and for professional studies as distinct from the Humanities, a common linguistic medium for university education is indispensable: some others hold the view that while regional languages may be used up to the level of Intermediate examinations/level of graduation, for higher studies there should be a common linguistic medium, *viz.*, the Union language. These views are not shared by those amongst us who think that the regional languages must be eligible for all times as a medium of instruction in higher education at all stages and in all faculties. We are all agreed, however, that the choice of the medium should be left to the respective Universities themselves to decide; that the arrangements suggested above in paragraph 18 relative to the university medium should, in any event, be made; that these are the minimum arrangements necessary in the system of university education in the country for the present, and that, for the rest, the situation may be watched as it develops. We are also all agreed that the evolution of a substantially identical terminology for all regional languages, including the Union language, when actually accomplished in due course of time, would considerably reduce so to say, the 'distance' between the different linguistic media and thereby make the issue as between Hindi and the regional languages less acute and the choice less difficult than it appears today. In our opinion also the eventual adoption of a common medium of instruction where practicable would be a highly desirable objective.

Accordingly, we would advise that the question of medium of instruction in the University should be left primarily for consideration by the university authorities themselves who will, no doubt, always want to keep in step with other Universities for the important purpose of maintaining comparable academic standards. Nobody could have a greater concern for maintenance of high academic standards in a University than the authorities of the University itself. The situation as it presents itself today is uncertain, and we would leave it to crystallise as it may, subject to the maintenance of certain essential features which we have recited above, under the

free choice made in respect of the medium by the university authorities. The Government of India have announced* recently that they have no intention of making the medium of instruction in Universities a subject-matter for a policy decision by Government. The minimum regulation in this behalf, on the lines suggested above, by the Central Government would seem to be covered under the subject 'co-ordination and determination of standards in institutions for higher education or research and scientific and technical institutions', which is included in the Union List in the Seventh Schedule and is within the legislative and executive powers of the Central Government.

Although it is not of proximate interest, we consider it our duty to touch upon a point of fundamental principle which might possibly arise in the future. As stated above, the Government of India have already decided in principle not to make the medium of instruction in Universities an issue of Government policy. Considering, the state of flux in which several important factors governing this issue are at present, we have no doubt that this is the right decision and we have endorsed it in the foregoing. We would, however, like to make one or two observations on this important issue of 'autonomy of Universities' which might become pertinent if unfortunately the issue, ultimately, does not get resolved satisfactorily. The principle of autonomy for Universities is of course a very wholesome principle. It is intended to secure independence from the executive Government in their teaching by university professors, to secure academic freedom within the Universities and subserve the best interests of advancement of knowledge. So far as the question of *the linguistic medium* of instruction is concerned as distinguished from the *content of the instruction* or the conditions in which the instruction is imparted, there would not seem to be any reasons, in principle, why the last word must rest with each university authority acting on its own judgment. We feel confident that the university authorities would, while taking their decisions, act in due deference to the national language policy as adopted by the country for itself. On this topic Mahatma Gandhi observed as under:—

> 'In my opinion this is not a question to be decided by academicians. They cannot decide through what language the boys and girls of a place are to be educated. That question is already decided for them in every free country. Nor can they decide the subjects to be taught. That depends upon the wants of the country to which they belong. Theirs is a privilege of enforcing the nation's will in the best manner possible. When this country becomes really free, the question of medium will be settled only one way. The academicians will frame the syllabus and prepare textbooks accordingly. And the products of the education of a free India will answer the requirements of the country as today they answer those of the foreign ruler. So long as we the educated classes play with this question, I very much fear we shall not produce the free and healthy India of our dreams. We have to grow by strenuous effort out

***Vide* the statement made by Shri M. M. Das, Deputy Minister for Education, on 24th November, 1955.

of our bondage, whether it is educational, economical, social or political. The effort itself is three-fourths of the battle'.

24. We would like to point out the consistency of our conclusions, in the main, with the recommendations made by the University Education Commission and Secondary Education Commission. There is, of course, a difference in the perspective in which we have approached the question and the perspective in which it was approached by these two commissions in their respective fields. While these commissions considered the question of education in the three languages, namely, English, Hindi and regional language, from their expert and pedagogic point of view, as a part of their general inquiry into the whole field of university education and secondary education respectively, we were concerned to formulate specific views as to the place that instruction in these languages should have in the different stages of the educational system in the context of the language problem of the country and the provisions relating to language made in the Constitution. As might have been expected, there is some difference in their recommendations and our views, largely in that we have had to go more into certain particulars and record specific conclusions; these conclusions are, however, within the framework of schemes recommended by these commissions.

The University Education Commission has made the following recommendations in regard to the medium of education:

'that for the medium of instruction for higher education English be replaced as early as practicable by an Indian language which cannot be Sanskrit on account of vital difficulties;

that (i) pupils at the Higher Secondary and University stages be made conversant with three languages,—the regional language, the Federal language and English (the last one in order to acquire the ability to read books in English);

that (ii) higher education be imparted through the instrumentality of the regional language with the option to use the Federal language as the medium of instruction either for some subjects or for all subjects;

that English be studied in High Schools and in the Universities in order that we may keep in touch with the living stream of ever-growing knowledge'.

It will be seen that our recommendations about the medium of instruction are wholly consistent with those of the University Education Commission.

The Secondary Education Commission has recommended that—

'During the Middle School stage, every child should be taught at least two languages. English and Hindi should be introduced at the end of the Junior Basic stage, subject to the principle that no two languages should be introduced in the same year'.

It has also observed as regards the study of Hindi that—

> 'In view of its becoming the official language of the Centre and of some States, every pupil at the secondary stage should be given an opportunity of acquiring a basic knowledge of the language and it be left to him to develop it according to his needs. From this point of view it is stressed that Hindi should be taught during the middle school or the senior basic stage'.

Furthermore, with reference to the position of language studies it observes—

> 'We, however, feel that under present circumstances it should be possible for a child to learn three languages. It is no doubt true the scripts being different the strain will be a little heavy, but we believe that it is easier for the child to learn these languages at an early stage than at a later stage'.

In consideration of the more specialised point of view from which we had to approach the question, we have had to go into further details of certain aspects and record a specific conclusion about Hindi being made compulsory at a certain stage in the secondary school.

**Text-Books**

25. We must say a word about the problem of text-books. There are no inherent difficulties about ensuring an adequate supply of text-books corresponding to the medium in the university courses. This is almost wholly a matter of demand and supply. We have had the position regarding the availability of text-books for university courses reviewed and a paper was prepared on this subject in the Commission's Office: it has been printed as item VII in the 'Supplementary Volume'*. As contrasted with the position about five years ago, when there were hardly any books on any subject in Hindi or the regional languages suitable for being prescribed as text-books for degree examinations, it is seen that now there are a fair number of books on almost all the subjects taught for the B.A. and B.Com. degrees in the Hindi medium and to a lesser extent in the medium of some of the other regional languages. Undoubtedly the greater progress made in respect of text-books in Hindi is due to the Universities in the Hindi-speaking areas having gone ahead progressively in the direction of introducing the Hindi medium for their courses, particularly in the Arts faculties. The present position is that, generally speaking, while for science and other technical faculties there are practically no text-books, there is a reasonable adequacy of text-books for the Arts faculties in Hindi.

We realise of course that the question of the *quality* of text-books produced in the various Indian languages is different from the question of their *quantity*. It would obviously be far easier to evoke an increment in the *quantity* than it would be to secure an improvement in their *quality*. The quality of the text-books produced and whether they are original compositions or merely translations would depend mainly on the capacity of our academic

*Not printed.

personnel and any deficiencies in this regard could have but little connection with the linguistic medium. If there are persons capable of composing good text-books in the English language, they should have no difficulty in rendering text-books into Hindi or the regional languages or collaborating with somebody else who would help them to achieve the rendering. A change of linguistic medium in this context is a neutral factor and cannot be blamed for such deficiency in quality. In the long run, if anything, the change in the linguistic medium by helping to promote a better perception of the subject-matter should serve as an impetus to original thought and composition.

The problem is not merely one of text-books alone but, and to an even more important extent, of the much larger quantity of 'reference literature' that is needed by students reading for university courses in different faculties. There has to be a good supply of hand-books, histories of thought, biographies of thinkers and writers, histories of literature and books of literary criticism, statistical abstracts, atlases, encyclopaedias, etc. as supporting reading matter. There is at present a very acute shortage of all these in all the Indian languages.

It is obvious that it will be a very long time before we are able to build up in Hindi or the different regional languages a volume of all this literature anything like comparable to what is available in the English language even in respect of subjects included under 'humanities'. However, the provision that we have made for university students to possess generally an adequate knowledge of comprehension in the English language would be able, and indeed is devised specifically for that purpose, to eke out this deficiency.

Are any special arrangements necessary for ensuring a good flow of text-books and other supporting literature to sustain a policy of progressive change-over of the medium of instruction in the Universities to one or more of the Indian languages? So far as 'reference literature' is concerned, we feel that the supply is unlikely to be forthcoming unless special steps are taken for promoting the publication of such literature, which is generally unremunerative. As a rule, the initial capital expenditure involved and the relative unprofitability of such undertaking would deter private enterprise unless substantial aid or sponsorship was forthcoming from other sources. So far as text-books are concerned, on the other hand, very largely, we suppose, it is a matter of demand and supply and, therefore, while some initial effort would be necessary to encourage suitable persons in the academic field to undertake the writing of text-books, once a sufficient demand has been generated, the problem will tend to get easier and will eventually settle itself in terms of the normal demand and supply.

As regards suitable agencies for co-ordinating the supply of text-books to requirements and initiating such supply at the commencement, as well as organising the production of other supporting literature, we have no particular suggestions to make beyond emphasising the need for continuous co-ordination between university authorities in this respect. Our resources of personnel are limited and, if the Universities arranged for different subjects being taken for working up by different professors, we would be

able to obtain the best coverage in the shortest time. We do not know whether it would be possible or not to effect such co-ordination through the normal agencies for consultation between the Universities, like the Inter-University Board. It has been suggested to us that for securing effective and co-ordinated action in this important respect, it is necessary to set up a specific and separate co-ordinating agency under the auspices of the Central Ministry of Education. As regards the actual carrying out of the work, possibly, it may be found advisable to have some part of such work, relative principally to the supporting literature, sponsored in an appropriate Section of the National Academy of Languages, the setting up of which we recommend in Chapter XIV. These details will however have to be settled and decided by the Education Ministry of the Government of India. We would merely emphasise the paramount importance of this work in which, apart from the Universities, the State and the Union Governments have also an obvious interest in view of its bearing on the country's language policies.

## CHAPTER VII

# LANGUAGE IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—I

## (i) OFFICIAL LANGUAGE OF THE UNION

Some of the specific terms of reference which the Commission have been asked to make recommendations on are as to—

(a) the progressive use of the Hindi language for the official purposes of the Union;

(b) restrictions on the use of the English language for all or any of the official purposes of the Union;

* * * * *

(e) the preparation of a time-schedule according to which and the manner in which Hindi may gradually replace English as the official language of the Union and as a language for communication between the Union and State Governments and between one State Government and another.

It is further laid down that 'in making their recommendations, the Commission shall have due regard to...... the just claims and the interests of persons belonging to the non-Hindi-speaking areas in regard to the public services'.

In this chapter we will examine issues in connection with the use of Hindi as the language of the Union and the special case of the language problem in the Indian Audit and Accounts Department. In the next chapter we will consider the issue of the language for Union-State and Inter-State communication and the problem of numerals. In chapter XII the issue of language in the public service examinations will be considered.

We will first review generally the progress made so far in introducing Hindi in the affairs of the Union.

The official language of the Union has so far been English and will continue to be so till 1965, under the provisions of Article 343 of the Constitution. This Article lays down that the official language of the Union shall be Hindi, provided that till 1965, English shall continue to be used for all the official purposes of the Union, for which it was being used immediately before such commencement. The Constitution makes provision, however, that within the stipulated period of 15 years the President may authorise the use of Hindi language in addition to the English language for any of the official purposes of the Union.

In accordance with this provision the President has issued *Orders that the following shall be the official purpose of the Union for which Hindi language may be used in addition to the English language:

(1) For correspondence with the members of the public.

(2) For administration reports, official journals and reports to Parliament.

(3) For Government Resolutions and legislative enactments.

(4) For correspondence with State Governments which have adopted Hindi as their official language.

(5) For treaties and agreements.

(6) For correspondence with Governments of other countries and their envoys and international organisations.

(7) For formal documents issued to diplomatic and consular officers and to Indian representatives of international organisations.

(8) For warrants of appointments of Governors of States, Judges of the Supreme Court and Judges of the High Court.

As regards restrictions on the use of the English language for all or any of the official purposes of the Union, in view of the provisions of Article 343 and clause (6) of Article 344, the legal position is that for the period of 15 years up to 1965 Hindi language can be used only *in addition to the* English language except in so far as, under the latter of these provisions, the President may issue directions in accordance with the report on this Commission's recommendations, which are to be examined and reported upon thereafter by a committee consisting of 30 Members of Parliament. Until now, therefore, there could have been no question of imposing any restrictions on the use of the English language for any of the official purposes of the Union.

From the replies that were given to the Questionnaire of this Commission by the various Ministries of the Government of India it transpires that until now Hindi has been introduced in the administration of the Union to the following extent. The Ministry of Home Affairs in their reply have stated as under:

'Every attempt is being made to implement the provisions of the Constitution regarding use of Hindi in the official work of the Union. The use of Hindi has been introduced in the case of important documents like the Warrant of Appointment of Governors, High Court Judges, etc. The medals which have been prescribed in connection with various awards both Military and Civil also bear Hindi inscriptions as far as possible. Similarly for all ceremonial and State occasions, Hindi language is being used to a great extent. Some of the important reports, for example, the Report by the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Sceduled Tribes, etc. are also being published in Hindi, along with the English version. Further, the general question of the gradual introduction of Hindi in the work

*Items 1-7....Presidential Order No. 59/2/54-Public, dated the 3-12-1955.
Item 8....Presidential Order No. SRO 938-A, dated the 27-5-1952.

> of the Ministries of the Government of India is also under the active consideration of the Ministry of Home Affairs. Questions given notice of in Parliament in Hindi are also answered in Hindi.'

From a fuller account of the position as elicited from their replies to our Questionnaire and from the oral examination of witnesses representing the Ministries, the position in more detail would appear to be as under:

The Defence Ministry has provisionally selected Hindi equivalents for some of the drill words of command which will be used by the Army, the Navy and the Air Force. Such English words have been retained as have been completely assimilated into the Hindi language and which carry definite technical concept, making it difficult for their translation into Hindi to convey the same meaning with complete exactitude. Hindi is the medium of instruction for Army educational training except in technical arms of the Services. In the Navy, Hindi is a compulsory subject for all advance class boys in the Boys' Training establishments and for higher grade trainees in the Supply and Secretariat School. The Posts and Telegraphs Department has evolved and is using a Hindi morse code. Some Hindi forms have also been issued by this Department for certain purposes *e.g.* money orders and telegrams. Hindi is also used to meet statutory obligations such as for notices, proceedings, etc. which must be in the language of the people for whom these are meant, as for example under Emigrants Act, the Industrial Employments (Standing Orders) Act, Minimum Wages Rules, Employment of Children Act, etc. for notices of adjudication proceedings of the Industrial Courts, etc. Income-tax assessment forms are also issued in Hindi. The Survey of India has issued some maps in Hindi and the Railway Board uses Hindi for publications like Time-Tables, etc. for Hindi zones only. Steps are afoot in the Finance Ministry to use Hindi in the preparation of the Annual Budget Estimates. The Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research has started issuing popular scientific literature in Hindi in addition to English and its annual reports are also published in Hindi. The Ministries of Rehabilitation and Food and Agriculture publish also in Hindi booklets on various schemes sponsored by them. The Ministry of Irrigation and Power has a Hindi Section for replying to communications and questions in Parliament which are received in Hindi. The Ministry of External Affairs has also started the use of Hindi: *e.g.* Hindi forms of Letters of Credence and some other formal documents have been finalised and these documents are issued in Hindi; formal documents acknowledging the appointment of foreign dignitaries are prepared in Hindi and programmes relating to the visit of foreign dignitaries in India are printed in Hindi alongside English. In some Embassies of India agreements and treaties are prepared in Hindi, English and the language of the country concerned. The Letters of Accreditation and Credentials are presented in Hindi and English. The use of Hindi is also being made by a few Embassies in acknowledging invitations from foreign Missions which are received in their own national language. The Embassy of India in China is shortly setting up a Hindi Section for the introduction of Hindi in the Mission.

2. It is necessary to make a distinction between steps taken by the Government of India for the implementation of the constitutional provisions so far as they relate to the Union administration and the steps taken, measures initiated and/or inspired by authorities and agencies working under the auspices of the Centre for the purpose of implementing the linguistic provisions of the Constitution in their larger aspect. Thus, for instance, as we saw in an earlier chapter, the linguistic provisions embodied in the Constitution imply certain measures in the educational field. The subject of 'education' including university education is largely in the field of State legislative and executive authority and the principal power vested in the Union in this behalf is under Item 66 of the Union List, namely, 'Co-ordination and determination of standards in institutions for higher education or research and scientific and technical institutions'. Besides, in the field of education various other statutory and non-statutory authorities like Universities, secondary education boards, private institutions running schools and colleges, local authorities, etc. are involved. In this field, therefore, the responsibilities that devolve upon the Union Government are not direct administrative or executive responsibilities but the indirect responsibility of furnishing a 'leadership' and setting in motion appropriate trends for the achievement of the linguistic solution embodied in the Constitution. The same is true wholly or partially, of certain other spheres of activity as well. Thus, for instance, if the implementation of the linguistic solution implies the rendering of the existing statutes, both of the Central Government and of the State Governments, into the Union language, or in the case of the latter into their respective regional languages as well, part of the work will fall to be done by the State Governments and in respect of such work the responsibility that could be said to devolve on the Central Government would be that of furnishing a leadership, co-ordinating the activities of the different State Governments, evolving a suitable programme and targets for achievement common to all the State Governments as far as possible, etc. The propagation of Hindi in the non-Hindi areas of the country again would be a subject which would fall, in the first instance, in the field of activity of the State Governments of the respective regions. Here again, the responsibilities of the Central Government would primarily be those of leadership, co-ordination, and presumably of financial assistance. In the chapter relating to terminology we have examined the necessity of evolving an identical terminology, as far as possible, for all the regional languages of the country and the Union language, and have suggested that the lead in this matter can be given only by a central agency. The Legislature of a State is empowered by Article 345 of the Constitution to adopt any one or more of the languages in use in the State or Hindi as the language or languages to be used for all or any of the official purposes of that State. The responsibility for taking appropriate measures so far as its own regional language is concerned to equip it for purposes of State administration, would therefore devolve, in the first instance, on the respective State Governments. However, having regard to the manifest desirability of the new terminology in these different regional languages being evolved in consonance with the terminological work done in respect of the Union language, the subject-matter would be of interest to the Union Government also; quite apart from larger considerations, which, for

reasons given at greater length in Chapter XIII, would make the development of the regional languages as well a matter of close interest to the Government of the Union. This need for co-ordination by the Centre becomes still more pronounced in view of the fact that Hindi, which is the Union language, is also the regional language of the States in the Hindi-speaking areas. We have considered in detail, at their appropriate places, what responsibilities belong to the Centre in respect of these different fields of activities and have expressed our views as to how they should be discharged. In this chapter we will concern ourselves only with measures relating to the progressive use of the Hindi language in the business of the Union.

3. In its publication entitled 'Programme for the Development and Propagation of Hindi', issued by the Ministry of Education, Government of India, in 1955, a programme, in three stages of five years each, is announced. We take the liberty of reproducing below this portion of the announcement *in extenso*:

'The Constitution has set a limit of 15 years after which all work of the Central Government will have to be carried on in Hindi instead of in English. It will be appreciated that it is no easy matter to substitute one State language for another. The difficulty of the operation is all the greater in the circumstances that face India. On the one hand, it is sought to replace an established language like English by one which has not been used for State administration till now. On the other, there are major Indian languages, besides Hindi, and care has to be taken to allay any suspicion that the development of Hindi may not in any way prejudice the growth and development of these languages.

'It was, therefore, necessary to chalk out a planned programme so that when the time came after 15 years to replace English by Hindi, the change could be effected without any hardship and with complete success. Of the measures necessary for achieving this objective, the two most important are to develop as rapidly as possible terms in science, technology and administration to meet our national requirements and to foster the spread of the language in areas where it is not the mother-tongue.

'With this object in view, the Education Ministry has planned to cover the 15-year programme in three stages of five years each. The programme of the first five years has been planned as follows:—

(i) Preparation of Hindi technical terms. It is proposed to complete the major portion of this work during this period. It may be mentioned that over twenty-six thousand technical terms have been considered and final lists are ready in several sciences of which details are given in the body of the Report.

(ii) A drive to make Hindi a compulsory subject in Secondary schools in all non-Hindi-speaking areas so that the next generation of educated Indians may be

Hindi-knowing. It may be mentioned that many States including Assam, Bombay, Coorg, Hyderabad, Saurashtra and Travancore-Cochin have already made Hindi compulsory in the Secondary stage.

(iii) Propagation of Hindi among the people in non-Hindi-speaking areas. This programme has to be stressed, for if large areas of the country are unfamiliar with Hindi, it can hardly attain the status of a national language.

'The programme for the second term of five years has been planned as follows:—

(i) The compilation of Hindi technical terms will be completed during this period.

(ii) All students in non-Hindi-speaking areas are to be made familiar with Hindi.

(iii) A programme of adult literacy in Hindi will be carried out in non-Hindi-speaking areas.

'After the ground has been prepared on the above lines, the third five-year programme will be to introduce Hindi side by side with English for administrative purposes of the Central Government and as a medium of communication between the Centre and the States. This will give five years during which to watch the development of Hindi as the language of administration and provide the opportunity to rectify any difficulties and shortcomings that may be discovered. This programme will make it possible to replace English by Hindi at the end of 15 years without any lowering of educational standards or danger of administrative breakdown.

'The following action has so far been taken in the implementation of the programme detailed above for the first five years:—

(i) The preparation of suitable scientific, technical and administrative terms so that the transition from English to Hindi for educational, scientific, technical and administrative purposes can be achieved as rapidly and as smoothly as possible.

(ii) Measures for the growth and development of Hindi literature by facilitating the publications in cheap editions of classics, of translations from non-Indian as well as other Indian languages and of new creative literature in the language. Such literature has to be provided at various levels, namely, juvenile literature, literature for the neo-literate adults and general enrichment of literature in Hindi.

(iii) The preparation of standard grammars and dictionaries in Hindi.

(iv) Action taken for the introduction of Hindi as a compulsory subject in secondary schools and the encouragement of Hindi in Universities and other higher institutions.

(v) Steps for the propagation of Hindi in non-Hindi areas and measures to provide facilities for learning Hindi to non-Hindi knowing Central Government employees.'

It will be noticed that most of the measures announced in the programme are calculated to be of use not only for the more restricted purpose of progressive introduction of the Hindi language in the business of the Union but for the larger purposes of providing a national leadership for the solution of the linguistic question to which we have adverted above. The adequacy of the different measures relating to different fields has been noted in the appropriate places in the Report. In the context of the present chapter, it would appear from this programme that, it is intended that only after the ground has been prepared in the first two five-year programmes any considerable attempt would be made to introduce Hindi, side by side with English, for administrative purposes of the Central Government and as a medium of communication between the Centre and the States. The hope is expressed that this programme will make it possible finally to replace English by Hindi at the end of 15 years without any lowering of educational standards or danger of administrative breakdown. We would be reverting to this point later.

4. So far as the change-over of the language of administration is concerned, what are the requirements? As far as we can see, the principal requisites are the following:—

(i) Preparation and standardisation of the necessary special terminology used in the administrative field.

(ii) Translation into Hindi of official publications embodying rules, regulations, manuals, hand-books and other procedural literature required for the day-to-day working of the administrative machinery.

(iii) Training of administrative personnel of different categories, to appropriate standards of linguistic competence, for the purpose of using the new linguistic medium with the requisite efficiency and facility.

(iv) Development and furnishing, in the new linguistic medium, of the mechanical and service aids necessary for speeding up and facilitating office work; such as typewriters and typists, Hindi stenography and stenographers, printing and duplicating machineries, teleprinters and other communication services, adapted to the use of the new medium.

It might be mentioned that some of the requisites are integrally related to similar or corresponding requirements in other fields including what we have been calling 'the private sector' of the national language problem. Thus, so far as terminology is concerned, apart from administrative and designational terminology which is special

to the 'administrative dialect', the Ministries of the Government and governmental agencies, dealing with subjects touching upon scientific and technical matters, would need to use specialised academic terminologies pertaining to these fields. Legal terminology in particular is very closely connected with the administrative field.. The rendering of statutory enactments and rules and regulations thereunder into the Hindi language, which is an undertaking primarily belonging to the field of progressive switching over of the linguistic medium to Hindi in the law courts, would also be a matter with a direct incidence in the administrative sphere. We have examined this issue in greater detail in chapter XI. Therefore, even if we isolate administrative terminology for purposes of convenience of discussion in the present context, the corresponding issues relating to other fields, which also impinge upon administrative activities, must not be lost sight of. So far as requisite (iv) above is concerned, the field of telecommunication for instance touches upon the needs and requirements of unofficial agencies like the newspapers and Press agencies, shipping and other transportation services dependent upon telecommunication etc. The development of Hindi typewriters and Hindi stenography would likewise be a matter of interest, apart from the Administration, to the large numbers of commercial users of these machines and services.

5. So far as the administrative terminology and the translation of manuals and other procedural literature are concerned, we quote below the specific questions that were put to the Government of India by the Commission in a letter dated the 12th November, 1955, and the reply received thereto from the Ministry of Home Affairs on behalf of the Government of India on the 19th January 1956.

**Queries**

(1) Have the Government drawn up any specific programme for the progressive use of the Hindi language for the official purposes of the Union? If so, the details thereof may please be furnished.

(2) The establishment of administrative terminology; the fixation of necessary Hindi terms and expressions of address, correspondence etc.; the translation of manuals, regulations and procedural literature; and the translation of statutory laws, rules etc. would seem to be necessary prerequisites to such a change-over.

Have the different stages in this been considered, work and time estimates made relating to different stages? How is the programme for progressive use of Hindi for the official purposes of the Union articulated with such stages?

Having regard to the fact that certain States and other agencies are evolving technical terms either for Hindi or for regional languages, and having regard to the fact that it is desirable to have, as far as possible, identical terms for different languages whenever new technical terms are coined, has machinery been provided for effective co-ordination of such work? And is such co-ordination in fact being achieved?

(3) More particularly, have any (approximate) assessments been made of the number of administrative and other terms which would have to be evolved for the different stages and a time-table drawn up in this behalf?

(4) Have any estimates been made of the number of manuals, rules, regulations, and other procedural literature which would have to be translated or rendered into Hindi corresponding to different stages in the progressive use of the Hindi language, and a time-table drawn up? Is it intended to do so early?

(5) Have any estimates been made about the essential minimum of legal literature and statutes, both Central and State, which would have to be translated into authorised versions if there is to be a change-over from English to Hindi/regional languages in the business of superior law courts?

Has any assessment been made of the time that this will take, including the time which would be occupied in the preliminary stage by the evolving and establishing of a legal lexicon? Has it been considered what agencies should take up this work? What progress has been made in this respect until now?

**Answers**

(1) A copy of the programme drawn up by the Ministry of Education for the development and propagation of Hindi issued in 1955 has already been forwarded to the Chairman of the Official Language Commission. Another copy of the pamphlet is enclosed. With regard to progressive use of Hindi language for the official purposes of the Union, the President has issued an order under the proviso to Clause 2 of Article 343 of the Constitution of India specifying the official purposes of the Union for which the Hindi language may be used in addition to the English language. A copy of this order and of the Office Memorandum issued by the Ministry of Home Affairs to all other Ministries, which is self-explanatory, is also enclosed.

(2) There will be the following two stages:—

(i) By the 31st March, 1956, all the designational and general administrative terms and about 15,000 technical terms concerning certain Ministries will be finalised.

(ii) By the 26th January, 1960, the entire work of preparing requisite technical terminology in Hindi and translating manuals, regulations, procedural literature etc., into Hindi on the basis of the terminologies evolved will be completed.

From 26th January, 1956, onwards, Hindi will be introduced side by side with English in the work of the Government of India. The answer to the second part of this

question relating to co-ordination of the work of terminology has already been supplied to the Official Language Commission by the Ministry of Education. The information is, however, reproduced below:—

The Board of Scientific Terminology set up by the Central Ministry of Education in 1950 has already undertaken the task of co-ordinating the work in regard to technical and scientific vocabulary in Hindi and regional languages. It is in possession of all the work done in this field so far and, at present in the interest of uniformity and efficiency as far as Government of India is concerned, this Board has taken the sole charge of the work of evolving various scientific and technical terminologies in Hindi.

(3) Approximately 4,000 designational and general administrative terms may have to be evolved for this purpose. It is not possible to assess the number of other terms which will have to be evolved as this covers a wide range of subjects.

(4) The number of Manuals, Rules, Regulations, etc. which have to be translated into Hindi has to be determined by each Ministry individually as and when the requisite technical terms are finalised by the Education Ministry.

(5) The Ministry of Law, who were consulted in the matter, have stated that they have made no estimate of the matters referred to in the first para. of this query. They have not also made any assessment nor considered the matters referred to in the second para. of the query.

As regards the evolution of administrative terminology, we have examined the whole question of terminology together in a separate chapter and since the same considerations would apply to administrative as to other terminology, we have nothing to add to it in the present context.

The questions of standardising typewriters, organising competent Hindi stenography etc. have been considered in a separate section in chapter XIII.

As regards translation of manuals and procedural literature, it is stated in the Government of India's reply that the number of such publications to be so translated has to be determined by each Ministry individually. While the exact procedure to be followed in the undertaking of translation of such literature would of course be for the Government of India to determine as most convenient, we feel obliged to draw their special attention, in any arrangement they may make in this behalf,—that is to say, whether the translation is centralised in one agency or is decentralised over the different ministries and departments—to the imperative necessity of ensuring uniformity in the language used in such renderings of the manuals etc. Apart from the special terminology evolved, standardisation of which we have elsewhere stressed, it would be desirable to make sure that general terms and expressions already current in the language and not falling under the category of the newly coined

terminology, are also used in the same sense at different places in this procedural literature. The Hindi language, along with other Indian languages, had fallen into disuse in the field of administration; and as a consequence of this, it may be found that the precise notions and shades of meaning to be conveyed in the field of administration by words in general use are not always sufficiently fixed and established. It will be necessary to be watchful of this aspect of the matter; and for this purpose we would venture to recommend, at any rate, a general direction and superintendence being vested in a single agency in the Central Government, even if the actual work of preparing the first drafts of translations is allocated to the respective administrative departments.

The third requisite that we recited above, namely, training of personnel is the one that calls for special and detailed notice in the context of the present chapter. It would be more convenient, however, to consider the issues arising out of this after certain other pertinent general matters have been noted.

6. The Government of India functions at the headquarters of the Government through some 20 odd Ministries and a large number of attached offices and administrative agencies, many of which have branches or regional offices in several parts of the country. The administrative activities of some of these large central departments like, for instance, the Railways or the Posts and Telegraphs or the Central Board of Revenue (which deals with Income-Tax, Excise, Customs, etc.) are vast and spread out over all parts of the country. The Railways, with some nine lakhs of employees, are by far the largest single commercial employer in the country. The Posts and Telegraphs Department is an immense organisation with a coverage co-extensive with the entire inhabited area and with units going down to the remotest villages in the farthest recesses of the country. Apart from the size and extent, the variety of work involved, and of subjects tackled in the business of the Union administration is immense. For instance, the Defence Ministry is concerned with technical subjects arising with reference to the three divisions of the Defence Forces, namely, the Army, the Navy and the Air Force: the Ministry of Natural Resources has, within its purview, all matters of scientific research and advancement: the Department of Economic Affairs and the Ministry of Commerce and Industry have to deal with technical subjects like finance, monetary policy and banking, regulation of industries, foreign trade, technical collaboration with foreign agencies and so forth.

Since the activities and the interests of the Government of India departments and agencies touch upon some of these complex and highly technical fields of work, to the extent of the special technical terms that these different departments would need for the conduct of their business, the terminological requirements for the official purposes of the Union would be practically co-extensive with the entire terminological requirements in these fields and not merely confined to the 'administrative dialect'. As we have explained in the chapter relating to terminology, we consider it practicable to commence work in the new linguistic medium much before the entire terminological work is finished, by resorting to the device of freely using current English terms for which equivalents have not yet been standardised.

Moreover, we have a feeling that in some of the more specialised fields, in various technical branches of knowledge, we may not, at any rate for a long time to come, attempt to evolve Indian terms corresponding to English or international terms used by the limited number of persons who hold converse at the highest technical levels in these fields. What would apply with reference to such fields in the sphere of science and higher education would equally be applicable in the field of technical administration. It may be that in several such segments of the administrative machinery of the Union Government technical English terms would continue to be used for an indefinite period in the future at levels at which it is not considered necessary to evolve Indian terminology or such terminology has not yet been evolved at any particular time.

Apart from this, the activities of certain departments might entail their carrying on correspondence and relevant portion of their work in the English language. In matters like international communication; in subjects like meteorology, wherein the work depends upon constant contact with foreign countries and is habitually conducted in the English language; or say the training, under the auspices of the Ministry of Transport, of the officers of the Merchant Navy whose field of employment pertains to international navigation and who have frequently to serve on ships of foreign registry; in all such matters obviously the English language may have to continue as the medium. The business of the administration is to carry out certain duties. The linguistic medium is only a means. The objective of switching over of the main linguistic medium to an Indian language is to establish a live and continuous communion between the Indian Government and the Indian people; in those special segments of the administrative machinery where the business cannot be competently carried on except in the English or some other foreign medium, there should, of course, be no hesitation in maintaining such a medium. This is purely a matter of convenience and instrumentality and there is no room, in our opinion, for sentiment or bigotry.

7. Apart from these highly specialised functions of the administrative machinery, for the rest of the administrative field the issues concerning the linguistic change-over could best be considered separately with reference to the two portions into which this machinery naturally falls, namely, the Secretariat organisation of the Government largely at its headquarters and the non-Secretariat or administrative departments, organisations and echelons of the Union Government.

The Secretariat of the Government is, so to say, the 'office set-up' of the Government to enable it to discharge its duties and responsibilities and exercise its powers. Like the Government, the Secretariat therefore has a certain measure of organic unity. The Ministries of Government are only limbs of a corporate body. A change-over of the linguistic medium has, of course, got to come by phases extending uniformly over the different Ministries of the Union Government which are components of the governmental organism. There is a stream of notes, minutes and memoranda constantly flowing between different Ministries and at different levels, inasmuch as in the formulation of government decisions the 'faculties' represented

by different Ministries have to be considered, their differences reconciled and a single view finally taken. The phasing of a progressive use of the new linguistic medium in the various Secretariat Ministries, therefore, has to be thought out and planned in a unified manner and to be co-ordinated in practice. This cannot be left for each individual Ministry to decide for itself.

8. So far as the administrative agencies or the departments of the Government of India, with units and branches flung out all over the country such as Railways, Income-Tax, Customs, Excise, All-India Radio etc. are concerned, certain special considerations arise which we must here notice. The organisation of the all-India departments of a democratic government with activities spreading out all over the country, in more than half of which are spoken regional languages different from that which has been adopted as the language of the Union, presents certain unique problems. The problems may be unprecedented in the field of administrative organisation—as indeed so many things with reference to the Indian conditions are, and must be, considering the unique character and size of Independent India in the polities of the world—but we do not think that there is any great difficulty about devising a solution.

So far as the regional activities of these departments are concerned and their contact and communication with the public in the different linguistic regions, these must be conducted in the language most convenient to the people of the different regions respectively. In most cases we suppose this would be the language of the region. Within the department itself, that is to say, in the correspondence between the regional formations and the headquarters organisation and the regional formations *inter se*, the linguistic medium to be used would, of course, be the Union language. Thus, these departments will have to organise themselves on a bilingual basis permanently in the sense of using the Hindi language for purposes of internal working and the respective regional languages in their public dealings in the respective regions. Indeed, this is by no means an innovation or departure to which the departments would be wholly new and would now have to be specially oriented. In fact, in response to the practical necessities of the situation in which they found themselves, these departments have already come to incorporate in their working in the field, large elements of such bilingualism. Thus, for instance, the Post Office organisation, the Income-Tax Department, the Central Excise Department, etc., have always been working in dealings with the public, in the appropriate languages prevalent in the different areas where they have to operate, having regard to the nature of their 'custom' or clientele and the character of their contact with the public. The postal forms and forms of income-tax, the central excise forms and other such literature have accordingly been printed in the regional languages as well, for the convenience of the public of the different regions. The change that would now come over in the main would merely be that the Hindi language would take the place of English for purposes of internal correspondence and for communication with their respective headquarters organisations.

There is a slight difference, however, to which we must draw attention, in this substitution of English by Hindi; and this may have

significance in certain contexts. English happens to have been hitherto, and indeed is still for the greater part, the language not only of the Union but also, at all higher levels, of all the State Governments and the language widely understood among the higher sections in all walks of life in all the linguistic regions. It is possible that in view of this the place that the regional languages should find today in these various organisations at the regional levels is to some extent usurped by the English language. With the substitution of Hindi for English, in view of the fact that Hindi would not be 'stepping fully into the shoes' of the English language, in all fields of regional and State activities there might be some inconvenience unless the practices at regional levels in the different organisations are carefully reviewed to orient them more appropriately in the new set-up: in so doing, the shift in relationship, in these organisations, between their language for contact with the public and the language for their intra-departmental purposes must be recognised and duly provided for. We would, therefore, recommend that the working of these organisations may be comprehensively reviewed for this purpose.

In this connection we would like to refer to certain complaints which came to our knowledge regarding the practices said to have been adopted by the Posts & Telegraphs Department for a while in respect of forms used by the public in their daily transactions in certain non-Hindi-speaking regions. Certain forms that used to be previously printed bilingually, *i.e.*, in the regional languages and English, were now being printed either in Hindi alone or in Hindi and English, and *not* in the regional languages. Obviously any such measures are inapposite and would be ill-advised. In these departments with activities spreading out to all the non-Hindi regions, particularly in 'service departments' like the Posts and Telegraphs and the Railways, a change-over to the Hindi medium in place of the regional language, before the knowledge of Hindi has sufficiently spread, would cause inconvenience and be open to objection. Obviously, it would be impolitic even to give room for any supposition that the instrumentality of these departments is being used for forcing the pace of Hindi propagation at the expense of the regional languages and in disregard of public inconvenience. These departments of Government in their dealings with the public must have for their principal consideration the convenience of the public which they are designed to serve.

It may not always be easy in practice to apply this distinction to practical issues as they arise; nevertheless, the distinction is in principle quite clear and we would advise that it may always be borne in mind in this context. The use of Hindi terms and expressions has a certain 'educative value' in fields of activity like the Railways and Posts and Telegraphs, etc., which come into contact with the public at so many points of their life. For this purpose, it would be legitimate and indeed advisable to use these terms and expressions in the Union language in sign-boards, forms, etc., so that they get into popular currency. But invariably all such use should be *additional* to the employment of the regional language—and also English wherever that is necessary—for such purposes until sufficient public knowledge of the Union language makes this unnecessary. On the same principle, at points at which foreign visitors

and tourists would be otherwise inconvenienced, the continued use of the English language even for indefinite time in the future, may have to be contemplated. One must always bear in mind the purpose which a particular notice, or sign-board or form is intended to serve and not forget that the linguistic medium is only an instrumentality and as such a subordinate factor compared to the purpose. Just as in the matter of the public service examinations the knowledge of the Union language must not be used as a 'lever' for enforcing its propagation, so, these administrative agencies of the Central Government must not be used, in their fields themselves, as instruments of social policy howsoever meritorious it may be; in these contexts the linguistic ability of the public must be taken as it is found and notices, forms and sign-boards, etc., devised appropriately to it. There must be no endeavour to compel people to turn over to a new linguistic medium by abolishing or curtailing facilities in the media they understand.

A word may be said, in passing, regarding the ineptitude that has sometimes, within our knowledge, characterised the new terms or translations used in such Hindi sign-boards, notices and forms. The translations are sometimes laboured and singularly infelicitous and bring with them the Union language itself into widespread public disparagement and even ridicule. Besides, due to the fact that certain Sanskrit words have come to acquire in different regional languages, specialised meanings, it is necessary to examine all new Hindi forms and expressions so that they are not discordant with such local background. We would strongly advise that all these aspects of the matter, should be carefully examined before new terms and expressions are adopted. A little care, wakefulness and sensitivity in regard to these would bring in considerable returns, by avoiding ridicule and consequential unmerited denigration of the Union language as such, and by helping the new terms to get smoothly into the currency of common speech.

9. A more formal aspect from which the organisation of these departments must come under review is the staff structures. It is possible that, since the issue in this particular light had never been significant in the past, the staff structures of these organisations are, for purposes of recruitment, more centralised than they need be, having regard to the nature of the duties to be carried out. We feel that it is necessary that the staff structures of these organisations should be reviewed so as to ensure that there is the necessary degree of decentralisation in the personnel establishment. In particular, the recruitment should be regionally or zonally decentralised as may be appropriate. Establishments need to be maintained centrally on an all-India plane in these organisations only to the extent to which this is necessary for their proper functioning. It may be necessary in some cases to have zonal levels for categories of the establishment transferable between regions within the zone but not all over the country. Already such practices are current in some of these departments. Thus, for instance, in the Railways the recruitment is done by four zonal boards. Recruitment policies should be reviewed and devised appropriately to such reorganisation of staff structures; so that candidates drawn from different regions or zones have their due chance of selection for posts at the corresponding levels within

their regions or zones; and candidates for all-India establishment are so recruited as to afford equal opportunities to persons drawn from all the linguistic groups in the country, subject of course to the prescription of appropriate qualifications. For zonal or regional recruitment also it might be found necessary, in the interest of efficiency of the organisation, to prescribe a certain degree of knowledge of the Hindi language which will be the medium for purposes of internal communication within the organisation. Here, in order that employment opportunities of candidates drawn from the different regions are not curtailed during the transitional stage, the standard of Hindi qualification may be pitched having due regard to the progress of Hindi in the local educational system. Any deficiency in the knowledge of the Hindi language at the time of recruitment may be made good by in-service training later on. For establishments at all-India levels it might be found necessary to apply a higher degree of insistence regarding the standards of Hindi knowledge at the time of recruitment. There is obviously greater justification in the recruiting agencies of these Departments requiring for such establishment that the incoming candidates must have a sufficient knowledge of the Hindi language, eventually to be the linguistic medium in the internal working of these Departments. Nevertheless, here also we would advise that the standard of such qualifications may be progressively increased as Hindi as a compulsory language makes headway in the educational system in the country and in the meantime any language deficiency at the time of recruitment be made good by in-service training as far as possible.

10. Reverting to paragraph 5 above we would next consider the question of training the personnel to carry out their duties in the new linguistic medium which we listed therein as the third requisite. The Union Government has *not* so far prescribed any specific obligatory requirements in respect of the non-Hindi-speaking Central Government employees learning Hindi. It may be pointed out in this connection that, of the State Governments, thirteen have prescribed that the State employees *shall* acquire a certain standard of knowledge of Hindi by certain dates, six of these having even prescribed penalties, in the nature of withholding increments or confirmation, for failure to do so.

The Government of India has had in operation since July 1952 a scheme of Hindi classes for providing facilities to Central Government servants stationed in Delhi to learn Hindi. The classes are held outside the office hours near the offices as well as in the residential areas where the Central Government employees reside in large numbers and the tuition, which comprises three lectures a week on alternate days, is given free. The course extends to a period of about six months at the end of which an examination called the Hindi Prabodh Examination is held conforming to the standard obtained at the junior basic stage. Prizes are awarded to candidates who secure high positions in the examination. Admission to the classes is *optional.*

Another supplementary and more comprehensive scheme was started by the Government of India in October 1955. This scheme is also confined to Central Government servants in Delhi but the Hindi

classes are held *within* office hours as part of the duties of the government servants. All Central Government servants have been divided into four categories for purposes of this scheme as under:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Category A : | Persons whose mother-tongue is Hindi. |
| Category B : | Persons whose mother-tongue is Urdu, Punjabi, Kashmiri, Sindhi, Pushtu or other allied languages. |
| Category C : | Persons whose mother-tongue is Marathi, Gujarati, Bengali, Assamese, Oriya or other allied languages. |
| Category D : | Persons whose mother-tongue is Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam, English or other allied languages. |

Persons in Category 'B' will be expected normally to reach the prescribed standard in six months; those in category 'C' in 12 months; and those in Category 'D' in 18 months. On completion of the course of instruction, all the trainees will have a final examination of the same standard. For Category 'D' trainees, there will be three examinations, namely, one at the end of six months corresponding to the present Hindi Prabodh examination, one at the end of one year corresponding to the Middle examination and one at the end of 18 months corresponding to the School Final examination. For people in Category 'C', there will be two examinations, namely, one at the end of six months, corresponding to the Middle and one at the end of one year corresponding to the School Final. For people in Category 'B', there will be one examination corresponding to the School Final at the end of six months. These examinations will be open to all government servants, even to those who learn Hindi privately. Those who have passed a recognised examination like Matriculation or 'Ratna' or have higher qualifications in Hindi from University or approved organisations, will not be required to pass any of these examinations. Officers of 'A' Category will be given a refresher course and training will be given to make them familiar with the administrative and technical terms, and to enable them to attain sufficient proficiency in expressing themselves adequately in notes and drafts to be written in Hindi.

Cash rewards are to be given to persons who would pass the prescribed examination with 50 per cent. marks or over.

We have been informed by the representatives of the Ministry of Home Affairs that the numbers of Central Government employees (excluding class IV staff and those who are due to retire before 1965) *resident in Delhi*, who would fall in the four categories, are as under:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Category A : | (Hindi speaking) . . | 6,606 |
| Category B : | (Speaking Punjabi, Urdu, Kashmiri, Sindhi, Pushtu). | 9,595 |
| Category C : | (Speaking Marathi, Gujarati, Bengali, Assamese, Oriya). | 1,931 |
| Category D : | (Speaking South Indian languages) . . . . . | 1,619 |
| Others | . . . . . . | 255 |
| | | 20,006 |

We were informed in February 1956 that 75 classes were being held in Delhi for giving instruction to the government servants in Hindi and the total number of government servants receiving instruction was 2,500.

The Home Ministry of the Government of India stated that they did not have the information about the number of Central Government servants in the various other centres in the country.* For giving some idea of the order of sizes involved we would quote the following figures. The total number of Union Government servants, according to the figures given by the Central Statistical Organisation, was 16 lakhs in 1953 of which the Railways accounted for more than 9 lakhs. Of course large numbers of these employees might belong to categories *e.g.* Class IV, or artisan or workman or tradesman classes, for whom the question of acquiring new linguistic knowledge may not arise at all having regard to the nature of their duties.

What should be the standard to be aimed at for the purpose of instruction in Hindi to the employees of the Government of different categories who would be called upon to attend to their duties in that language? The standard of linguistic ability in the English language normally associated with the standard of academic education prescribed for purposes of recruitment for various categories of government servants would appear to furnish a guide as to the standard of linguistic ability in Hindi to be aimed at. Of course, during the transitional stage we may have to be content with somewhat lower standards so far as non-Hindi-speaking personnel is concerned hoping that the personnel, as they get inured to conducting their work in the Hindi language, would improve their linguistic ability in it.

The next question that arises for consideration is whether instruction in Hindi to the employees of the Central Government should continue to be on an optional basis as at present or a time-limit should be laid down by which government servants would be required to attain the prescribed standards of proficiency in the Hindi language. Obviously, an optional basis would be preferable if experience shows that adequate results are forthcoming therefrom. If, however, it is found that adequate results are not forthcoming, it will have to be considered whether a compulsory requirement, allowing a sufficient period of time, should not be laid down in this behalf and enforced by means of appropriate penalties. In principle, we are quite clear that no objection could be raised to a compulsory requirement being prescribed, to the extent to which such requirement is clearly called for for the due discharge of their duties by the servants of the Union Government. In order to facilitate the acquisition of the prescribed linguistic ability, various concessions and facilities may be offered to the government servants, such as, free instruction within office hours and at convenient places; the granting of additional leave for this purpose where government servants cannot in the course of their duties be spared for taking instruction during office hours,

---

*Detailed information bearing on some of these aspects received subsequently from the Director-General of Resettlement and Employment is given in Appendix XV.

and so forth. We recognise that any such system of compulsion would have to be administered with a sufficient degree of forbearance, particularly, to make allowance for the individual government servants, especially those holding high positions of responsibility and working under such great pressure in the discharge of their duties that they could not be expected to find the time for acquiring a new linguistic medium. Provided allowance is made for all these circumstances and adequate facilities furnished, in our opinion the Government is entitled to require that, where a decision has been taken as a measure of national policy to change over to a new linguistic medium by a prescribed time-limit, the public servants in the employ of Government must take the pains to equip themselves with the linguistic ability in the new medium, which they would need for the due discharge of their duties in their respective offices.

We find that, sometimes, separate translation units or bureaux are proposed to be specially created and attached to particular Ministries for the purpose of translating the work done originally in the English language into the medium of the Hindi language. Apart from translation agencies that would be required as a permanent establishment, there is probably room for such translation services additionally as a temporary measure for the transitional period until adequate linguistic ability in the new medium has been generally acquired in a particular Government office or organisation; but we do not understand the constitutional provision about the change of the linguistic medium merely to mean that, Government will as a permanent measure entertain the necessary additional staff and attach it to different Ministries and other agencies of the Government, so that the work, done largely as at present by the government servants, may be translated into the Hindi language by other government servants engaged at the public expense for the purpose, at all points where outward communication is involved. Apart from the fact that such an arrangement would involve an avoidable burden on the public funds, it would not achieve the change-over in the linguistic medium in the spirit in which it was enacted; unless work is done in the new language medium in the way in which it is at present being done in English, the change-over in the linguistic medium would not have in fact occurred in the sense in which, as we understand it, it has been provided for by enactment in the Constitution.

Apart from compulsions, incentives have also a place in this process of training the personnel of the Union Government in the new linguistic medium. It appears to us that, in principle, the incentives should come for performance above the minimum standards laid down. Cash awards and prizes, suitable entries in the confidential records of the government servants etc. would suggest themselves as suitable recognition for performance in excess of the prescribed minimum.

The next point for consideration is the age-group of government employees to whom any such compulsion for acquiring the new linguistic medium if found necessary should be made applicable.

11. The target date provided by the Constitution is 1965. We are of the view that the linguistic change-over will not be smoothly

attained unless the administrative machinery has, for some considerable period previous to 1965, been doing its work in Hindi as an alternative linguistic medium besides English, the former progressively gaining a place over English as the target date of 1965 draws closer. If we understand the position as it transpires from the Education Ministry's programme correctly, it is contemplated that it would only be in the third five-year phase that Hindi will be introduced side by side with English for administrative purposes of the Central Government and as a medium of communication between the Centre and the States. It would appear from this that it is intended that between now and 1960 there would be no commencement with the introduction of Hindi alongside of English in the administrative business of the Union. We are inclined to the view that it is necessary for attaining the objective by the target date laid down in the Constitution, that we should make a beginning in a substantial way straightway as soon as progress in the completion of the necessary preliminaries makes it possible to commence doing so. Fairly substantial progress has been made in the direction of changing over to the medium of Hindi in certain Hindi-speaking States and the experience gathered in the process will not be without value. While of course the problem is much more complex in the Central Government than in the Hindi-speaking States, the lessons available from the experience of the Hindi-speaking States are not without relevance to the problems in the Union as well. This experience shows that during the transitional stage, in the Secretariat for instance, one must expect to have a mixture of the two linguistic media in the noting. Some officers and assistants would be knowing Hindi already or would soon be able to acquire the linguistic ability necessary for doing their work in that language; others may be in a position to acquire it after a short interval of time; yet others may take still longer for such acquisition. Obviously it serves no purpose to refuse to make a change until all have acquired the necessary linguistic ability in the new medium of expression. A comprehending ability in Hindi is acquired much sooner than the degree of linguistic ability necessary for the purpose of doing one's noting and drafting in that language. After a comprehending ability has been acquired by all persons there should be freedom and indeed encouragement to those who have the ability of expressing themselves in the Hindi medium to do so. We would then get the spectacle of some noting being in Hindi and some other noting being in English in the same file. In fact, this is what happens even now in those States in which a specific policy pressing towards the change-over of the medium in the administration has been pursued for some years. In Madhya Pradesh, for instance, where the official languages of the State are Hindi and Marathi, the noting on a single file may run into all the three linguistic media namely, English, Hindi and Marathi. Besides, while expressing himself in Hindi an officer or an assistant would be free to use English terms or introduce an entire English sentence where he cannot express his meaning adequately otherwise.

Likewise, as regards the laws and procedural literature, it is not necessary or even advisable, to hold up the introduction of Hindi until the last of these have been translated. To some extent the process of accomplishing 'prerequisites' and the actual employment of the new linguistic medium have to go on simultaneously. Since

one can always resort to the English term or expression or quote the authority of the law or instruction from the manual in English if Hindi equivalents and translations have not yet been made, there would be no practical difficulty in the way of making a beginning. The best way to achieve the projected change-over, and indeed the only way, would be to proceed to make a beginning with the new medium wherever practicable even as the various prerequisites are being accomplished.

If this is the pattern in which a change-over in the language of the administration can take place most conveniently, obviously a beginning should be made as quickly as may be possible for the introduction of Hindi in the business of the Secretariat of the Union Government by permitting persons as and when they acquire the necessary linguistic ability to switch over to the new medium. What is stated in respect of the Secretariat is just as true of course for the administrative departments and the attached offices of the Government of India.

12. It is not sufficiently realised that the problem of re-training personnel in the new linguistic medium is going to subsist for a pretty long time. To this day over a considerable part of the non-Hindi-speaking areas there is no introduction yet of compulsory language instruction in Hindi in the secondary schools. Even if such a beginning were to be made forthwith, the boy who undergoes a full course of such compulsory Hindi language instruction at the secondary school would not come up for graduation, and subsequently thereafter for superior employment under the Government of India, for a period of 12 years or so; so that not only has the Government of India on its establishment at present a large number of persons who must be put through a course of training in the Hindi language, but for some years to come, even the *intake* of the new recruits, subject to what we say in the next paragraph, will be coming in without an adequate knowledge of the new linguistic medium.

The youngest lot of those already in government service today would be there for over 30 years from now. All this makes the problem, of requiring the servants of the Government at present in employment to acquire an appropriate degree of linguistic ability in the Hindi language, a matter of great importance.

As regards persons to be recruited in future to services of the Central Government it has been decided, we understand, that provision should be made for a compulsory test in Hindi in the departmental examination to be passed by probationers before confirmation. Such a provision has already been made in respect of the I.A.S. and as regards other services the Ministries concerned have been requested by the Home Ministry to take steps to make similar provisions in the recruitment rules.

We have been informed by the Home Ministry as under in this connection:—

'The question of inclusion of Hindi as a compulsory subject for examination conducted by the U.P.S.C. for recruitment to services was also considered by the Government. It was

however, decided not to do so at present but that stress should be laid on proficiency in Hindi by providing for it in departmental examinations'.

We are of the view that when Government are taking steps, at such considerable expense to themselves and outlay of official time of the government servants concerned, to equip their *existing* non-Hindi knowing personnel with a measure of linguistic ability in the new medium of the Union Government, they are entitled to prescribe as a qualification for new entrants into the Union service, after due notice, a reasonable measure of knowledge of the Hindi language in relation to the duties they will eventually have to discharge in the Hindi medium. Otherwise, the task of re-educating the employees of Government would be truly Sisyphean. While steps are being taken for training the existing personnel, the intake would continue to be of the same character and requiring the same kind of re-education after entry into government service. Provided a sufficiently long notice is given to enable aspirants to qualify themselves suitably, and further provided that the measure of linguistic ability prescribed at the time of recruitment is moderate to start with, any deficit being made good by subsequent in-service training, we do not see how anybody can have any ground for complaint. If these conditions are fulfilled, we are satisfied that the just claims and interests of the persons belonging to the non-Hindi-speaking areas in regard to the public services would have been duly regarded in the prescription of such requirement.

13. It is a well-recognised fact that the acquisition of a new language is an undertaking of especial difficulty for a person who has passed his middle age. Persons of the age of say 45 and above today would be due to retire by or soon after 1965 and it would be harsh to insist on their acquiring a measure of linguistic ability for discharging the duties of the offices that they would be holding, particularly as by virtue of their seniority they are likely to be holding more responsible posts in which they would have less time to spare from their duties. While there need be no compulsion in the case of such persons and while they may be allowed to do their own work in English, they must be required to acquire a sufficient 'comprehending ability' for reading and understanding notes and the work done by others in their offices and communications received in the Hindi medium. If it is necessary to prescribe any separate tests for this purpose that may be done. While such personnel perhaps can legitimately expect to be exempted from acquiring any high degree of linguistic ability in expression for themselves it cannot be suffered that they should operate as a 'drag' on the progressive use of the Hindi language in the business of government; and it is right and proper that they should be required to equip themselves with the necessary 'comprehending ability' so that they do not obstruct or retard the move towards the new linguistic medium developed by dint of efforts made by others.

We have stated in paragraph 11 above that during the transitional stage one must expect to have a mixture of the two linguistic media, that is to say English and Hindi, in the business of the Union. It is conceivable that such a state of affairs may have to

continue even after 1965 if it should so happen that the Union Government employees, despite having made best efforts in the meantime, have not been able to equip themselves sufficiently to handle their official business in the new Union language namely Hindi by that year. Such cases would obviously have to be similarly considered with sympathy and for a reasonable period of time after 1965 in suitable cases the option of using the English medium in the official business of the Union may have to be extended in favour of such persons. Of course, for reasons similar to those stated in the above sub-paragraph it would be necessary to insist in any case that all such personnel shall have acquired at least the necessary 'comprehending ability' so that they do not obstruct or retard the shift to the new linguistic medium so far as others are concerned.

14. So far as stenographers are concerned, a scheme may be adopted whereby they are granted special leave, if this is necessary, to undertake training (which may also be provided) in stenography in the new linguistic medium. We were informed in one State that persons knowing stenography in the English language can fairly quickly learn doing stenography in Hindi, provided of course they have first acquired a sufficient knowledge of the other language. As a practical proposition, obviously, we must look to the existing stenographers of the Central Government being taught to do stenography in the new medium. One cannot think in terms of either holding up the progress of the linguistic medium until they have retired or of replacing them wholesale. The absence of stenographic facility would certainly work as a very serious handicap in the adoption of the new linguistic medium at the higher officer levels. We would recommend that a scheme for sufficiently long periods of leave being granted to stenographers specially for this purpose with free facilities to learn stenography in the new medium and to acquire knowledge of the Hindi language be seriously considered and put into effect at an early date. The same remarks would apply to the case of typists.

15. What should be the language of publications of the Government of India? So far as statutory publications are concerned, presumably they will have to be in the official language of the Union, that is to say, English for the present and Hindi eventually. So far as publications for the information of the public are concerned, the issue, in our opinion, should be viewed empirically depending on the nature of the public to whom a particular publication is addressed. In the case of publications which it is intended should be read widely in some or all regions of the country, the publications will have to be translated in the respective regional languages of the people intended to be reached thereby. Publications which are addressed to foreigners, for instance, tourist literature, would of course continue to be published in English or other foreign language(s) deemed most suitable for the purpose. The linguistic media for publications of zonal or all-India railway time-tables will have to be determined having regard to the linguistic knowledge of the public who would have occasion to use these publications. It seems to us that in any case the numerals in such publications should be the series of international form of Indian numerals even when other linguistic media are used alongside of Hindi.

We feel that a beginning ought to be made by the Government of India to arrange for publication in Hindi in addition to English, if this is not happening in any particular cases, of all their publications, wherever it is desired to reach a wide reading public at the pan-Indian level; and, in the regional languages wherever it is desired to reach the non-English knowing public of the different regions who have not yet acquired sufficient knowledge of the Hindi language. It is not possible or necessary to lay down any detailed prescription regarding this, apart from the obvious one that if one desires something to be read by particular persons one must take the trouble of putting it in the linguistic medium understood by those persons.

Presumably, a policy of publishing translations in Hindi of such publications would entail a considerable translatory effort on the part of Government offices. It is necessary to caution that unless the translations are done in the kind of simple Hindi that people understand the purpose of the publication would not be served.

16. One of the terms on which we have been asked to make recommendations to the President is as to the 'restrictions on the use of the English language for all or any of the official purposes of the Union'. We do not see that anything is to be gained by imposing such formal restriction in respect of any of the official purposes of the Union at present and we have therefore no recommendations to make in this behalf.

17. Our terms of reference state that 'It shall be the duty of the Commission to make recommendations to the President as to—

(a) the progressive use of the Hindi language for the official purposes of the Union;

* * * * *

(e) the preparation of a time-schedule according to which and the manner in which Hindi may gradually replace English as the official language of the Union and as a language for communication between the Union and State Governments and between one State Government and another.'

It will be seen that we have to make recommendations to the President *'as to the preparation of a time-schedule'* in respect of the official language of the Union.

We have explained in paragraph 7 above how the working of the Union Government, or for that matter of any Government, is, in a sense, 'organic'. A change-over in the linguistic medium of transacting business is not a matter in respect of which individual Ministries of the Government can strike out their own lines and chalk out their own programmes. A coherent programme covering all Ministries is obviously essential if the transition is to be steady and smooth and indeed if there is to be a move at all as the reasons for doing nothing are always strong. As we have observed before, amongst different Ministries there is a constant stream of notes, memoranda, communications, *aide-memoirs* at different levels and the problem of a change in the linguistic medium has to be considered *laterally* in respect of all Ministries and not vertically by Ministries as if they worked in

separate compartments, in any of which a change in the linguistic medium could be brought about without affecting other compartments. The time-schedule must therefore be framed and stages set up according to nature of work done and the personnel doing it, *laterally*. The precise fixation of these stages and targets must be resolved upon after consultation amongst the various Ministries, who alone would be able to point out specific difficulties, if any, with reference to any suggested time-schedule, in regard to particular kinds of work within their fields.

In the foregoing portion of this chapter we have set out the various general prerequisites which must be fulfilled to facilitate the linguistic change-over. We have stated how to a certain extent the accomplishment of these prerequisites would have to go on simultaneously with a phased introduction of the linguistic medium of the Hindi language at appropriate levels in the actual business of the Government. We have examined the problem of personnel training and suggested how this may be tackled; we have noticed the permanently bilingual organisation that certain all-India departments would need to set up; we have discussed the incidence on staff structures and recruitment policies that the linguistic change-over would entail for different categories of establishment. In order to be more specific than this and to advise about the actual time-schedules for different categories of work, it would be necessary to have both more precise information on certain basic matters which we were not able to obtain, as well as to know the precise difficulties of different Ministries specifically with reference to a provisional time-schedule. The Ministry of Law, we were advised, had not made any estimates about the essential minimum of legal literature and statutes, both Central and State, which will have to be rendered and adopted as authorised versions of the new statute-book; nor of the time that it would take. We were advised, when we specially enquired, that the renderings that have so far been made into Hindi were in the nature of 'popular translations' and could not be regarded as adequate to serve as authorised texts of the laws in that language. As regards evolving and establishing a legal lexicon, the Ministry of Law has advised that it has not made any assessment, nor considered what agencies should take up this work. As regards the number of manuals, rules, regulations, etc. which will have to be translated into Hindi, apparently no time or work estimates have yet been made and we have been informed by the Government of India that the numbers of such publications to be translated into Hindi are to be determined by each Ministry individually as and when the technical terms are finalised by the Ministry of Education. Information as to the number of persons of different categories and the classes into which they would fall from the view-point of training in Hindi, is not available outside of the government servants in Delhi. In view of all this, it has not been possible for us to be more specific and to make definite recommendations 'as to the preparation of a time-schedule'. But we have indicated in the foregoing the important factors bearing on the situation and advised how in our view they should be dealt with. After getting the concerned Ministries to examine the issues for which they are responsible, assessing the feasibilities of the related tasks and considering the special difficulties, if any, of different Ministries and administrative agencies it would be possible to frame a specific time-schedule, but as we (the

Commission) could not obtain this information it will now be for the Union Government to take all these factors into account and make a time-schedule. As we envisage it, the process will have to be something like this: First of all a general plan of action must be resolved upon after assessing the feasibilities of the main tasks which are basic components of the situation: that is, evolution of terminologies; texts in the new medium of the laws and procedural literature; the training of personnel; the development of normal stenographic, typing and multiplying facilities etc. Within the plan of action, time-schedules of change-over of different categories of business in the affairs of the Union must be drawn up as subordinate targets articulated with the corresponding development in the main tasks. In fact, the time-schedule, once prepared, will have to be kept constantly under review and adjusted from time to time in the light of practical experience and having due regard to the progress of personnel training, the progress in fields other than administration, the progressive accomplishment of the various prerequisites etc. In order that the matter may receive continuous attention of a definite authority, we have recommended in Chapter XIV that the responsibility for all the work relating to the Union Administration should be charged specifically on a suitable administrative organ of Government. The position would have to remain continuously under the supervision and review of this authority.

In fact, the Commission have not been able to obtain from the Central Government as such, although they were approached for the purpose, even provisional proposals of a specific programme of action in the requisite detail for the progressive implementation of the provisions of the Constitution in respect of the official purposes of the Union Government to take all these factors into account and above. For the rest all that we had to go upon was replies from individual Ministries. As the programme for change-over of the linguistic medium has to be coherently framed with reference to the working of *all* Ministries, a consideration of this matter could not, in the nature of things, be expected in the replies of individual Ministries.

In contrast to this, we found that several of the State Governments had given considerable thought to the matter and the State Governments which had resolved upon policies of Indianisation of the linguistic medium of administration had adopted specific and phased programmes for the switch-over in the linguistic medium in their affairs and some of them indeed achieved considerable progress in that direction by the time of our inquiries.

Of course, we are not oblivious of the fact that the problem of switching over the administration to the regional language(s) is much simpler in the States, where generally speaking, the personnel in the Government establishments is drawn largely from the linguistic group(s) to whose language(s) the switch-over is to take place. The Central Government which functions all over the country and as a federal centre must encounter the naturally greater linguistic difficulties due to its country-wide ambit of authority and its correspondingly mixed personnel. This however would relate to the *content* of a plan of action appropriate in the case of the Centre and

*not* to the question whether such a plan of action should be framed or not which is the point which we want to emphasise here. There may well be valid reasons for going at a different pace in the affairs of the Centre in such a change-over; but that would be no ground for omitting to draw up a definite plan of action which could itself be deliberately so phased as to take account of these special factors.

Whatever the reasons for the omission in the past to draw up such a specific plan of action aimed at the eventual accomplishment of the linguistic change-over enacted in the constitutional provisions, such a plan and, within the plan time-schedules (with a due measure of flexibility) as subordinate targets, should now be drawn up without delay, kept under continuous review and energetically pursued hereafter.

## (ii) LANGUAGE PROBLEM IN THE INDIAN AUDIT AND ACCOUNTS DEPARTMENT

18. The case of the organisation of the Comptroller and Auditor-General is a very special one and merits special consideration. The 'audit of the accounts of the Union and the States' is a subject in the Union list of Legislative powers in the Constitution. The Comptroller and Auditor-General of India is appointed by the President, by a warrant under his hand; and the Constitution has specifically ensured to this officer security in his office and independence of the executive Government as to a Judge of the Supreme Court. Article 149 of the Constitution provides that 'the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India shall perform such duties and exercise such powers in relation to the accounts of the Union and of the States and of any other authority or body as may be prescribed by or under any law made by Parliament and, until provision in that behalf is so made—(we understand such law has not yet been made)—shall perform such duties and exercise such powers in relation to the accounts of the Union and of the States as were conferred on or exercisable by the Auditor-General of India immediately before the commencement of this Constitution in relation to the accounts of the Dominion of India and of the Provinces respectively'. The reports of the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India relating to the accounts of the Union are to be submitted to the President who causes them to be laid before each House of Parliament. The reports of the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India relating to the accounts of a State shall be submitted to the Governor or Rajpramukh of the State, who shall cause them to be laid before the Legislature of the State. The Comptroller and Auditor-General exercises control and supervision over all the audit offices among which are the offices of the States' Accountant-General* who do audit as well as compilation of accounts of the States for which they are audit officers. The Accountants-General also work on behalf of the Accountant-General, Central Revenues, in respect of certain classes of transactions of the Union Government taking place within their respective jurisdictions. At present the returns in respect of all accounts come up to the

*The term 'Accountant(s)-General' used in this section refers also to 'Comptroller(s)' in relation to the States in which these officers are designated as Comptrollers.

Accountants-General in the English language and indeed the accounts from the sub-treasury upwards are themselves generally kept in the English language in the different States. The question, which arises for consideration, is whether with the introduction of regional languages in the administration of the respective States, some changes will be necessitated in the organisation of the Indian Audit and Accounts Department.

The Indian Audit and Accounts Department is organised centrally under the Comptroller and Auditor-General although it performs accounts and audit functions for the Union as well as for the various State Governments. Within the office of the Accountant-General in each State there are a few sections dealing with Central transactions as well as 'settlement and exchange transactions' between the States *inter se* and with the Centre; but the large bulk of the work relates to the compilation of accounts of the financial transactions of the State Government concerned; the remainder of the work relates to the audit of these accounts.

19. The first point for consideration is whether, after each State has adopted one or more of the regional languages as its official language or languages, one could arrange for the accounts work arising out of all the States coming to the Accountants-General, as at present, *in one common language.* If such an arrangement were practicable, it would cause the least upset in the organization of the Comptroller and Auditor-General. In that event, the only change that would occur would be that the place of the English language would have been taken by Hindi which would be the language in which the Union accounts (which also, as we saw, have to be handled to some extent by the various Accountants-General) would be rendered.

We gather that there would be certain difficulties in arranging for such a disposition. Accounts are only a 'bye-product' of the administrative work, and the maintenance of accounts is incidental to the discharge of other functions by various administrative authorities. The keeping of accounts and their compilation at different levels, such as the sub-treasury level and the district-treasury level, is sometimes done by administrative personnel who have also their respective administrative duties to perform. Within the State administrations, it is the respective regional languages which would probably replace the English language. While the Constitution has empowered State legislatures to adopt the Hindi language for any of the purposes of the States, it is difficult to predict whether—and indeed it does not seem likely that,—the Hindi language will be adopted generally over the administrative fields in the non-Hindi States apart from the statutory requirements relating to inter-State and State-Union communications. We must obviously proceed to consider the arrangements necessary on the assumption that this does not transpire. A knowledge of the Hindi language may not therefore be available amongst the administrative personnel concerned to make it easy for the State to comply with a requirement that the accounts shall be kept and compiled at all levels with which the Accountant-General is concerned in the Hindi language.

It may be mentioned, in this connection, that the keeping of accounts is not merely the putting down of figures but involves a certain amount of writing *e.g.* the entering of headings, writing of explanatory notes, quoting of references, carrying on the necessary correspondence relating to the transmission of accounts, and so forth. The Constitution has adopted the international form of Indian numerals, along with Hindi in Devanagari characters, as a part of the official language of the Union. The international numerals are known widely and one might assume acquaintance with international numerals amongst all personnel, including generally the personnel connected with the keeping of accounts in the States. Since, however, the maintenance and compilation of accounts is not merely a work in figures as explained above, this would not by itself furnish a solution to the problem.

If this were all there was to it, it might still not be altogether impracticable to envisage that in all States the accounts should be rendered to the Accountants-General in a common linguistic medium *i.e.* Hindi, in order to maintain the present arrangements for compilation of accounts between the States and the Union, which is the operative system in the country and which must be having several advantages from the point of view of economy, usage etc. This would entail the States having to make arrangements for returns going to the Accountant-General being sent in Hindi, and connected correspondence being conducted in that language, from the level, generally speaking, of the district-treasury upwards. If this was the only aspect of the matter, one could consider such a disposition, as it would probably be practicable, without insuperable difficulty on the part of the State, to provide for and it would have the merit that it would not compel a review of the organisation of the common Audit and Accounts Department of the country. There are, however, other and stronger reasons which have to be considered in this connection, which render such a solution inadequate.

20. The Indian Audit and Accounts Department, of which the Accountant-General is the representative in a State, is responsible not merely for compiling the accounts of the Union as well as of the State but also for their auditing. The Comptroller and Auditor-General is responsible for auditing the accounts of each State just as much as he is for the accounts of the Union and the Accountant-General in the State, in his capacity as audit officer, is the agent of the Comptroller and Auditor-General for purposes of audit of the State accounts. As laid down in Article 151 (2) of the Constitution, the reports of the Comptroller and Auditor-General relating to the accounts of the State are to be submitted to the Governor or Rajpramukh of the State, who shall cause them to be laid before the Legislature of the State. For purposes of audit, the Accountant-General has to conduct a good deal of correspondence with the officers of the State and may have to peruse files of the offices concerned, including files in the Secretariat and in the offices of Heads of Departments. When the State Government has adopted a regional language as its official language, naturally the noting in the Secretariat and in the files of the different offices would be in the regional language, except to the extent to which the needs of inter-communication with the Union or other States may result in the linguistic medium of

Hindi being introduced in certain segments of correspondence and noting. Audit would also require vouchers and other documents to be submitted to the Accountant-General of the State. It would be unreasonable to demand that, for the convenience of Audit, such documents must be submitted in the Hindi language and that the notings and correspondence in the Secretariat and within different offices be also similarly maintained. It is important to remember that it is not possible to pre-determine what portions or categories of such noting or correspondence would be required for purposes of Audit. Although it may be that Audit, in fact, sees a small proportion of the total correspondence and files, there can be no prior segregation of papers that Audit may require to see; and Audit must always be in a position to exercise *contingently* its right to inspect *any* of such papers. It would, therefore, not be practicable in this aspect of the matter—even if it should be feasible so far as compilation of returns of accounts is concerned—to provide that the papers within the State administration, required for the purposes of the Accountant-General's office, be kept in the Union language. We must, therefore, proceed on the assumption that, after a State has adopted its regional language as its official language, the staff of the Indian Audit and Accounts Department, dealing with the affairs of the State, shall necessarily have to be sufficiently versed in that language to discharge its duties.

The audit of local funds is also done by the Accountant-General in some States. What applies to the audit of State Government accounts and the relevant notings and orders would apply *a fortiori* in the case of local fund accounts and the local authorities.

21. After the integration of the former Princely territories into Part B and Part C States of the Union, the audit provisions of the Constitution became applicable to these areas, and the subject 'audit of State accounts' came over to the Union as a Central subject with the Comptroller and Auditor-General as the audit authority. Certain difficulties then arose on account of the fact that, while the Audit and Accounts Department was organised on the basis of conducting its business in the English language,—the common linguistic medium of the Union and of the greater part of the States as well,—there obtained in some of these ex-princely territories, the practice of keeping accounts in the regional languages. During this period, as a matter of practical exigency, the situation was met by requiring the States concerned to submit their accounts to the Accountants-General in the English language. In this respect, as in the case, for instance, of the High Courts, in some of these territories which were formerly princely Indian States, there has been, since the enactment of the Constitution, a retrogression in a sense, *viz.*, the English language had to be re-introduced even in sectors of activity where the current practice was to use an Indian language. This was, however, inevitable in the circumstances then obtaining and had to be regarded as a temporary step backward, necessitated by the larger and more important objective of centralisation of audit, which the provisions of the Constitution brought about.

With the progressive implementation of Indian language policies in the States, the problem merits reconsideration on fresh

lines. Already in the Hindi-speaking States, in which the displacement of English from the field of administration has been under progressive implementation, difficulties have been experienced in this regard, and the States have represented that this requirement should be relaxed, as it inhibits the implementation of their language policies. As a similar trend gathers momentum in the remaining States of the Union, particularly after the reorganization of States, the problem will become more general, and it is essential that a satisfactory solution is devised.

22. Though 'Audit' is included in the list of subjects in the Union legislative field in the Constitution, the Audit Department is, of course, not a part and parcel of the Union Government in the sense in which Ministries or administrative agencies of the Centre are. The Comptroller and Auditor-General is a statutory authority for the State Governments as well as for the Union Government. Communications addressed by the officials of a State Government to the Accountant-General of a State are really communications to their own audit officer by the State Government and not to the Union Government. In view of this, we have been advised by the Comptroller and Auditor-General that the provisions of the Constitution relating to the language for the official purposes of the Union cannot be interpreted to mean that the Accountant-General of a State must conduct all his business in Hindi, or that all communications by the officials of a non-Hindi-speaking State to its own Accountant-General must be in the Hindi language.

We have had the benefit of written as well as oral evidence not only from the Comptroller and Auditor-General and his Deputy representing him but also from several Accountants-General in the States, who were permitted by the Comptroller and Auditor-General to give their views to the Commission in their individual capacity.

As we see the matter, the problem to consider is how to reconcile the constitutional provision for a single authority for purposes of accounts and audit for the States as well as the Union with the circumstance that audit will have to be carried out by that authority in respect of transactions recorded, registered and vouched for, etc. in the numerous regional languages of the country which may come to be adopted as the languages of administration by the different States for their respective territories. The problem is somewhat more difficult and complex than that of the large departments of the Centre with activities out-spreading into different linguistic regions. The Comptroller and Auditor-General is a single authority and is himself finally responsible for audit of accounts of all the States as well as of the Union, the Accountants-General being merely his agents. The Audit report submitted by the Accountant-General in respect of each State to the Governor or Rajpramukh of the State is to be laid before the Legislature of the State and would, in due course, come to be discussed by the Public Accounts Committee of the Legislature. These discussions are bound to be in the regional languages, judging from the trend of the proportion of speeches delivered in different languages in the different regions, which we have tabulated in Appendix VIII.

One suggestion that was put forward by some witnesses—although not out of choice but as a matter of logical necessity in the absence of a practicable alternative, as they thought—was to the effect that the function of Audit may be 'provincialised' as the only solution of these difficulties. Under Section 167 of the Government of India Act, 1935, there was a provision for the appointment of a Provincial Auditor-General to perform the same duties and to exercise the same powers in relation to the audit of the accounts of the Province as were to be performed and exercised under that Act by the Auditor-General of India; such appointment was, however, subject to the proviso that 'nothing shall derogate from the powers of the Auditor-General of India to give directions in respect of the accounts of the Provinces, which accrued to him by virtue of other provisions of the Act'. This provision came to be made in the light of the consideration of the matter by the Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms, in whose Report it is stated that, in view of the grant of provincial autonomy to the units of the Federation, it appeared difficult to withhold from autonomous provinces the power of taking on their own audit and accounts, if they so desired.

The Indian Constitution, however, specifically includes 'Audit' in the Union List of subjects; and the provision must have been made advisedly and with the knowledge of the provision previously made in the Government of India Act. We have, throughout our Report, adopted the policy of considering the subject-matter of our enquiry within the terms of the constitutional provisions as they exist; and, indeed, for reasons that would at once be evident, we could not properly have done otherwise. The functions of Audit are obviously a matter of very high importance; and any suggestion involving a fundamental change in regard thereto—such as 'the provincialisation of audit'—can certainly not be entertained lightly. Besides, it seems to us that it ought to be feasible to devise a solution consistent with the constitutional provisions by making appropriate dispositions in the administrative organisation of the Indian Audit and Accounts Department functioning under the Comptroller and Auditor-General. While, of course, the detailed consideration of the matter must be left to the appropriate authorities, we would like to state the essential elements in what appears to us a practicable solution of the difficulty.

23. The Statutory Report of the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India, relating to the accounts of the States, may be in the Hindi language, as it would obviously be impossible to expect a single authority to be responsible for and to subscribe to reports drafted in so many regional languages. Translations of the Report in the regional languages may be prepared for the use of the Members of the legislatures and the Public Accounts Committees. The discussions in Public Accounts Committees may be held in Hindi or the regional languages, according to the convenience of the Members, but arrangements should be made for the regional language discussions being translated simultaneously for the benefit of the Accountant-General who has to be present at the Public Accounts Committee meetings and has a large part to play in assisting the Committee in its deliberations. So far as the organization of the Audit and Accounts Department is concerned, the structure of the organization and methods of

staffing, etc. will have to be reviewed on lines somewhat similar to those which we have considered in connection with Central departments with activities spreading out all over the country. Within an Accountant-General's office, the section dealing with Central Accounts will, of course, have to be capable of handling the matter in the medium of the Union language. Appropriate arrangements will have to be made for returns of accounts, relating to Central purposes, being sent to the Accountant-General from the treasuries in the Hindi language: or else, arrangements will have to exist, within the Accountant-General's office, for their being rendered into the Hindi language. So far as the State's accounts and the audit of such accounts carried out by the Accountant-General's office are concerned, since the material will be in the respective regional languages, the personnel structure in the Accountant-General's office will have to be such as to be capable of dealing in that medium. The correspondence between the Accountant-General's office and the headquarters organization of the Comptroller and Auditor-General will, presumably, be in the Union language. At present, the posts of Accountants-General and other senior posts in the Audit and Accounts Department are manned by members of the Indian Audit and Accounts Service which, we understand, has, at present, 335 posts borne on its cadre. Members of this cadre are transferable all over the country and are called upon to head the Accountants-General's organizations. In this respect the much wider range of transferability of the Indian Audit and Accounts Service personnel distinguishes it from the Indian Administrative Service who normally serve only in one State with periods of deputation at the Centre. The problem of linguistic 'versatility' in the case of the Indian Administrative Service is therefore less serious and is soluble; whereas for the Indian Audit and Accounts Service on the present basis, since several languages would be involved, it cannot be solved by providing for each member to be trained in all the languages he might encounter. A review of the structure of the service might be called for. To what extent this would entail material changes in the size of the cadre and in the rules of recruitment, training, transfer, etc. of the members of the Indian Audit and Accounts Service, and whether or not corresponding changes would also be necessary in respect of the subordinate staff manning the Audit and Accounts Department all over the country, would be matters to be considered by the relevant departmental authorities.

We understand that there are proposals about 'separation of accounts and audit' under consideration of the Union and the State Governments. If these proposals materialise, the accounts work in the States will be taken over by the State Governments and the Indian Audit and Accounts Department will be concerned only with the audit functions relating to the State Government transactions. This would presumably result in large reductions in the establishments at present working under the Accountants-General in the States. While this will reduce the size of the problem, it would not make any difference to the hard core of the difficulty which relates principally to the audit functions of the Indian Audit and Accounts Department.

It appears to us, in the upshot, that *prima facie* it ought to be possible to devise a solution which will, on the one hand, enable the

Accountant-General's establishment to carry out its duties in respect of accounts and audit of transactions recorded in the regional languages and, on the other, maintain the present system whereby the accounts-and-audit-responsibility in respect of the Union as well as of the States is centred in the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India functioning through the Accountants-General and other officers as his agents all over the country.

# CHAPTER VIII

## LANGUAGE IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—II

## PROGRESS MADE IN THE USE OF INDIAN LANGUAGE MEDIA IN STATE ADMINISTRATIONS

(a) IN THE DIRECTION OF ADOPTING REGIONAL LANGUAGE (S) AS THE LANGUAGE OF THE ADMINISTRATION;

and

(b) IN THE DIRECTION OF HINDI FOR PURPOSES OF INTER-COMMUNICATION AMONGST STATES *inter se* AND WITH THE UNION.

(a)

The progressive use of Hindi in the affairs of the Union is of course connected, for obvious reasons, with the progressive use of that language, for purposes of inter-communication with other States and the Union, in the State administrations. It is also connected for reasons which we have adverted to elsewhere with the progress of adoption of the Hindi medium for the purpose of their administration by the States in which Hindi is the regional language. Indeed inasmuch as the progress of all Indian languages in those spheres of administration from which they were hitherto shut out can only be in step with each other, the progress of Indianisation in the linguistic medium in the non-Hindi-speaking States also is not without bearing on the issue of the progressive use of the Hindi language in the affairs of the Union.

We have, therefore, had a statement prepared showing the existing position in respect of the use of the Indian languages in the administrations in the different States. This statement is printed as paper V in the Supplementary Papers.*

It will be observed that on the whole considerable progress has been made, in the States where Hindi is the regional language, in replacing English by Hindi in the official administration. Several of these States have passed Official Language Acts and in some cases laid down definite and phased programmes for the substitution of English by Hindi within the State administration. Separate Language Departments, or other like administrative agencies such as separate sections within a department, to look after the subject have been set up, in some of these State Governments; manuals of procedure have been published; glossaries of administrative terms prepared and adopted, steps put in train for translating the procedural literatures necessary for the conduct of administration, measures initiated for training personnel including stenographers and typists, etc. On the whole it might be said that several of these States are fairly far advanced in the direction of turning over the linguistic medium of administration within their States from English to Hindi.

*Not printed.

In the State of Madhya Pradesh which has adopted Marathi along with Hindi as the second official language of the State, like progress has been registered with reference to the Marathi language. In Orissa and Saurashtra also where legislative measures have been passed for adopting the respective regional languages as the official languages for their administrations, some progress appears to have been made. For the rest, it would seem that the progress in the direction of displacing English from the State administration at the levels at which the English medium has been current, has been modest or negligible.

2. No doubt there are factors which account for the relatively greater progress in Indianisation of the administrative medium made in the Hindi-speaking regions as compared to what has transpired so far in the rest of the country. For one thing, in the Hindi-speaking States, the problem is less complicated than in the rest who have not only to adopt another regional language as the language for State administration but also to provide at all appropriate levels for Hindi which would be the language for the purposes of all-India inter-communication when English is displaced in terms of the constitutional provisions. Apart from this, the fact that over a considerable part of the non-Hindi regions, the territories of the States were multi-lingual in character hitherto must have somewhat retarded the displacement of the English medium in the administration. For instance, in the Explanatory Memorandum accompanying the Madras Government's reply to the Questionnaire of the Commission, it is stated in this connection as under:—

> 'So far, the Legislature of this State has made no provision regarding changes in the Official Language. English, therefore, continues to be the Official Language of the State. A few years ago, a pilot experiment was started in one district for the transaction in Tamil of all official business within the district. The experiment has helped to bring to light certain practical difficulties which require to be overcome in such matters as equipment, training of staff, etc. The experiment has not been extended to other districts of the State. It is necessary at this stage to explain why no serious step has been taken so far to bring about a change in the official language of this State......
>
> ....Until recently Andhra was part of this State. There are special difficulties in effecting a change so long as several languages are spoken by different groups each of which represents a "substantial proportion of the population of the State". It seemed desirable to await the separation of Andhra and other changes connected with the reconstitution of States on a linguistic basis before embarking on any important change in the official language......
>
> *  *  *  *  *
>
> While it is true that the decisions regarding the official language of the State are to be taken independently of the decision regarding the official language of the Union, the probable repercussions on the State Administration

and the State Educational system of any changes which may be brought about in the official languages of the Centre must be understood and allowed for. But no decision about the changes at the Centre appeared likely until the Official Language Commission studied the problem. ......These are the reasons why the official language continues to be unchanged in this State'.

With the reorganization of the States on a more or less unilingual basis in these areas, there is no doubt that there would be a greater demand for a faster replacement of the English language medium by the regional language medium in the business of the administration. We are, however, not directly concerned with the policies to be adopted by the States as regards the language medium in the field of the respective State administrations. In terms of Article 345 of the Constitution, subject to the provisions of Articles 346 and 347, the Legislature of a State 'may by law adopt any one or more of the languages in use in the State or Hindi as the language or languages to be used for all or any of the official purposes of that State': the proviso to that Article lays down that until the Legislature of the State otherwise provides by law, the English language shall continue to be used for those official purposes within the State for which it was being used immediately before the commencement of the Constitution.

We have elsewhere made recommendations relating to the development of all regional languages including the Union language. Apart from this, we have nothing further to say so far as the language medium of the State administrations is concerned, except in so far as in terms of Article 346 of the Constitution, it is provided that the official language for communication between one State and another or between a State and the Union shall be the language for the time being authorised for use in the Union for official purposes; that is to say, shall be the Hindi language in Devanagari script, unless otherwise provided, after 15 years from 1950.

***(b)**

3. The point about measures to be taken to fulfil the terms of Article 346 arises only in the States in the non-Hindi-speaking regions. So far as States in the Hindi-speaking region are concerned, on the adoption of the Hindi language for all internal purposes, the administrative machinery of those States would automatically be in a position to fulfil the requirements for purposes of all-India inter-communication between the States and the Union.

---

*In exercise of the powers conferred by Article 370 of the Constitution, the President has by his Order No. C. O. 48 dated the 14th May 1954, known as 'The Constitution (Application to Jammu and Kashmir) Order, 1954', made the provisions of Part XVII of the Constitution applicable to the State of Jammu and Kashmir in so far as they relate to—

(i) the official language of the Union ;

(ii) the official language for communication between one State and another, or between a State and the Union ; and

(iii) the language of the proceedings in the Supreme Court.

In the non-Hindi-speaking States what are the requirements for fulfilling the implications of this provision? The States concerned will have to consider for themselves at what levels administrative occasions would arise for the officers of the State Governments to enter into communication with officers of other States or of the Union. It must be mentioned in this connection that such a communication would not necessarily be exclusively on paper. A large number of conferences are held and committees or working parties of officers appointed for advising on particular subjects at the all-India or inter-State planes of contact and consultation. The State would doubtless want all such officers to be in a position to participate fully and with facility in all such deliberations. Apart from officers who would have occasion for such inter-State contact or for functioning at Union levels of deliberation, presumably it would be necessary for the State Governments to ensure that communications received from the Union or other States in Hindi are understood at all levels *below*, whereat they must be read, noted upon and otherwise processed. In this connection it is sometimes suggested that 'translation units' may be set up to translate Hindi communications into the regional languages for the purpose of such staff handling them within the State administration. It would be for the State concerned to decide for itself whether the handling of such documents in translation would be entirely satisfactory; while such translation services would probably be necessary in any case to make such communications intelligible at other levels, *at the levels at which they have to be attended to* with a view to initiating action or rendering a reply or for other similar purposes, it would doubtless be found preferable that the personnel are in a position to understand the wording of the communication in the original. It would be for the State Governments to determine what staff would be affected by this and consider what precise steps should be taken for training up their personnel at the appropriate levels for dealing with such communications.

4. We notice that in some States where the regional language is other than Hindi, the Government have imposed a requirement on certain administrative staff—in some cases on *all* government servants of all grades—to pass certain prescribed tests in Hindi by prescribed dates. To the extent to which knowledge of the Hindi language would be necessary to be possessed by the government servants to enable them to discharge effectively their duties touching upon the field of inter-communication between the States and the Union, such a requirement would be obviously quite necessary. It is not quite clear on what grounds the requirement has been imposed where government servants would *not* come within the ambit of inter-State communication. We have elsewhere advocated that in the compulsory scheme of education up to the age of 14 enjoined by the Constitution provision should be made for every child to undergo 3 or 4 years' compulsory instruction in Hindi. It is arguable that the requirement that government employees who would have no occasion for all-India or inter-State contacts must nevertheless qualify in Hindi is defensible by analogy on the general ground that such a knowledge, though not required by them as government servants, is necessary in them even merely as citizens. Whether State government servants should or should not be so distinguished

from other citizens is however entirely a point for the State Governments concerned to decide; likewise it would be for the State Governments to decide for themselves whether any such instruction in Hindi, beyond the strict requirements of the issue, should not be on the basis of 'encouragement and incentives' rather than 'compulsion and penalties'.

5. The proviso to Article 346 provides that if two or more States agree that the Hindi language should be the official language for communication between such States, that language may be used for such communication. Accordingly, there have been agreements to carry on inter-State correspondence in Hindi with one another amongst the States of Bihar, Madhya Bharat, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Ajmer, Bhopal and Vindhya Pradesh.

Certain points arise for consideration in this connection. While the States may agree between themselves to conduct inter-communication in the Hindi language in terms of this proviso, the language for use between a State and the Union and between other States which do not so agree would continue to be the English language until 1965.

One of the points for consideration would be whether it would be possible, and if possible advisable, for the Union to correspond with the Hindi-speaking States in Hindi even prior to 1965. Within the Union Government itself knowledge of Hindi among the non-Hindi personnel has not yet so far advanced as to admit all communications received from the Hindi States in Hindi being dealt with. Therefore the incoming communications from the Hindi States will have to continue to be in English or at any rate be accompanied by an English translation until such a position is reached. So far as outgoing communications from the Government of India to the Hindi States are concerned, if it is so desired, it should not be impracticable to send out with the outgoing letter in English a Hindi translation. Of course the Hindi versions in both cases would have the status merely of a translation, the original communication being in English. Nevertheless in the view that we have elsewhere taken that the employment of Hindi in the actual work of the administration helps in establishing the forms of address and expressions, etc., in that language and in promoting a greater knowledge of it, we would recommend to the Union Government that whenever a State makes a request to that effect, arrangements may be made for outgoing communications from the Union Government to such States being accompanied by a translation of the English text in Hindi. The President has already authorised the use of Hindi along with English for correspondence with the State Governments which have adopted Hindi as their official language and such a practice would be covered by this authorisation.

## NUMERALS

6. One of the specific terms of reference referred to the Commission for making recommendations to the President is 'the form of numerals to be used for any one or more specified purposes of the Union'. The provisions of the Constitution in this regard are as

under. It is enacted in clause 1 of Article 343 of the Constitution that 'the form of numerals to be used for the official purposes of the Union shall be the international form of Indian numerals'. In the next clause it is provided that the President may, during the period of 15 years until the Hindi language becomes the official language of the Union, 'by order authorise the use of the Devanagari form of numerals in addition to the international form of Indian numerals for any of the official purposes of the Union'. In the third clause of the Article it is enacted that 'notwithstanding anything in this Article, Parliament may by law provide for the use, after the said period of fifteen years, of the Devanagari form of numerals for such purposes as may be specified in the law'.

As laid down in Article 344, the form of numerals to be used for any one or more of the specified purposes of the Union is one of the terms of reference on which this Commission have to make recommendations. These recommendations, like others, will be reported upon by a Committee of Parliament consisting of 30 members, after consideration of which the President may issue appropriate directions in this behalf.

So far as provision by Parliament by law for the use of the Devanagari form of numerals *after* the period of 15 years is concerned, we do not consider it necessary for us to make any recommendation. There will be another Commission five years hence, with similar terms of reference; and in respect of its recommendations a similar procedure will be followed. Thereafter, Parliament will doubtless give further thought to the matter before it decides by law whether any provision should be made for the use of the Devanagari form of numerals for any of the purposes of the Union after 1965.

The only point that we have to consider is whether we could recommend to the President the issue of directions for providing for the use of the Devanagari form of numerals for any purposes between now and the time when the issue will be re-examined by the next Commission due to be appointed in 1960. It may be mentioned that of the *two orders issued by the President as regards the use of Hindi language in addition to the English language, in one the President has been pleased to authorise the use of Devanagari form of numerals in addition to the international form of Indian numerals, for the purposes referred to in that order and recited below:—

For warrants of appointments of—

(i) Governors of States,

(ii) Judges of the Supreme Court, and

(iii) Judges of the High Court.

7. It will be interesting and pertinent first of all to see the distinction between the international form of Indian numerals and the Devanagari form of numerals and how this is accounted for.

*Referred to in the footnote to paragraph 1 of Chapter VII.

As to when exactly the present numerals and the decimal system of counting was evolved is lost in the mists of ancient history. The system of notation and the use of the zero, which by positional changes facilitates the handling of numbers of any size, is generally recognised as having been an Indian discovery. Dantzig states in his book 'Number':—

> 'This long period of nearly five thousand years saw the rise and fall of many a civilisation, each leaving behind it a heritage of literature, art, philosophy, and religion. But what was the net achievement in the field of reckoning, the earliest art practised by man? An inflexible numeration so crude as to make progress well-nigh impossible, and a calculating device so limited in scope that even elementary calculations called for the services of an expert......Man used these devices for thousands of years without making a single worth-while improvement in the instrument, without contributing a single important idea to the system....Even when compared with the slow growth of ideas during the dark ages, the history of reckoning presents a peculiar picture of desolate stagnation. When viewed in this light, the achievement of the unknown Hindu, who some time in the first centuries of our era discovered the principle of position, assumes the proportion of a world event'.

The epochal character of this device, which appears so simple and natural in retrospect, is referred to by Laplace, the mathematician-astronomer, in the following terms:—

> 'It is India that gave us the ingenious method of expressing all numbers by means of ten symbols, each symbol receiving a value of position, as well as an absolute value; a profound and important idea which appears so simple to us now that we ignore its true merit, but its very simplicity, the great ease which it has lent to all computations, puts our arithmetic in the first rank of useful inventions; and we shall appreciate the grandeur of this achievement when we remember that it escaped the genius of Archimedes, and Apollonius, two of the greatest men produced by antiquity'.

The Indian numerals, that is to say, the notation and the symbols which had been apparently for a long time in use in India in mathematical and astronomical treatises, appear to have been taken over by Arabian scholars; and from Arabia it would seem they travelled over to Europe, undoubtedly undergoing several mutations in the process. The Encyclopedia Britannica has the following remarks to offer in regard to the origin of the numerals now only known as international numerals and referred to in the Indian Constitution as 'the international form of Indian numerals':—

> 'Our common numerals are commonly spoken of as Arabic but preferably as Hindu-Arabic. The country, however, which first used, so far as we know, the largest number of our

numeral forms is India. Hindu literature gives some evidence that the zero may have been known before our era. By the close of the 8th Century, however, some astronomical tables of India are said to have been translated into Arabic and in any case the numerals became known to Arabic scholars about this time'.

Within the country itself the numeral symbols came to be written in slightly different styles amongst the different linguistic groups more or less in the same way in which the original Brahmi script underwent mutations and gave rise to the scripts of most of the modern Indian languages. The so-called international form of numerals is nothing but yet another mutation of the ancient Indian numerals. We give in a chart, in Appendix X, the manner in which these numerals are written in their pristine form in association with the scripts of the different regional languages of India. It is to be noted in this connection that in the South the international form of numerals is in current use in the four great Dravidian languages alongside of their respective scripts. It may be noted that indigenous numeral symbols of some of these scripts are derived from the first letters of the alphabet in the respective languages. In fact it appears that the international form of numerals is more widely prevalent in the writings in Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kannada than their respective indigenous forms.

As regards the Devanagari form of numerals, there seem to have been two slightly different series of symbols in current practice. The Lucknow Conference for Devanagari Script Reform of 1953 recommended a particular system of Devanagari numeral symbols. If the Devanagari numeral symbols are to be used, which particular series should be considered for such use is a matter which we might consider as settled in the case of public authorities by the recommendations of the Lucknow Conference which have been adopted by the Central Government as well as several State Governments.

8. We understand that there is some difference of opinion as to whether or not the provisions of the Constitution envisage that the international form of numerals should be used alongside of the Devanagari script while writing Hindi when that language is adopted in terms of Article 345 for the official purposes of a State. One opinion is that the provision of clause 1 of Article 343 relating to the international form of Indian numerals is restricted in its application to the official language of the Union and that States are competent, while adopting Hindi as the regional language for their official purposes, to adopt the Devanagari form of numerals. In view of these different interpretations, we understand that some State Governments of the Hindi-speaking region use the Devanagari form of numerals for their internal purposes and the international form of numerals for their communications with the Union Government.

Whether the States which have adopted Hindi as the State language may or may not use the Devanagari form of numerals for all purposes of the State administration within their own regions either exclusively if their interpretation of law is correct or in addition to the international form of numerals is a matter for the concerned States to decide for themselves.

9. A large number of States have expressed in their opinions in reply to our Questionnaire the view that the international form of numerals may continue to be *exclusively* used along with Hindi in Devanagari script as the language of the Union. The view has, however, been advanced by some of the Hindi-speaking States that the Devanagari form of numerals should be used in addition to the international form of numerals; yet others have advocated that the Devanagari form of numerals may be used to the exclusion of the international form of numerals either for all or certain purposes of the Union Government.

It is sometimes argued that the curvilinear shape of the Devanagari symbols for the numerals is more artistic and more in keeping with the shape of the characters in the Devanagari script and that the use of the international form of numerals in conjunction with the Devanagari characters 'hurts' the eye. Objectively speaking, we do not see anything to choose in point of shape in the Devanagari symbols for the numerals as against the other series. As regards the use of the international form of Indian numerals appearing incongruous to persons reading the Devanagari script, we believe that this incongruity is merely the result of habit and that inherently there is no incongruity between the two. As people get accustomed to the international form of numerals alongside the Devanagari characters, this feeling of incongruity will rapidly pass away. It has also been suggested to us that the symbols of the international form of Indian numerals are more convenient for easy reading and spotting, particularly in the case of motor-car numbers, and milestones, etc., whereas the Devanagari numerals being more curvilinear are not so quickly distinguished.

In view of the historical origin of the series of symbols known as the international form of Indian numerals, there should be no objection, even on the ground of sentiment, to their adoption. The fact that the international form of Indian numerals has been widely adopted in current practice for the regional scripts for the languages of the South, and the constitutional provision that this form of numerals should be used for the purpose of the Union and for purposes of inter-State communication, mark it out for universal adoption in the country by public authorities if there is to be a common series of numerals all over India. For reasons somewhat similar to those which we have *advanced with reference to the Devanagari script as a common optional script for Indian languages it appears to us that it would certainly be an advantage if a common system of numerals came to be used for the widest possible purposes in the whole country. It seems to us that such a common system of numerals would have to be the international form of Indian numerals for like reasons for which for the choice of a common script for the Indian languages one would have to select the Devanagari script. We do hope that States will adopt the use of the international form of Indian numerals—if necessary in addition to their regional form—so far at any rate as concerns mile-stones, motor-car numbers and other such cases in which the facility of easy legibility by persons

---

*Paragraphs 8—12 in Chapter XIII.

of other linguistic groups may be properly expected. With the introduction of compulsory education in accordance with the constitutional directive, the teaching of the international form of Indian numerals, which are a part of the linguistic medium of the Union, would become in course of time more general; and any difficulties that may exist at present in the way of adopting these numerals universally in the country would be growingly mitigated even as such difficulties in respect of the universal currency of the Devanagari script would be likewise ameliorated by the same development.

So far as private citizens are concerned, they would, we presume, for a long time continue for their own records, to use the different series of symbols that are current along with the different scripts of Indian languages in various parts of the country. The Devanagari symbols will continue to be used in this fashion in the Hindi-speaking region by those writing in the Devanagari characters, whatever the decision of the respective State Governments relating to the question in the preceding paragraph.

Of course so long as this form of numerals is current amongst the public and is better known, the State Governments of these regions would naturally have to use these numerals (perhaps and preferably, in addition to the other series, namely the international form of Indian numerals) in their publications or communications directed to such public.

We understand that the present policy of the Government of India in this regard is as under:—

> 'The policy is that the use of international forms of Indian numerals should be encouraged as much as possible and that ordinarily the form of numerals to be used should be this form. The Cabinet has, however, left it to the discretion of the various Ministries concerned to use the Devanagari form of numerals in the case of Hindi Translations of official documents belonging to them'.

It seems, what is contemplated in this decision is that where it is sought to reach the wider masses of the public of the Hindi-speaking regions who are presumably not familiar with the international form of numerals, the Devanagari form of numerals may be used in the Hindi publications of the different Ministries. We assume that what has been left to the discretion of the Ministries concerned is to judge what publications answer to this type of literature and authorise the use of Devanagari numerals in such publications. If it is the broad application of accepted principles that is intended to be left to the Ministries and not the decision in principle itself as to whether Devanagari form of numerals should be used in particular documents emanating from them, the above decision would be comprehensible.

We have to make a recommendation as to whether the President should issue direction for the use of the Devanagari form of numerals for any purposes between now and the time when the issue will be

re-examined by the next Commission due to be appointed in 1960. We have no such recommendation to make as we are not aware of any additional purposes of the Union for which it would be an advantage to direct the use of the Devanagari form of numerals in addition to the international form of Indian numerals.

# CHAPTER IX

## LANGUAGE OF LAW AND LAW COURTS—I

### LANGUAGE OF LEGISLATION

In this chapter and the next two we will consider the problem relating to the language of legislation, the language of law courts, ancillary matters such as the language for legal education and 'the dynamics' of the change-over. First we will consider the problem of the language of legislation both relating to Parliament and the State Legislatures.

In the first place a distinction must be made between the language to be adopted for the proceedings and deliberations of these legislative bodies and the language of the enactments which they legislate. The relevance of this distinction will be explained presently.

1. So far as the language of the proceedings of the Parliament is concerned, Article 120 of the Constitution lays down that, subject to the provisions of Article 348, parliamentary business shall be transacted either in Hindi or in English. There is a proviso added to the proposition, which allows any member who cannot adequately express himself in English or in Hindi to address the House in his mother-tongue. Clause (2) of Article 120 provides that after the expiry of fifteen years from the commencement of the Constitution (*i.e.* from 26th January 1965), it should be deemed that the words 'in English' were omitted from Article 120, unless Parliament enacts otherwise. Therefore, while at present parliamentary business has to be carried on either in Hindi or in English and, if allowed by the Presiding Officer, in the mother-tongue, by the operation of sub-clause (2), English will *ipso facto* cease to enjoy this position alongside of Hindi after 1965, unless the Parliament chooses to enact otherwise.

So far as the State Legislatures are concerned, the provisions of Article 210 lay down that the business of State Legislatures should be transacted in the official language of the State or in Hindi or in English and the Presiding Officer is authorised, in suitable cases, to allow a member to address the House in his mother-tongue. Article 210 (2) provides that after 1965 English shall cease to be the language of the Legislature unless the State Legislature enacted otherwise.

Article 345 empowers the State to declare any one or more of the languages in vogue in the State, or Hindi, to be the language to be used for the official purposes of the State, subject to the provisions of Articles 346 and 347. The proviso to Article 345 allows the English language to continue for official purposes within the State until the Legislature enacted otherwise.

Hindi in Devanagari script has been adopted as the official language in the States of Bihar, Madhya Bharat, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. Madhya Pradesh has adopted Marathi in Balbodh script as the State's official language in addition to Hindi in Devanagari script. Orissa has adopted Oriya and Saurashtra has adopted

Gujarati as the official language. The State of Jammu and Kashmir continues to use under its old constitutional Act Urdu as the official language. The other States have not so far adopted by law Hindi or any of their regional languages as their official languages.

2. The prevailing practice regarding the use of English, Hindi and regional languages in the legislatures of several States as reported to us is summarised in Appendix VIII. The percentages of speeches delivered in different languages during 1954 in the different State Legislatures so far as it has been possible for us to collect the information have also been given in the said Appendix.

In view of the discretion vested in the Presiding Officers to grant permission to the members of the House who cannot express themselves adequately in Hindi, English or the official language of the State, no practical difficulties are likely to be experienced so far as the performance of the deliberative functions of these legislative bodies is concerned. Nor does it appear to us, on the basis of the information received, that any difficulties have been experienced in practice by any members owing to inability to express themselves in one of the permissible media. The practice as regards answering interpellations appears to vary and in some cases provision is made of furnishing, for the information of the other members, translations of questions and answers in the prescribed language or languages of the legislative body concerned. We feel that such a practice might be generalised with advantage. So far as the proceedings of legislative bodies are concerned, the issue is fairly obvious. The Constitution does not prescribe any *linguistic standard as a qualification for* candidature and the members of these bodies who come in their capacity as representatives of their respective constituencies must be enabled to express themselves in the languages they know if it should happen that they are not familiar with the prescribed language or languages of the particular legislative body. It is also obvious that the proceedings of the legislative bodies should be made available to the members in the languages they understand and the furnishing of translations necessary for this purpose, within limits, has obviously to be undertaken. After 25th January 1965, under Article 120, the position in the Parliament will be that a member may be permitted by the presiding authority to address the House in his mother-tongue if he cannot adequately express himself in Hindi unless Parliament has by law otherwise provided. We can easily conceive of cases, for a period of time after 1965, in which a member who may not be able adequately to express himself in Hindi, may not at the same time be in a position to address the House in his own mother-tongue and may prefer to do so in English. We feel that in such circumstances the presiding authority should be authorised to permit the member to address the House in English. Such a provision can be made by Parliament by law under Article 120 (2) and the Parliament should consider this point when the time is ripe for doing so, that is to say just prior to 1965. For similar reasons we feel that a corresponding option should be available in State legislative bodies to members who cannot express themselves adequately in the official language of the State or in Hindi or in their own mother-tongue and would prefer to address the House in the English language. The Legislatures of the States, have the power similar to that of Parliament 'to provide otherwise' by law under Article 210(2) and we

have no doubt that the different State Legislatures would consider whether or not to exercise this power at the material time.

We have considered the question of arranging simultaneous translation of speeches to overcome the difficulties of speeches of any particular member of a legislative body *not* being intelligible to others, on the lines on which such a practice has now become a common feature of international *conferences. The need for this is more likely to arise in Parliament than in State Legislatures. Whether in fact the necessity for making *such a provision* would arise or not would depend upon the frequency of occasions when members of the legislative body would have to be permitted to resort, for purposes of adequate expression, to a linguistic medium not generally understood in that legislative body. Should such a need be experienced *in Parliament*, with reference to any of the regional languages, it would not be beyond the limits of feasibility to provide for such simultaneous translation; although of course, the larger the number of languages into which such simultaneous translation must be made, the greater the amplitude of the arrangements, both of personnel and equipment, necessary for the purpose.

We are of the view that the provisions of language relating to proceedings and deliberations of Parliament and the legislative bodies of the States are sufficient for the requirements of the situation.

3. It is necessary to make a *distinction* between linguistic requirements of the proceedings and deliberations of these legislative bodies and the linguistic requirements of the enactments or laws which they legislate.

So far as matters such as asking interpellations and eliciting answers, passing resolutions or other motions, conducting discussions on different measures including the passage of bills, that is to say, the 'deliberative' functions are concerned, the obvious requirement is that the members wishing to express themselves should be in a position to do so and the proceedings should be at least generally followed by other members. The linguistic requirements for enactments are, however, quite different. The language of law must be precise, concise and unambiguous. Such language will fall to be interpreted by numerous law courts all over the country who are bound, of course, primarily to consider the plain grammatical meaning of the language used in the enactments and not the intentions, purposes or motives lying behind the words employed, that is to say, *littera legis* as opposed to *sententia legis*. Considerations of convenience and facility of expression by the concerned speakers are the operative factors so far as the language of deliberation is concerned; so far as the language of enactments is concerned, the principal considerations are accuracy, brevity and the maximum possible exclusion of ambiguity.

---

*We had an interesting account of how such simultaneous translations are organised in the discussions we held on the 15th October 1955 with M. Ste'fan Priacel, Professor of Languages in L'Ecole Sir Huntes Etudes Commerciales, Paris, and Interpreter of languages in the U.N.E.S.C.O. and the Council of Europe. M. Ste'fan Priacel happened to be on a visit to India for F.A.O. meetings and we took an opportunity of meeting him in Poona where he happened to be during the Commission's visit to that place for taking evidence. A text of the talk given by M. Ste'fan Priacel is printed as item XI in the Supplementary Papers (*not printed*).

Arising out of this distinction, it is provided in Article 348(1)(b) of the Constitution that authoritative texts of all bills to be introduced or amendments to be moved in Parliament or in the State Legislatures and the texts of acts, ordinances etc., promulgated by the President or the Governor or the Rajpramukh and the texts of all orders, rules, regulations and bye-laws under the Constitution or under any law, that is to say, all enactments whether of Parliament or of State Legislatures and statutory rules, regulations etc., framed under them, shall be in the English language until Parliament by law otherwise provides.

It will be noticed that the 15-year period laid down in respect of the introduction of Hindi as the official language of the Union does *not* apply to the language of enactments of Parliament in respect of which Parliament will have, by law, to make a special provision. That is to say, the displacement of English in those fields will not come merely by efflux of time as in the case of the language for the official purposes of the Union but by a law deliberately passed by Parliament. This provision is obviously intended to take account of the fact that a change in the language of enactments has a greater significance than a change in the official business of the State and presupposes certain requisites the accomplishment of which could not be presumed within a period of time that could have been foreseen in 1949 when the Constitution was framed.

Also, so far as the State Legislatures are concerned, the language of enactments will continue to be the English language until Parliament has by law otherwise provided as in the case of parliamentary legislation. There is a further proviso under sub-clause (3) of Article 348 which lays down that where a State Legislature has prescribed any language other than English for bills, acts, ordinances, orders, rules, regulations and bye-laws, a translation of the same in English language, published under the authority of the Governor or the Rajpramukh of the State in the official language of the State, shall be deemed to be authoritative text thereof in the English language under this Article.

We show in the following statement names of States and the languages prescribed by the Legislatures of these States as languages to be used for bills, acts etc. respectively where this action has been taken:—

| State. | Language(s) prescribed | Authority |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 |
| | *Part A States* | |
| Bihar . . . | Hindi . . | Bihar Official Language Act, 1950, and Bihar Language of Laws Act, 1955. |
| Madhya Pradesh . | Hindi and Marathi. | Madhya Pradesh Official Languages Act, 1950.

| 1 | 2 | 3 |
|---|---|---|
| Orissa . . . | Oriya . . | Orissa Official Language Act, 1954. |
| Uttar Pradesh . | Hindi . . | Uttar Pradesh Language (Bills and Acts) Act, 1950 and Uttar Pradesh Official Language Act, 1951. |
| | *Part B States* | |
| Jammu and Kashmir | Urdu . . | Jammu and Kashmir Constitution Act (VK) 1996 (1939 A.D.) |
| Madhya Bharat . | Hindi . . | Madhya Bharat Official Language Act, 1950. |
| Rajasthan . . | Hindi . . | Rajasthan Official Language Act, 1952. |
| Saurashtra . . | Gujarati . . | Saurashtra Official Language Act, 1950. |

4. The upshot of the provisions would seem to be that the language will continue to be English in the States where the Legislatures have not prescribed any language other than English for this purpose; in States where the regional or any other language has been so prescribed, the English translation of the measure passed by the Legislatures and published under the signature of the Governor or the Rajpramukh will be considered as the *authoritative text of the statutes. There would appear to be a slight anomaly appertaining to this state of affairs in that the enactment that has the force of law is not the original legislation considered and passed by the legislative body in the prescribed language but a translation of it in English. We presume that satisfactory arrangements exist for ensuring that the translation adequately carries out the intentions of the Legislature as embodied in the legislation that it has passed.

Apart from the authoritative enactment which in our opinion ought to be eventually in Hindi, both in respect of parliamentary and State legislation, there may be need for the sake of public convenience to publish translations of the enactments in different regional languages. In respect of State legislation this would normally

*This matter does not appear to have been conclusively decided so far. There have been no rulings of the Supreme Court on this specific issue, and the only High Court ruling bearing on the point that we have been able to trace is in Saghir Ahmad *Vs.* the Government of Uttar Pradesh, A.I.R. 1954, Allahabad, p. 257.

Further particulars relating to this are given at item XIV in the Supplementary Papers.(*not printed*).

be necessary in the regional languages prevalent in the States whereas in respect of parliamentary legislation it may be necessary in all the principal regional languages current in the country.

5. The next question to consider is a matter of great importance, namely, whether the language of State enactments may be permitted to be other than Hindi, that is to say, any of the regional languages prescribed in this behalf by the respective legislatures when the time comes for displacement of English as the language of the law in the country.

For various important practical reasons we consider that it is essential that the entire statute book of the country should be in one language which cannot of course be other than Hindi, the language of the Union and the language adopted for purposes of inter-State communication. We have a unified judicial system under which the Supreme Court is the highest judicial organ to which appeals lie and from which special ultimate reliefs can be sought. Obviously, the Supreme Court can function as a single organic unit only in one language as it would be impossible to provide that the judges comprising the Supreme Court should be conversant with all the regional languages of the country. Law courts can give their decision only on the basis of the authoritative texts of enactments and it would be improper to suggest that an enactment should be interpreted by a law court on the basis of a translation. The judicial unity of the country cannot be maintained unless there is a corresponding juridical unity which presupposes a common linguistic medium for all enactments of law. Apart from this, there are other strong reasons for prescribing that the entire statute book should be in one language. The Indian Constitution provides for a common citizenship; there are rights bestowed by the Constitution on all citizens such as the right of equality before the law, the freedom to move freely throughout the territory of India, reside and settle in any part thereof; to acquire, hold and dispose of property and practise any profession, occupation, trade or business. Obviously, it would be undesirable that the laws of a State which would be applicable to all the citizens of the country who may have occasion to come within their ambit should be framed in a language unintelligible to all but persons of the linguistic group comprising the bulk of the population of that State. Contingently, the laws of a State apply and might be of interest to other citizens of the country, besides those belonging to the linguistic region of that State. The processes of courts are often issued to places outside the limits of the State in which they are situated and there are provisions for their enforcement outside such limits. Law courts in different parts of the country are often required to interpret enactments passed by legislatures of States other than their own and the incidence of an enactment often travels beyond the boundaries of the State whose Legislature has passed it. Besides, the distribution of legislative powers under the Constitution of India provides for a whole list of powers of concurrent jurisdiction between the Parliament and the State Legislatures. It provides for situations in which in the event of inconsistency, parliamentary laws shall prevail over the laws of the Legislatures of the States. If the statute books were allowed to be in the dozen or so regional languages, every single enactment

in the concurrent field would be liable to be in a dozen languages, rendering its interpretation by the Supreme Court, and even lower tribunals, almost impracticable. All things considered, it is manifest to us that we have to maintain the statute book of the country in a single language and, therefore, the language of enactment by the States must be the language of the Union, namely Hindi.

6. It is quite possible to reconcile, in our view, the requirement that the language of deliberation of a State Legislative body should be the language best understood by its members—which is likely as a rule to be the official language of that State—with the provision that the language of the authoritative enactments should be a single language, namely, the language of the Union. Such a reconciliation is possible if a distinction is made between the deliberative function of a legislature and its powers as an organ for passing enactments. In fact this reconciliation is already achieved in several State Legislatures wherein, at present, the language used for deliberation is very largely the State language, whereas the force of law is invested in the translation of the measure passed by the Legislature and published in the English language as authoritative enactment. The substitution of Hindi for English as the language of the statute book would make no difference in this context. For like reasons as in the case of laws, all statutory orders, rules, regulations and bye-laws issued under any laws made by Parliament or Legislature of a State must also be in the language of the statute book, that is to say, Hindi.

## CHAPTER X

# LANGUAGE OF LAW AND LAW COURTS—II

## LANGUAGE OF LAW COURTS

Having examined in the preceding chapter problems relating to the language of legislation, we would now consider in this chapter the question of linguistic media for law courts in the country.

A word may be said in the first place regarding the coverage of the term 'law courts'; that is to say, the different categories of courts and tribunals, original and appellate, in respect of which the point about the linguistic media of proceedings, orders and judgments arises.

The judicial system comprises a hierarchy of courts and tribunals commencing from the lowest civil and criminal courts to the High Courts and ultimately the Supreme Court. At the lowest rung of the ladder there are the village panchayats exercising judicial powers in villages. In Article 40 of the Constitution there is a directive principle of State policy, which lays down that 'the State shall take steps to organise village panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government'. In pursuance of this directive, various measures have been enacted in different States, and others are under contemplation or are likely to follow, which would endow certain limited civil as well as criminal powers on village panchayats or village benches, in respect of petty disputes arising in villages. Apart from village panchayats, the primary administrative unit in the structure of the civil and criminal judiciary is the trial court of the Civil Judge and the criminal court of the Magistrate. Civil Judges are normally empowered to decide civil disputes up to a specified pecuniary jurisdiction. In different States different degrees of 'separation' from the Executive have been achieved in respect of criminal courts. We are, however, not here concerned with the question of what personnel administers criminal justice. Above the trial courts dealing with civil and criminal litigation at the taluka or tehsil level, at the district level there are District and Sessions Courts. The District Courts function in certain cases as originating courts, and in others they are empowered to hear appeals in civil matters against decisions of Civil Judges. As courts of sessions, apart from appellate powers, they are empowered to try offences triable by such courts. Alongside of these, in Presidency Towns there are City Civil Courts and Courts of Presidency Magistrates and Small Causes Courts in certain areas. Then there are courts trying special classes of offences like Juvenile Courts under Children's Acts, etc. The High Court constitutes the apex of the State judiciary. Certain High Courts have an Original Side with a specialised type of jurisdiction in respect of matters arising in specified territories. For the rest, the High Courts exercise appellate and revisional powers. High Courts are a 'court of record' under Article

215 of the Constitution and are vested with the powers of superintendence over all courts and tribunals throughout the territories in relation to which they exercise jurisdiction. The High Courts are also vested with power throughout such territories to issue to any person or authority, including any Government within those territories, directions, orders or writs, including writs in the nature of *habeas corpus*, *mandamus*, prohibition, *quo warranto* and *certiorari*, or any of them, for the enforcement of any of the rights conferred by Part III of the Constitution or for any other purpose. At the top of the entire judicial system there is the Supreme Court, established and constituted under the provisions of the Constitution. The Supreme Court is a 'court of record' with all the powers of such a court. It exercises original jurisdiction to the exclusion of any other court in respect of disputes between the Government of India and one or more States, or between two or more States. An appeal lies to the Supreme Court from any judgment, decree or final order of a High Court whether in a civil, criminal or other proceeding, if the High Court certifies that the case involves a substantial question of law as to the interpretation of the Constitution. In cases where the High Court refuses to give such a certificate, the Supreme Court may grant special leave to appeal from such judgment, decree or final order. Apart from this, appeals lie, as provided in Article 133 of the Constitution, to the Supreme Court from any judgment, decree or final order in a Civil proceeding of a High Court if the High Court certifies that the amount or value of the subject-matter exceeds a certain figure, or where the High Court certifies that the case is a fit one for appeal to the Supreme Court. An appeal also lies to the Supreme Court from the judgments and orders of a High Court in a criminal proceeding in certain specified types of cases. It is furthermore laid down in Article 136 of the Constitution that notwithstanding anything else relative to this, the Supreme Court may in its discretion grant special leave to appeal from any judgment, decree, determination, sentence or order in any cause or matter passed or made by any court or tribunal in the territory of India. Under the provisions relating to fundamental rights in the Constitution, the right to move the Supreme Court by appropriate proceedings for the enforcement of rights conferred by Part III of the Constitution relating to fundamental rights is guaranteed as a constitutional remedy. The Supreme Court is also empowered to issue directives or orders or writs, including writs in the nature of *habeas corpus*, *mandamus*, prohibition, *quo warranto* and *certiorari*, whichever may be appropriate for the enforcement of any of the rights conferred under the same Part. Furthermore, there are provisions for enlargement of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court by law by Parliament. It is laid down in Article 141 of the Constitution that the law declared by the Supreme Court shall be binding on all courts within the territory of India.

Apart from what may be considered the 'normal' or traditional structure of the Judiciary, there are numerous categories of special courts and tribunals, such as Revenue Courts constituted by State legislation for dealing with matters of revenue, tenancy, rent, etc., with their own system of originating and appellate authorities. Then there are special tribunals, both original and appellate, such as Sales Tax Tribunals, Income-tax Tribunals, Co-operative Tribunals,

tribunals under the law relating to evacuee property, etc. In addition to these, there are Labour Courts and Industrial Courts and tribunals and those for determination of claims under workmen's compensation laws, etc. The question of the linguistic medium for proceedings, orders, judgments and decrees of all such courts and tribunals arises for consideration by us.

2. The powers relating to fixing the linguistic medium for these different courts and tribunals are vested by law as under at present.

The official use of a particular language in a court of civil law is determined by section 137 of the Civil Procedure Code, which empowers the State Government concerned to give directions regarding the language of any court subordinate to the High Court. Under section 558 of the Criminal Procedure Code, the State Government is empowered to determine what shall be deemed to be the language of each criminal court other than a High Court. Under serial No. 3 of List II, State List, of the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution, the constitution and organisation of all courts, except the Supreme Court and the High Court, and procedure in Rent and Revenue Courts, is included as a subject within the competence of State Legislation. Under items 77 and 78 of List I, Union List, of the Seventh Schedule, the constitution and organisation of the Supreme Court and the High Courts and the subject relating to persons entitled to practise before the Supreme Court or before High Courts are included within the exclusive legislative power of Parliament. Under item 95 of the Union List, item 65 of the State List and item 46 of the Concurrent List in the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution, the powers to legislate in respect of 'jurisdiction and powers of all courts' in regard to the matters in the respective lists are vested in the Parliament, the State Legislatures, and both concurrently, respectively.

3. The question of the linguistic medium has to be considered in respect of the entire proceedings before different courts and tribunals. The point arises in respect of presentation of pleadings, applications, execution petitions and appeals; it also arises in respect of various processes of courts, such as notices, summonses, warrants for attachment and proclamations in execution proceedings, etc.; the point also arises in respect of the language in which the court conducts its proceedings and the language in which arguments are addressed by counsel or pleaders; lastly, the question arises with reference to the language in which orders, judgments and decrees of the court should be pronounced. Then there is the question as to the language in which the court shall keep its own records, such as its diary and the various registers and accounts which are administratively required to be maintained by courts supplemental to their judicial functions. So far as the language of deposition by the witness is concerned, where this language is other than the official language of the court, the position that would arise hereafter would be no different from that which has always subsisted hithertofore. In general there is a practice of a dual system of recording oral evidence, the bench clerk taking down almost verbatim depositions of witnesses in the regional language in which the witness deposes, while the Judge takes down notes in English in his own hand. If

anything, the position ought to become somewhat easier hereafter. It might, for instance, be possible in some cases entirely to dispense with and in others to reduce the extent to which a dual system of recording oral evidence, the Judge taking down in English, is still in vogue. This system obviously was developed during the time when a considerable personnel of the higher Judiciary used to be insufficiently familiar with regional languages; and with a change in this circumstance as well as the growing displacement of English in the appropriate spheres by regional languages and Hindi, the need for such a practice would presumably be less. This is, however, a matter for the concerned authorities to regulate and we do not have to consider it further.

In Appendix VII a full documentation is given, so far as it is available to us from the information collected, as to the existing practice in respect of linguistic media in the structure of the judicial system in different States. Broadly speaking, it would appear that at the lowest rungs of the system, *viz.* village panchayats and trial courts, civil and criminal, at the taluka level, the linguistic medium is the regional language. As we go up the judicial system, English comes to occupy a larger place, although the exact constituents of the linguistic 'mixture' at this stage seem to differ quite considerably from State to State, and it would seem that even within one State there are sometimes differences as between different districts. Generally speaking, excepting the Hindi-speaking areas in which it is the regional language, Hindi does not find a place at this level in the judicial system in non-Hindi-speaking areas. It appears that there has been a progressive trend towards displacement of English, particularly in Hindi-speaking regions at this middle level of the Judiciary. Even where judgments, decrees and orders are still delivered in English, it would appear that in practice arguments by counsel are frequently allowed to be conducted in the language best understood by all parties, *viz.* the regional language. This is, however, no fresh departure but only an enlargement of a practice which obtained in a greater or less degree even previous to 1947.

4. So far as High Courts are concerned, it is laid down in Article 348 of the Constitution that notwithstanding any of the provisions relating to the official language of the Union and the regional languages, until Parliament by law otherwise provides, all proceedings in every High Court shall be in the English language. Clause (2) of Article 348 provides, however, that notwithstanding this provision, the Governor or Rajpramukh of a State may, with the previous consent of the President, authorise the use of the Hindi language or any other language used for any official purpose of the State in proceedings in the High Court, provided that this shall not apply to any judgment, decree or order passed or made by such High Court, which shall have to be in the English language. It will be noted from this provision that until Parliament has legislated otherwise, the judgments, decrees or orders passed by any of the High Courts in the country shall have to be in the English language. The 15-year limit in respect of the official language of the Union becoming Hindi in place of English, therefore, does *not* apply to the language of High Courts, even as it does not apply to the language of the Supreme Court as well as the language of enactments.

Steps are being taken in some States for taking advantage of clause (2) of Article 348 so as to provide for proceedings other than judgments, decrees or orders of the High Court being in a language other than English. Thus in Madhya Bharat and Rajasthan States the respective Rajpramukhs have authorised under this clause the use of Hindi in the proceedings of High Courts; in Hyderabad and Travancore-Cochin, Urdu and Malayalam respectively have been authorised; and in PEPSU, both Hindi and Punjabi have been authorised. Hindi is similarly allowed for proceedings in the Judicial Commissioner's Court in Vindhya Pradesh.

5. Article 348 of the Constitution lays down that notwithstanding any of the provisions relating to the official language of the Union, etc., until Parliament by law otherwise provides, all proceedings in the Supreme Court shall be in the English language. English, therefore, alone continues in the working of the Supreme Court at all stages both on its Original Side as well as on its Appellate Side. Petitions and appeal memos are presented in English, records of cases from States are translated into English and printed, counsel argue in English, and judgments, orders and decrees are passed by the Judges in English. The decisions are also reported in English. Thus neither Hindi nor the regional languages are at present in use in any of the proceedings in the Supreme Court.

The question that we have next to consider is the linguistic media in which, at its different stages, the judicial system should function, in the fullness of time when the different prerequisites of such a change-over, which we notice elsewhere, have been accomplished and the time has arrived for Parliament to legislate in this behalf in exercise of the powers vested in Article 348 so far as the Supreme Court and the High Courts are concerned. Elsewhere, we have considered how it is inconceivable that the judicial system should continue to function in the English language indefinitely when that language is displaced in 15 years in the affairs of the Union by the Hindi language, as laid down by the Constitution, and by the languages adopted as the State languages by the different State Legislatures in the respective fields of State administration. The question to consider therefore is what picture one may envisage of the linguistic media at different levels of the judicial system when in the fullness of time this branch of national life also is overtaken by the change. While the issue is not proximate, it is necessary to envisage a clear picture in order that various programmes of action which have to be launched proximately might be concerted toward the ultimate objectives.

6. It is hardly necessary to expatiate that the notion of law and the institution of law courts or agencies for determination of legal claims and for administration of justice are not new or recent concepts in the life of the Indian community. In fact the ancient lawgivers and jurists of this country had laid down, with exactitude and in considerable detail, the rights and obligations of different parties in matters of personal law as well as laws of property. The Dharmasutras and the Smritis of Manu and Yajnyavalkya are some of the most ancient juristic documents extant. There is abundant ancient legal literature in the shape of erudite digests and famous

commentaries like Mitakshara, Dayabhaga, Vyavaharamayukha, etc., on these systems of jurisprudence. Legal maxims and concepts were defined to a high degree of subtlety and definite principles relating to the law of evidence, in some respect closely resembling our modern laws, were evolved and established. Obviously also, quite elaborate judicial systems with provisions for trial courts and appeals, etc., must have subsisted under different kingdoms, empires and other political authorities that flourished at different times in this sub-continent. In fact the adoption of the English language almost to the total exclusion of other languages in the proceedings and judgments of courts above the lowest level was a comparatively later development even during the British regime. In the early years of the Company's rule the 'adalats' and law courts used to function largely in Persian with the aid of maulvis and pandits until Persian was abolished in law courts in 1836. In some of the larger Indian States like Baroda, Gwalior, Hyderabad, Jammu and Kashmir, Patiala and no doubt in numerous others, law courts generally used to function in regional languages, and not in English, including sometimes the court of the highest authority, right up to the time of the integration of these States into the Indian Union by 1950. In fact in some of the States constituted out of such former princely territories a complaint was voiced to us that by virtue of Article 348 of the Constitution there has been a displacement of regional languages by English, rather than the other way, following the disappearance of the princely States and their integration into independent India! No doubt this step was a necessary one at that stage and is to be looked upon as a step taken backward only as a temporary exigency and with a view to being followed by many more steps further forward in unison with all other tribunals of like status elsewhere in the country. The extent to which this legal lore and practice of conducting legal proceedings in Indian languages, both in recent years and in the past, would be of use for the purpose of evolving legal terminology is a matter that has been examined elsewhere in greater detail. Here we are concerned only to emphasise that the country's judicial system used to function, ere the last few decades, in languages other than English and, therefore, even although the departure may appear quite revolutionary, looking only to the extent to which English has by now proliferated in the judicial system, the change-over, provided it is brought about systematically, need not be considered alarming.

We have already noticed the distinction that has to be made between the language of every-day life, or even for that matter the language of administration, as distinguished from the language of law. In judgments, decrees and orders, law courts of the country decide innumerable claims of individuals, institutions, Governments, one against the other; and for reasons similar to those applicable in the case of the language of enactment of statutes, the language of law courts, particularly in their judgments, decrees and orders, has to be accurate, brief and unambiguous.

7. While considering the linguistic medium for legislation in the country, we found that it was possible to make a distinction between requirements of language for the 'deliberative functions' of legislative bodies as distinguished from the requirements of the language

for the laws enacted by them. We found that this distinction was helpful in reconciling the need for *accuracy* in respect of enactments with the need for *intelligibility* so far as the legislators deliberating in the legislative bodies were concerned. A somewhat similar distinction has to be made in the field of the proceedings before law courts also. Indeed this distinction is already made in Article 348 of the Constitution which admits of proceedings before High Courts being held in languages other than English but insists that judgments, decrees and orders passed or made by High Courts shall be in the English language. It will be explained at the material place in what follows how this distinction can be availed of to permit the proceedings to be in the language best understood by litigants and the parties to a judicial hearing, while judgments, orders and decrees would continue to be in a language identical with the language of the Statute Book.

8. So far as the language of the Supreme Court is concerned, obviously the entire court proceedings and records including of course judgments and orders, shall have to be in one language and, therefore, Hindi. It is inconceivable that the Supreme Court should function in the 10 or 12 languages that might be adopted as State languages in different States. When the time comes for the change-over, therefore, the Supreme Court will have to function only in Hindi; that is to say, appeal memos, applications and other petitions will be presented to the Court in Hindi; processes will be issued in Hindi; counsel will have to argue in Hindi; all the record will have to be translated into Hindi; and orders, judgments and decrees will also be pronounced in Hindi. The authoritative reports of Supreme Court decisions will also, of course, be published in the same language.

There would, however, be no objection, and indeed it may be advisable, to provide that processes issued in Hindi when addressed to a non-Hindi region or against a person whose mother-tongue is not Hindi may be accompanied by a translation for the convenience of the concerned party. It may also be necessary and advisable to have translations of Supreme Court decisions available in the State languages in separate regional language series.

We have separately considered a special problem of the transition, that is to say, the period of time that would elapse during which English shall not have been yet wholly displaced in the Supreme Court. So far as the personnel of the Supreme Court is concerned, during the transition, it must be envisaged that it would be open to individual Supreme Court Judges to deliver their judgments in English until in course of time any personal difficulty in doing so wholly disappears.

It is conceivable that such personal difficulty might subsist, although to a diminishing extent, for a considerable period of time. The Judges of the Supreme Court are appointed by the President, and it is laid down in Article 124 of the Constitution that a person shall not be qualified for appointment as a Judge of the Supreme Court unless, among other things, he has been for at least five years

a Judge of a High Court or has been for at least ten years an Advocate of a High Court or is, in the opinion of the President, a distinguished jurist. We understand that hithertofore the Supreme Court Judges have been appointed invariably from the benches of High Courts. Having regard to the experience and status that are likely to be necessary for appointment as Judges of the Supreme Court, whether the person is drawn from a High Court bench or from amongst Advocates of a High Court, an incumbent of a Supreme Court Judgeship is likely to be a person of a fairly advanced age and is unlikely as a rule to be younger than perhaps the late fifties. Obviously in the choice of the personnel for manning the country's highest judicial authority, *viz.* the Supreme Court, the principal consideration before the appointing authority ought to be judicial merit and legal scholarship and like qualities of the candidate; and no suitable person otherwise qualified ought to get excluded from consideration and the country deprived of his services, merely on the ground that he is not sufficiently versed in the Hindi language to be able to deliver judgments in it, which would be a trivial consideration with reference to the suitability of a candidate for appointment to this high office. It may therefore be that, for a long time, even after a change-over in the language of the Statute and the principal medium of the Supreme Court and High Courts has taken place, there may be occasions for appointing persons as Supreme Court Judges who would prefer to deliver their judgments in English rather than Hindi. We are of the view that this must be permissible. As we have consistently held in all such cases, we consider it important to bring, about a general change in the linguistic medium in the system as a whole and any such individual exceptions in special cases, which it is possible to reconcile with the change-over in the main system, would not only, in our opinion, not derogate from the change in the general system, but would be advisable and even indispensable in the larger interests.

For somewhat similar reasons, to elderly counsel, whose duty properly conceived is of assisting the Court to do justice, a similar individual option should be available with the leave of the presiding judge.

9. While the question of the linguistic medium for the functioning of the Supreme Court is disposed of quite easily at one end, the position as to the medium at the lower levels of the Judiciary is also plain enough. Obviously courts of panchayats, adalats and civil and criminal courts at the tehsil or taluka level must function in the languages best understood by the people which would generally be the regional languages of the different States. Proceeding further along the hierarchy of the judicial structure, one might say that the problem does not present any serious difficulties, up to and including the civil and criminal courts at the district level. There is already a clear trend, at any rate in some parts of the country, in favour of displacement of the English language by the regional languages in the judicial system up to and inclusive of district courts and session courts; and, no doubt, in the fullness of time, though probably over varying periods in the different States, this trend will fully accomplish itself. The subordinate Judiciary in the different States will come to function almost wholly in the respective regional languages of the States in course of time.

10. With the Supreme Court functioning in Hindi and the subordinate Judiciaries of different States functioning in their respective regional languages, there has to be some stage where the multiplex linguistic pattern has to be broken and integrated into the language of the Supreme Court if the unitary character of the judicial system of the country, with the Supreme Court at the apex and a common Statute Book composed of Union as well as State legislation, is to be maintained. This 'breaking off' of the circuit has to come at the level of the High Court, and therefore the linguistic medium in which the High Courts of the different States should function becomes a crucial issue.

On the one hand, since appellate, revisional and supervisory powers over the subordinate Judiciary are all vested in the High Court, the judgments, decrees and orders of the High Court have to be intelligible to the entire lower Judiciary; on the other hand, since High Court judgments are appealable to the Supreme Court, they have to be intelligible to the Supreme Court. The multiple linguistic circuit has therefore to be broken at the High Court level and it is at this stage that there has to be a 'facing of both ways', *viz.* Hindi as far as the Supreme Court is concerned and the respective regional languages so far as the subordinate Judiciary is concerned.

We have to give very close thought to this issue which is one of the principal, less obvious and arguable, matters within the field of our enquiry. There are certain arguments of not inconsiderable strength in favour of the proceedings in High Courts, including judgments, decrees and orders being in the respective regional languages. On the other hand, there are strong arguments in favour of a provision that the language of High Courts, at any rate so far as decrees, orders and judgments are concerned, should be Hindi in all the States. We recite below, for purposes of exhaustive documentation, the arguments on both sides stated objectively and in their full strength to the best of our ability. We have also considered the feasibility of certain intermediate positions that might be suggested in this behalf, such as the language of certain classes of judgments of High Courts being required to be in Hindi and the rest being allowed to be in the respective regional languages. These intermediate solutions are not feasible in our opinion. On a careful consideration of the balance of merits we have come to the clear conclusion that judgments, decrees and orders of High Courts must be in a common linguistic medium, *viz.* the Hindi language.

11. The strongest argument in favour of the regional language being adopted as the language of High Court judgments, in our view, is the contention that the common man who comes as a litigant to the court must, to the highest possible degree, be enabled to follow the fate of his claims in the court of law. There can be no doubt that this would be secured best by High Courts delivering their judgments in the regional languages. For very strong reasons, which we will notice in what follows, this is however quite unfeasible. We feel, furthermore, that the essential purpose underlying this argument can be substantially achieved in practice by providing that a translation into the regional language made in the court's office of every judgment, decree or order, may be furnished to the litigant (and perhaps

even without payment of cost) at his request The crucial point is that either the litigant must be furnished with such a translation into the regional language or a Hindi translation must be submitted for adjudication by the Supreme Court in the event of the case going in appeal, and for reference of the decision, contingently, as a reported case before other High Courts in the country. There is a certain possibility which we must take into account of loss of content or import or shade of meaning in the process of translation from one language into another, in this case from Hindi into the regional language(s) or *vice versa,* even although there are great though varying degrees of similarity between these languages. The litigant is principally concerned with the determination of his claim, and in a general way with the arguments underlying such determination. The Supreme Court, however, might be called upon to uphold, modify or vary the judgment; and other High Courts may have occasion to analyse and weigh the exact purport of the judgment in its bearing upon other cases: and it is obvious to us that if somebody has to be furnished with a translation, it is clearly in the public interest that that should be the litigant rather than the appellate authority, *viz.* the Supreme Court, or the compeers of the judge in the other High Courts. At the High Court level and above where the point arises, most of the contentious issues are technical and complicated details of legal interpretation. It is doubtful what proportion of litigants would follow these intricacies (and indeed as a rule litigants are not present during High Court hearings on appeals) even if the linguistic difficulty did not intervene; although we entirely concede that a litigant would be entitled to the potential right to do so if it were practicable to provide for it. And indeed we have no doubt it is true, not merely in India but in advanced countries of the world as well, that common litigants cannot as a rule follow higher subtleties of legal interpretation. For practically all his purposes the regional language translation would suffice even when a litigant is inclined to and is able to follow the legal argument. The Supreme Court and other High Courts must however for obvious reasons have the actual text of the judgment within their ken of direct intelligibility. Besides, one may hope that, in course of time, and more especially with the implementation of the constitutional provision about compulsory elementary education up to the age of 14 years, the number of litigants who would not sufficiently understand the original Hindi text of the judgment, decree or order, would be small.

Since subordinate courts are guided by the determination of law given in High Court judgments, there may have to be translations in the respective regional languages of all reported High Court judgments. It would be necessary to provide that these translations are sufficiently reliable, and we would suggest for consideration by the concerned authorities at the material time that there may be a translation service available in the High Court for such translation of judgments. So far as the Judges and Magistrates and members of the subordinate Judiciary of all but the lowest levels are concerned, the arrangements that we envisage in the educational sphere would certainly secure in them a sufficient knowledge of the Hindi language, at any rate for purposes of comprehension. With the further aid of such translations into the regional language, therefore, we would not

anticipate that they would have any difficulty in following the judgments of the High Courts.

12. The intermediate alternatives suggested in this connection, which might be noticed, are the following:—

(a) that only the 'reportable' judgments of High Courts should be in Hindi and the rest in the regional languages;

(b) that only the 'appealable' judgments of the High Courts should be in Hindi and the rest may be allowed to be in the regional languages.

The basis of the first suggestion is that normally only a small proportion of the judgments of High Courts comes within the category which is reported in the law journals as case law. So far as we have been able to ascertain, however, the general practice is for the Judge who dictates the judgment to decide, *after* the judgment is dictated and typed, whether it should be reported or not. Even if it were possible to arrange that judges may decide beforehand whether they would classify the particular judgment as reportable or not, we do not think such an intermediate alternative would be feasible. In any case, unreported decisions might go in appeal to the Supreme Court and the alternative would fail on the count that it is obviously essential that the Supreme Court should have before it for consideration the original judgment as delivered and not a translation of it. Apart from this, the authority of decisions is not derived from the fact that they are 'reported', and there is no distinction in the legal status of judgments whether reported or unreported, although, of course, anybody quoting the authority of an unreported judgment has to substantiate it. As regards the distinction sought to be made by the suggestion at (b) above, it would clearly appear that such a distinction cannot be made the basis of an option in the language of judgments. It cannot be predicted beforehand in what cases leave may be granted by the High Court to appeal to the Supreme Court; and in any case where the High Court has refused such leave, the Supreme Court can grant special leave to appeal if it is satisfied that the case involves a substantial question of law as to the interpretation of the Constitution. And even apart from this, as provided in Article 136 of the Constitution, notwithstanding any of the other provisions, the Supreme Court may in its discretion grant special leave to appeal from any judgment, decree or order in any cause or matter passed or made by any court or tribunal in the territory of India. It is therefore not at all practicable to sustain a distinction as to the language in which the judgment may be delivered, which has to be made at the time of the delivery of the judgment with reference to contingencies which would be due to arise thereafter. Yet another alternative is sometimes suggested, namely that in their original jurisdiction High Courts may be given the freedom to deliver judgments in the regional language. In this context this distinction between original and appellate work has no relevance and this type of intermediate solution must also be rejected.

13. There are very strong, and in our opinion, conclusive reasons in favour of deciding that the language of the judgments, decrees and orders of the High Court should be the Hindi language. For reasons

which we gave in paragraph 5 of Chapter IX, the Statute Book of the country, including State enactments, has to be in the Hindi language. The Supreme Court will be functioning in Hindi, and it must be enabled to sit in appeal over judgments as originally delivered and not as translated into Hindi. High Court decisions and judgments delivered by Judges of one High Court are habitually referred to and quoted in other High Courts of the country; obviously it is vastly preferable that such judgments are available for reference, in the language in which they were delivered, lest a large number of unnecessary and avoidable issues relating to accuracy of translations be raised in regard to them.

The highest judicial tribunals of the country, like the Supreme Court and High Courts, virtually 'make law' in the process of delivering judgments. It is not possible for the Legislature to anticipate the infinite variety of special cases that may arise in the complex situations of personal fortune and social organization, with respect to which they enact statutes, and to provide for each of them unequivocally. It is this circumstance which results in the process of 'law making' by law courts; this is also known as 'case law' and it comes to be referred to in great abundance before law courts. For the same compelling reason for which the Statute Book has to be in one language, the judge-made law also has to be in the same language.

There is a special type of case in which these arguments would apply *a fortiori*. Item 79 of the Union List of the Seventh Schedule enumerates, as one of the subjects within Parliamentary legislative competence, 'the extension of the jurisdiction of a High Court having its principal seat in any State to...... any area outside that State.' Article 217 of the Constitution, besides, contemplates that High Court Judges may be transferable by the President from one High Court to another. The States Reorganization Commission has *recommended that 'at least one-third of the number of Judges in a High Court should consist of persons who are recruited from outside the State'. If a single High Court is to have jurisdiction over two or more States in which the regional languages are different, since the High Court must function organically, and since it would be impossible in practice to insist that each High Court Judge must function 'ambidextrously', so to say, in two or more of the regional languages, it is obvious that the official language of such High Courts intended to serve multilingual territories, must be, for this additional reason as well, the Hindi language.

All in all, the arguments in favour of Hindi being adopted as the language of judgments, orders and decrees of High Courts are so overwhelmingly strong, and indeed several of them are so strong individually as to be conclusive in themselves, that we have no doubt whatever in our mind as to this conclusion.

14. Apart from the language of judgments, decrees and orders of a High Court, the question arises as to what would be the language of the other proceedings before the court, *viz.* pleadings, petitions, applications, arguments, processes, etc. So far as the processes, decrees and orders are concerned, we would suggest that, wherever

---

*Paragraph 861 of the States Reorganization Commission Report.

necessary, it may be provided that they would issue in the regional languages, in their authorised translations, in addition to their original issue in Hindi.

Normally a High Court Judge, serving on the bench of a particular unilingual State would, we imagine, be acquainted with (or have acquired the knowledge of) the regional language and would be able to follow arguments advanced before him in the proceedings in the regional language, and would not need translations of the documents and papers. In the case of the one-third quota of High Court Judges which, according to the States Re-organization Commission's recommendations, should be recruited from outside the particular State, it may happen that for a while, until he has obtained a sufficient mastery over the regional language, a Judge may need such translations and may not be able to follow counsel arguing before him in the regional language. We would, however, suggest that as in the case of the all-India Services, there may be a requirement in the case of High Court Judges for their passing certain minimum language tests in the regional languages, with which they would be concerned on such transfers. In the case of High Courts dealing with multilingual States, the contingency of needing translation may arise to a larger extent, and not merely for a while, on the first appointment of a Judge to the bench. It is inevitable that translations should be furnished to the particular Judge in such cases. In any event, we consider that any difficulties created by this would not be insuperable. At present in most of the High Courts most of the pleadings and documents have to be translated from regional languages into English. The translation involved under the scheme we envisage would, in any case, be much less. We would, therefore, recommend that, by leave of the Judge concerned or of the bench hearing a particular case, it should be permissible for counsel to argue the case in the regional language and the translation of documents and proceedings, etc., from the regional language into Hindi should not be made where the concerned Judge does not require it.

15. For the same reason for which such a provision is necessary in the case of Supreme Court Judges, as noticed in paragraph 8 above, we consider that a provision, whereby individual High Court Judges may deliver their judgments in the English language during the transitional period, until a full change-over to the new linguistic media has taken place, might be made in the case of the High Courts also. As in the case of counsel at the Supreme Court, a similar option by leave of the presiding judge might be extended to the High Court counsel as well. Here again, it is obviously of the greatest importance that High Court benches are properly manned and until the transition is completed, an individual Judge who may prefer to deliver his judgments in English may certainly do so without derogation of the change-over in the general linguistic medium which is desiderated.

We have considered whether it would be further necessary at the High Court level to give an option to individual Judges, who may not be in a position to express themselves in Hindi or the English language, to deliver their judgments in the regional language of the State concerned, provided they themselves authenticated a Hindi

(or for a transitional period an English) translation of the judgment. We do not contemplate that as a rule, circumstances are likely to arise in which Judges would not be in a position to deliver their judgments either in Hindi or in English and may want to do so in the regional language. In any case, even if it should be found necessary to give such an option, such a Judge is sure to have enough knowledge of Hindi or of English for purposes of comprehension to be in a position to authenticate the translation of his original judgment in the regional language. The authoritative reported cases would therefore continue to be, during the transitional period in the two languages, Hindi and English, the latter to a progressively smaller extent until the entire reported cases come to be available in the Hindi language.

16. So far as the subordinate Judiciary is concerned, the bulk of the proceedings would be in the regional language. We would, however, recommend for consideration by the States concerned the enacting of a provision whereby, at any rate at the district levels, as at the High Court level, it would be open to parties or counsel to resort to the Hindi language optionally. While the occasions on which a counsel from another State would be called to appear before a court lower than a High Court of another State would probably be small, we should imagine that a provision of such facility would be in keeping with the judicial unity of the country and the concept of a common all-India Bar. Besides, with the development of economic activity and further progress in communications, as explained in greater detail elsewhere, we anticipate a larger admixture of populations hailing from different regional groups. It is the duty of State Governments, and indeed it is very much in their own interests, to provide a facility to persons speaking languages other than the State language, to avail of the services of the judicial system in their States equally with persons speaking the State language. We expect that this would be particularly necessary in larger towns; but if it is necessary at lower levels, the principle ought to be extended for similar reasons. Nor do we anticipate that it would be difficult administratively for the State Governments to allow such an option as we envisage, in course of time, a sufficient expansion of the knowledge of Hindi at least as a language of comprehension, at the relevant levels of personnel.

17. So far as the language of special tribunals like income-tax tribunals, co-operative tribunals, etc., is concerned, it does not seem necessary to consider the issue in any great detail. No doubt Parliament or the State Legislatures, who would set up such courts or tribunals, would prescribe appropriate linguistic media for their working. The main principles appear to us obvious enough. To the maximum possible extent the litigating parties must be allowed the facility of the court proceedings being in the languages they know *i.e.* at regional levels, the regional languages. So far as judgments and orders are concerned, where such judgments and orders are liable to be quoted in other linguistic regions, it would be preferable that they are delivered originally in Hindi and only their translations made into regional languages for the benefit of the parties.

In the case of such special tribunals also as in the case, of High Courts etc. we would envisage the English language being allowed to be used as the language of the judgment or order by individual

judges for a considerable time to come, whenever they are not in a position to express themselves adequately in the regional languages concerned, or in Hindi, as the case may be.

18. An important connected matter to consider would be the language of legal education in the Universities of the country.

We envisage a situation in which the authoritative Statute Book of the country would be in the Hindi language, including the case law evolved from judgments of the Supreme Court and the High Court Judges; cases will be argued before the Supreme Court in Hindi and before High Courts in Hindi or the respective regional languages; there will be a general option, likely to be growingly less pressed into service, to counsel to argue cases in English where they are not able to express themselves adequately in Hindi before the Supreme Court or the High Courts. The proceedings, including the arguments before the courts and Magistrates below the High Court level, would of course be normally in the regional languages. In High Courts they may be in Hindi or the regional language as per leave granted by the concerned Judge.

The question for consideration is: What should be the medium of instruction for purposes of legal education?

The persons qualifying as law graduates would be practising both before mofussil courts and High Courts, and in some cases in Supreme Court also. The best solution, in our opinion, would be for Universities to provide facilities for examination of law graduates both in Hindi and in the regional language concerned, at the option of the candidate. So far as teaching by Universities or colleges is concerned, it may be made available according to need in both the linguistic media, the Universities allowing equal facilities to institutions teaching in either of these media. We are cognisant that graduates joining Universities for obtaining law degrees do not as a rule, and cannot in many cases, make up their minds straightaway as to whether they would practise before High Courts or in the district or lower courts. There is also some migration of personnel between mofussil Bars and High Court Bars. However in the system of education that we envisage for the future, having had a sufficient grounding in the Hindi language in the secondary school, the law graduate who has passed his examination in the regional language medium would not have insuperable difficulty in switching over to the Hindi medium should he decide to change his venue of legal practice.

A somewhat similar point arises in respect of promotion of personnel from the district level to the level of the High Court bench. District Judges who aspire to the bench would doubtless normally take steps to qualify themselves for delivering judgments in the Hindi language in the event of such elevation. In addition to this, as stated in paragraph 15 above, we have admitted the possibility of a temporary option to deliver judgments in the regional languages being given in favour of individual High Court Judges. Growingly, as the generation, which has undergone the fairly adequate course of Hindi instruction which we contemplate as a feature of the educational system in the country, comes to the age levels where it occupies district Judgeships, the difficulty would tend to disappear.

## CHAPTER XI

# LANGUAGE OF LAW AND LAW COURTS—III

## THE DYNAMICS OF THE CHANGE-OVER

1. It is now proposed to consider the phasing of the change-over of the linguistic media so far as legislation and law courts are concerned. As will be explained subsequently, a lot of preliminaries have to be completed before such a switch-over can at all be considered practicable. It has been our policy throughout this Report, for reasons elsewhere explained, not to indulge in gratuitous prognostication as to the date by which any particular change-over would become practicable. In pursuance of this general policy, we have not attempted to frame any estimates of the time-periods that would be required for the completion of any of the preliminaries of the various phases through which this transition must take place. We have however indicated wherever it is necessary to do so, the sequence and the manner in which the various phases must be articulated.

The difficulties of terminology are especially acute in the field of law and administration of justice. Besides, this is a field of national activity touching the daily existence of a vast number of people drawn from all walks of life. In the fields of law and administration of justice, certainty and precision are a *sine qua non* of an acceptable system. While this would be no reason for relaxing in our preparatory efforts—rather the contrary!—it must be recognised that nothing would be gained, and a great deal hazarded, if a wholesale change-over were to be precipitated in this sector before the ground-work has been fully prepared.

2. First, a word may be said about a contention that has been advanced before us, namely, that the English language may continue to be the language of legislation and our law courts indefinitely in the future. We consider any such exclusion from national policy of an important sector of national life, touching the common man so intimately at so many points, completely unacceptable and even untenable. It is laid down in the Constitution that the language for the purposes of the Union is to be the Hindi language, in substitution of English (except where English is specifically provided to be retained by law by Parliament), by 26th January 1965; and likewise that the official language for communication between one State and another or between a State and the Union is to be Hindi by the same date. In fact, as permitted by Article 346 of the Constitution, several States have already agreed amongst themselves that the Hindi language should be the official language for communication between such States and the language has been so adopted for this purpose. Some State Governments have already made considerable progress in the direction of switching-over the language of administration of the State to their respective regional languages. Although heretofore this has

principally been amongst the States where the regional language is Hindi, the trend is evident enough elsewhere also and we have no doubt that in course of time there will be considerable pressure in the non-Hindi-speaking States for replacement of the English language, especially in the lower formations of the administrative machinery, by the respective regional languages of those States. From the statement that we have given at Appendix VIII it would be evident that the large bulk of speeches in State Legislatures are being delivered in languages other than English. Already several States in Hindi areas are legislating on the basis of bills drawn up in Hindi, although according to the provisions of sub-clause (3) of Article 348 of the Constitution the English translations of such measures published under the authority of the Governor or the Rajpramukh count in law as the authoritative texts of those enactments. We do not think that it would be practicable, nor do we think it would be right, to sustain the latter position indefinitely. In the educational system as well there is a departing from English as the medium of instruction in the Universities although it is not quite clear in what form the position would settle down eventually as the trend is developing into two different streams—one in the direction of replacement of the English medium by the regional languages and the other in the direction of its replacement by the Hindi language. In any event it is impossible to stem the tide of change—nor do we consider it would be desirable to do so if it were possible—to go away from the English language as the medium both of instruction in the educational field and of administration in the fields of the Union and the State Governments. It is manifest that it would be wholly impracticable to 'cordon off' the judicial sector from this general trend and maintain for an indefinite period in the future the present position of the English language therein.

Nor do we see any good reasons for doing so. The same general arguments which we have elsewhere noticed would apply herein; namely, that the existence of a selected coterie of persons conducting their proceedings in a language unintelligible to the vast majority of the community, whose affairs they dispose in the course of such proceedings, would be wholly intolerable as a permanent arrangement. Such a position would isolate this class permanently and divide and estrange it from the rest of the people. It is both undesirable and unfeasible that the legal sector, in the processes of which the common man has such a direct and intimate interest, should be so cordoned off. We have no doubt whatever that in course of time the change in the linguistic medium will have to come over the field of legislation and the law courts in consonance with a similar change in the field of public administration to which we are already committed and a corresponding incipient trend in the educational system which is fast gathering strength.

While law is a specialised and an esoteric branch of knowledge the intrinsic difficulties in the change-over of medium, it seems to us, should be less insuperable in the field of law and jurisprudence, as compared to the field of advanced technology or research in the natural sciences. Law and the sciences both require an exact and precise language for the expression of concepts in their respective fields. However, the advance of science particularly in modern conditions depends vitally on certain availabilities of equipment and

experimental opportunities and large outlays of finance, as contrasted with the study of law or advance of jurisprudence. So far as the field of natural sciences is concerned, for a long time to come, the facilities available to Indian scientists might be considerably smaller than those available to their compeers in other countries. The maintenance of a strong direct link with scientific progress abroad and of a pipe-line of knowledge which would keep our scientists abreast of development in the advanced countries of the world, is therefore a *sine qua non* for this period. In the field of law however the matter is slightly different. Nobody would suggest that we do not have our share in this country of legal talent or capacity and inclination for the cultivation of legal subtleties and refinements. Apart from this, juristic speculation and the pursuit of legal studies are not dependent on the availabilities of expensive physical equipment in the way in which scientific research is so dependent.

It is true that our present system of law and jurisprudence is vastly different from the systems of laws in respect of which there is such abundant ancient lore in our country. Those systems of laws were devised in a climate of social organisation and conditions of trade, commerce and industry, vastly different from those which obtain today. Nevertheless, there has been civilized life in this subcontinent for at least four thousand years and there have been systems of law and law-giving of some sort or other throughout this period. While the present-day law court in this form may not have had a counterpart in the past, and while present-day laws may be substantively different from those of the previous centuries, there are bound to be considerable common elements, such as general notions of justice, equity, rules of relevance and proof in evidence etc., in respect of which diligent research would be repaid by discovery of corresponding terms, notions and concepts indigenous to the country. Surely there was some system of administration of justice before the advent of the British to this country and the general notions of justice and allied concepts could not be altogether novel and foreign to us.

We do agree at the same time that it would be an advantage, and indeed even necessary, that our jurists, judges and lawyers continue to be in a position to maintain touch with developments in the field of law in other countries of the world and, more especially the English-speaking countries, on whose systems of law, jurisprudence and political organisation so much of the corpus of this country's statute, legal procedure and constitutional organisation are founded. The provisions that we contemplate in respect of knowledge of English in the system of higher education are sufficient to take care of this aspect of the matter.

We have drawn greatly, in jurisprudence, on the Anglo-Saxon system of laws and judicial procedure; and in our constitutional structure also, on the systems and practices of Parliamentary democracy obtaining in the Anglo-Saxon countries which still furnish the best extant examples of this form of political organisation: it is sometimes argued that, therefore, we should keep for all time the medium of the English language especially in the fields of the judiciary and constitutional law. The argument is to our mind misconceived. Having regard to the changed circumstances of the

modern world as contrasted with the ancient times when Indian systems of jurisprudence and political and social organisation were evolved, it is only natural that our institutions should correspond to and be based not upon our ancient institutions but upon prototypes available contemporaneously in other countries of the world. Our long and recent association with Britain makes the correspondence between our judicial system and constitutional structures comprehensible. However, there is no warrant for the supposition that the system of parliamentary democracy cannot be worked in a language other than English; or that a system of laws, procedure and judicial organisation substantially founded on the British system must necessarily be conducted in the identical linguistic medium. One may quite consistently cherish the principles of justice and liberty embodied in Anglo-Saxon institutions along with a desire to conduct such institutions in our country in indigenous languages as they are conducted in their indigenous language by those Anglo-Saxon countries where they were developed.

We feel therefore that while there would be the same difficulties as in other fields in the evolving of legal terminology, there should be a great deal of material available indigenously on which we can draw for equipping the Indian languages with the terms necessary for expression in this field.

3. The following preliminaries appear to us to be prerequisite to the accomplishment of a change-over of the linguistic medium in the field of law and legislation:—

(1) The preparation of a standard legal lexicon;

(2) Re-enactment of the statute book in Hindi both in respect of Central legislation and in respect of State legislation.

We have the following observations to make in regard to these two subjects:—

4. So far as the question of terminology is concerned, the evolution and development of legal terminology is just one more instance in the field of terminology in general and all that we have said on this subject in Chapter V would be equally applicable *ceteris paribus* to legal terminology. We may resuscitate and adopt suitable terms found in ancient indigenous texts wherever they would be apposite; we may, in addition to this, find a lot of suitable legal terms in the terminology which was used in the regional languages in the earlier years of British Rule before English had completely displaced the regional languages at all significant levels of the judicial system. A certain amount of assistance may also be available from the terms and phraseology used in the former Princely Indian States like Baroda, Gwalior, Hyderabad, etc. where statutes used to be enacted in Indian languages and the law courts including the highest Tribunals functioned in the respective regional language of the territories. In addition to this, where a legal concept has no exact, easy, parallel term forthcoming from indigenous sources there would be of course no harm in such term being adopted bodily from English or the Greek or Latin expression describing the concept.

The need for having the maximum degree of identity in the new terms and expressions coined or adopted for making good the existing deficiencies of terminology in Hindi and in the regional languages is even greater in the field of law than any other fields. The juridical and judicial unity of the country is one of the most important elements of the Indian Constitutional structure and it is essential that legal terms and expressions should be understood in the same significance in all parts of the country, for the maintenance of this unity.

Legal terminology should be adopted after a process of consultation in like manner as in respect of terminology in general. Thereafter, a legal lexicon duly authorised should be prepared and published. We have had suggestions made that such a lexicon fixing the precise meaning of legal phrases and terms should in fact be *enacted* by Parliament. We do not however consider it necessary or even advisable. Even if such a legal lexicon is enacted as a law, in respect of any meanings that may be given against particular terms or expressions in it, in the actual consideration of such terms or expressions in the context of cases in real life, there would still be room for argument as to the precise shade of meaning to be adopted for a word or expression in a particular context, since all such situations can never be foreseen. We therefore do not see what particular advantage would be gained by having such a lexicon enacted by Parliament like a statute. If such a lexicon were to be published under the 'imprimatur' of an authority like, say, the Ministry of Law of the Government of India, the terms and expressions would come to be used in practice as standard terms with the intended connotation, without imparting to them the degree of inviolability or inelasticity associated with a Parliamentary enactment. As in the case of other technical terms, we anticipate that there may have to be in due course a process of 're-standardisation' in the light of specialised meanings that may come to be attached to particular terms or expressions consequential to decisions of law courts.

So far as the other prerequisite, namely, translation of the statute book into Hindi is concerned, we have the following observations to make:—

All the un-repealed statutes, Central as well as State, will have to be rendered into Hindi and authoritative texts in that language made available eventually. It may be noted that a mere 'popular' translation, in the way in which translations are sometimes made of Bills or Acts by the Central or State Governments for public information in the regional languages, would not do for this purpose as we intend that the Hindi version of the statute should in course of time, when duly enacted, become the authoritative text of the law. We contemplate that the renderings of the statutes into their Hindi versions would have in due course to be re-enacted, by the legislative authority in the respective field, *i.e.*, by Parliament in respect of Central legislation and by the different State legislatures in respect of the State laws.

In addition to this, State Governments may want to translate into the respective regional languages some or all of the Central and

States' enactments. These however would be translations for popular information and would not be the authoritative texts of the statute.

5. We are informed that so far as the unrepealed Acts are concerned, the work amounts to some 8,500 pages. Further to this, the turn-over of new legislative enactments each year at the Centre is approximately 500 pages. The Commission was informed that the Law Ministry started the work of translating unrepealed Central Acts about seven years ago and that they have up to now done about 3,000 pages comprising 183 unrepealed Acts and 45 Amending Acts. The work apparently is done in a separate section of the Ministry of Law and we were informed that since 1953 a special officer of the rank of Deputy Secretary has been appointed to be in-charge of the Hindi translations.

Further inquiries from the Law Ministry elicited that these renderings of the unrepealed central Acts into Hindi may be said to be 'Hindi translation of the laws for popular use' and the Law Ministry was 'not in a position to say that the translation done in Hindi so far can be regarded as adequate to serve as authoritative texts of the laws in that language'. These translations therefore would not be capable of being used for the purpose of enacting the law in Hindi in course of time when it is resolved to enact the statute book in the Hindi language. It is not apparent that the translations were undertaken with a clear objective in view and in the reply of the Law Ministry, it is stated that it has not been possible for any senior officer of the said Ministry either to supervise the work of the translating section or to judge of the merits of the translations done and that under the circumstances, the Ministry is not in a position to state whether the translations done up-till now would stand the test of being used for replacement of the original texts in English. In the opinion of that Ministry, such translations may be taken as being meant for popular use. The correspondence between the Commission and the Law Ministry in this respect is reproduced in Supplementary Paper XII*.

So far as the evolving of legal terminology is concerned, there would seem to be the same lack of co-ordination as between different agencies to which we have adverted in Chapter V in respect of terminology in general. We were advised on 9th March, 1956, that the Law Ministry had until then prepared about 1,000 legal terms which they had brought into use in the translations of the laws that they had made although until then only 75 words had been finalised after the prescribed process of scrutiny and finalisation in the Ministry of Education.

It would therefore seem that many of the legal terms employed in the translations of statutes so far made have not yet been finally adopted; it would seem necessary that the translations are reviewed and revised both because some of the terminology is still to be finalised and as the original translation as it stands does not appear to have been made with a view to serve eventually as the authoritative and duly enacted text of the law in Hindi. Some translation of the State laws into the regional languages and even in Hindi has been made by the State Governments purporting presumably to assist

*Not printed.

eventually the change-over from English; but if similar considerations apply in respect of these renderings also, the Hindi translations would not be fit for being adopted as statutory enactments until they have been reviewed from this point of view.

6. It seems to us necessary to adopt the following plan of action and to pursue it steadily to its completion:

(1) The process of evolving and adopting the necessary common terminology for the Indian languages in the field of law must be greatly accelerated.

(2) Steps must be taken for the publication of books on such terminology from time to time as they get ready as standard and recognised glossaries under the *imprimatur* of a suitable authority at the Centre.

(3) A rendering of the statute-book, both Central and State, into Hindi must be projected. It should be decided as to whether such Hindi versions of the law should not be enacted by the appropriate legislative authorities and a programme of action in respect of the Central as well as the State laws should be drawn up and pursued.

It seems to us that to start with at any rate, until drafting in Hindi becomes sufficiently well-established and until competent draftsmen who can undertake original drafting of laws in Hindi are available in sufficient numbers, it might be advisable that the entire rendering of the statute book including the provincial laws into Hindi, might be undertaken by, or under the authority and auspices of, the Centre.

We have also given some thought to the detailed arrangement that would be necessary for the 'enactment' by the appropriate legislative authority of the Hindi versions of the Central laws. This could be achieved in one of two ways; namely, either the Hindi text of the Central laws prepared for the purpose might be directly enacted by Parliament going through its usual legislative procedure or a general Act may be passed by Parliament giving the force of law to the Hindi versions of the statutes to be published under prescribed authority, say, in the Gazette of India. Considering that the volume of Central legislation requiring to be re-enacted in its Hindi version runs into 8,500 pages, and further considering that the Parliament normally is able to put through during a year only about 500 pages of legislative enactment, it would appear that it would be impracticable for the Parliament itself to go through the process of enacting of the Hindi versions of the 8,500 pages of the existing Central statutes. It would appear therefore that the alternative will have to be adopted whereunder, by virtue of a general enactment, the force of law would accrue to Hindi versions prepared and published according to a prescribed form and procedure. It has been suggested in this connection that a convenient way of achieving this would be to provide for the creation of a body—which may perhaps be called the Hindi Law Commission—who would be charged with the duty of preparing Hindi versions of the existing Central laws. It would be provided that the versions authenticated for this purpose

by the Commission should on publication in the Gazette of India be deemed to be the authoritative text of the particular laws in the Hindi language. Since these enactments in Hindi would be merely translations of already existing statutes and would not involve the exercise of legislative authority in a substantive way, it would appear that some such device—which alone it seems to us would make the task practicable—could be adopted without objection. We are concerned merely to point out the need and urgency of the task and to indicate a possible way in which provision could be made for its accomplishment: it will be for Parliament itself to decide the issue finally and settle the details of any such arrangement.

A similar issue will arise in connection with the unrepealed statutes in the States and perhaps some analogous arrangement would need to be made for the purpose.

In August 1955, the Government of India appointed a Law Commission, one of the terms of reference of which is 'to examine the Central Acts of general application and importance and recommend the lines on which they should be amended, revised, consolidated or otherwise brought up to date.' Of course, to the extent to which it may be practicable to do so without imposing an undue delay on the process, the rendering of the enactments into Hindi might be so programmed as to follow, rather than precede, the recasting of an enactment following the labours of the Law Commission so as to obviate the necessity of a second rendering soon after the first. The same consideration would apply in respect of any particular statute where a codification or other considerable re-casting of the law is in contemplation.

7. Is it necessary to translate any of the 'case law' which is at present available in English and to which frequent references are made in the law courts? It would be of help, we imagine, if nothing else at least as an exercise in legal composition in the new linguistic medium, if the more important parts of the case law are also likewise rendered into Hindi, using therefor standardised terms and expressions from the authorised law lexicon: we would however not postulate this as a prerequisite to the general change-over of the medium. For one thing, the entire case law is far too vast to be translated. Besides, under the system that we envisage, a law graduate, and of course also a judge at the levels of the judicial system at which reference to such case law would normally arise, will have received in the course of his educational career sufficient instruction in the English language to impart to him, at any rate, adequate comprehending knowledge to enable him to look up case law available originally in English. While therefore the publication of the more important portions of case law in Hindi would be a facility and an advantage, the translation of the entire case law is neither practicable nor necessary as a preliminary to the change-over.

We might here briefly notice a point which is sometimes sought to be made in this connection. We have heard it suggested by witnesses that provided the laws were codified, the need for reference to case law could be obviated altogether. Some witnesses suggested, presumably in search of a simplification of the administration of

justice, that it should be enacted that 'decisions of law-courts before a certain date shall not be considered as valid for the interpretation of current laws thereafter.' These suggestions would appear to flow from a misconception. Apart from instances where there is a statutory provision as in Article 147 of the Constitution relating to the Supreme Court, stating that the law declared by the Supreme Court shall be binding on all Courts within the territory of India, the validity of case law proceeds mainly from the merits of the reasoning advanced therein. So long as questions of interpretation of law arise, it is obvious that advocates will quote decisions in other cases in support of the views they advocate. One could not in any case altogether obviate reference to case law and thus dispense with the incubus of the legal lore represented by the accumulated case law. In the same way, codification of laws would not in itself remove all occasion for reference to the case law, as such codified enactments could no more foresee every conceivable situation and legislate unambiguously with reference to each, than could be so done in uncodified enactments.

9. We would now like to consider the phasing of the various preliminaries which are, in a greater or less degree, necessary before a general change-over of the medium in the language of law and legislation can take place.

While the obvious sequence, so far as evolving of terminology and enacting of renderings of the law into Hindi is concerned, would be for the former to precede the latter, it does not mean of course that all such rendering of extant laws into Hindi can commence only after the last term or expression is finalised. In fact both jobs should proceed simultaneously and in close consecutive sequence. At the same time some of the other elements in the system must be set in motion. It seems to us necessary to allow those States, which may want to do so and may be adequately equipped for the purpose, to undertake drafting and enactment of new legislation originally in Hindi itself. So far as the enactment of the legislation in Hindi is concerned, the Hindi text would not have the validity of law unless clause (3) of Article 348 of the Constitution is amended. We must caution here that probably original drafting in Hindi has not yet made adequate progress even within those States wherein the legislature of the State has prescribed Hindi as the language for use in Bills, Acts, etc. We understand that very often the Hindi text is only a translation made subsequently of the English text originally drafted by the draftsmen. We are inclined to feel that unless drafting can be attempted originally in Hindi by persons competent to do so, there would inevitably be present in the Hindi text the blemishes unavoidable in a translation.

If the Hindi texts of some of the State enactments come upon the statute book hereafter and if furthermore as we suggest below, the judgments of High Court judges start being delivered in some cases in Hindi, we would commence to create for the Hindi terms and expressions a general climate of reality and practical use which is necessary for the purpose of such terms and expressions acquiring definite connotation and becoming standardised. It is only by the process of its actual use that we can hope to establish the legal

terminology and impart to the different Hindi terms and expressions precise connotations and shades and nuances of thought. A Hindi case law will presently start developing in this fashion; wherever Hindi terms are not yet sufficiently fixed or texts are not yet available, the situation could be eked out in the meantime by using original English terms or texts, either in Roman or in a Devanagari transliteration.

10. It seems to us inevitable that there should be a transitional period of time during which the statute book as well as the case law would be partially in English and in Hindi, the Hindi language progressively assuming a larger proportion of the whole. During the transitional stage the High Court judges who exercise the option to deliver their judgments in Hindi should be requested to authenticate authorised translations of the same judgments in English for the use and reference of others. During the transitional period when the statute book and the case law would be partly in Hindi and in English, English authorised translations should be available both of the Hindi parts of the statute and the Hindi decisions, so that no inconvenience would be caused to the High Courts and other Courts in the country wherein Hindi may not yet be known by the judges.

As in respect of certain sectors of the administrative field so also in respect of the judicial system and the statute book, we envisage two or indeed more cycles of development in the change-over from the existing medium of English to the medium of Hindi. There will be first of all a fast-moving cycle so far as the Hindi-speaking States are concerned wherein circumstances are favourable to a more rapid change-over; there would be a slower moving cycle so far as the other States are concerned wherein again there may be differences of speed depending upon the 'distance' of the Hindi language from the regional languages of the States and the extent to which they have been able to complete the preparation for initiating the change-over. The States in which the Hindi medium is thus optionally in use first will blaze the trail, so to say, and gain valuable experience in the meantime which should benefit the rest wherein owing to their greater difficulties the change-over will occur subsequently. With the aid of the English language which would be available for a long time to come as a common linguistic medium amongst judges and advocates who are most concerned in this segment of national life, we ought to be able to initiate and carry out these various cycles and in course of time, like a man shifting his burden from one leg to another, change over in the main from the common English linguistic medium to the common Hindi linguistic medium. We should eventually be able to change over the general system and dispense with the English medium altogether, save by way of individual exceptions. Provided there is no derogation in the change-over of the system as a whole, individual exceptions may be liberally allowed for as long as necessary.

## CHAPTER XII

# THE UNION LANGUAGE AND THE PUBLIC SERVICE EXAMINATIONS

In the terms of reference the Commission have been asked to make recommendations to the President, among other things, as to—

(a) the progressive use of the Hindi language for the official purposes of the Union;

* * * * *

(e) the preparation of a time-schedule according to which and the manner in which Hindi may gradually replace English as the official language of the Union and as a language for communication between the Union and State Governments and between one State Government and another.

It has been specifically enjoined that, 'In making their recommendations, the Commission shall have due regard to the industrial, cultural and scientific advancement of India, and the just claims and the interests of persons belonging to the non-Hindi-speaking areas in regard to the public services'.

In this chapter we propose to review the incidence of our recommendations on the just claims and interests of persons belonging to the non-Hindi-speaking areas in regard to the public services. This point arises in a peculiarly difficult manner in respect of the competitive examinations held by the Union Public Service Commission for recruitment to the all-India Public Services.

We have recommended elsewhere in the Report that the large Central Departments like the Railways, the Posts & Telegraphs, the Income-Tax, Customs and Excise, etc., must review their staff structure and organisation in the light of the circumstances that will obtain consequentially on the displacement of English as the language of administration. As we have envisaged in our detailed consideration of this matter, the regional offices and echelons of these Departments located in different parts of the country will have to deal with the public in the regional languages, wherever that would make for greater convenience. These formations will, at the same time, have to deal in the Hindi language within the organisation itself, at all inter-regional levels and with other Departments and Ministries of the Union Government. As a part of the review of their staff structures in the light of these requirements, no doubt the Departments will consider the recruitment of staff locally for their local offices. In such recruitment, the Departments will be entitled to require of the candidates recruited that besides the necessary educational qualifications and, of course, a good knowledge of the regional language, they would also possess the necessary minimum of acquaintance with Hindi to the extent to

which their official occasions would require it. We would advise that the requirements of Hindi knowledge by such candidates recruited for local purposes should, in the beginning, be the minimum consistent with due discharge of their duties by them. Growingly as instruction in Hindi spreads in the non-Hindi areas, and particularly as a generation of students comes up who would have received what we have elsewhere recommended as a minimum course of instruction in Hindi at the secondary school stage, it should be possible to prescribe somewhat higher standards of Hindi knowledge in the candidates to be recruited. We have no doubt that under such a dispensation non-Hindi candidates will fare no worse than they do at present and, in fact, might fare considerably better by virtue of the greater decentralisation of recruitment that this would probably entail. So far as recruitment to the headquarters offices of these organisations is concerned, the problem is similar to that arising in connection with recruitment, say, to the Central Secretariat, and would be noticed below.

2. The Union Public Service Commission holds 12 competitive examinations for recruitment to the following all-India services and Central services:—

(1). Indian Administrative Service, etc. Examination.

The Indian Administrative Service.

The Indian Foreign Service.

The Indian Police Service.

The Indian Audit and Accounts Service.

The Indian Defence Accounts Service.

The Indian Railway Accounts Service.

The Indian Customs and Excise Service.

The Indian Income-Tax Service (Class I).

The Transportation (Traffic) and Commercial Departments of the Superior Revenue Establishment of Indian Railways.

The Indian Postal Service (Class I).

The Military Lands and Cantonments Service (Class I and Class II).

The Central Secretariat Service (Grade III).

(2) Engineering Services Examination.

Indian Railway Service of Engineers.

| | |
|---|---|
| The Electrical Engineering Department<br>The Signal Engineering Department.<br>The Mechanical Engineering and Transportation (Power) Department.<br>The Central Engineering Service (Class I and Class II). | Of the Superior Revenue Establishment of Indian Railways and the Stores Department of Indian Railways. |

The Central Electrical Services (Class I and Class II).

Military Engineer Services (Class I) (Buildings and Roads Cadre).

(3) The Survey of India (Class I and Class II) Examination.
(4) The Special Class Apprentices (Class I and Class II) Examination.
(5) The Military College Admission Examination.
(6) The National Defence Academy Admission Examination.
(7) The Indian Navy Special Entrance Cadets Examination.
(8) The Air Force Academy Admission Examination.
(9) The Army Medical Corps Examination.
(10) The Assistant Superintendents (Central Secretariat Service) Recruitment Examination.
(11) Grade IV (Assistants Cadre) (Central Secretariat Servic Examination.
(12) Grade III of the Central Secretariat Stenographers' Service Examination.

English is the medium for all these examinations and in nine out of them it is prescribed also as a subject.

So far as recruitment to the specialised Services and training establishments such as those mentioned in serial Nos. 2 to 9 and 12 in the above list are concerned, there is no great difficulty about laying down the nature of the competitive examination that should be held. For each one of these examinations a particular kind of knowledge or skill is expected of the candidates apart from the minimum educational qualifications for admission to the competition itself. Besides this specialised knowledge or skill, the recruiting authorities are entitled to expect of such candidates a modicum of knowledge of the Hindi language, having regard to the nature of their duties on selection or, in the case of competitive examinations intended for admission to further courses of training, the nature of, and the linguistic medium in which they should be receiving, training on selection. We would advise herein that, during the transitional stage before Hindi has obtained the place in the educational system that we envisage for it, these requirements of acquaintance with the Hindi language may be pitched at their lowest, any deficiencies in such knowledge being made good by special instruction subsequent to selection of candidates for recruitment to the Services. In like manner, the recruiting authorities, in our opinion, would be entitled to expect of such candidates that degree of knowledge of the English language, which they may consider appropriate for due discharge of their duties or for capacity to benefit by the courses of training for which they are selected. The question next arises as to the linguistic medium of the competitive examination held for the selection of such candidates. The medium is at present English. In our chapter on 'The Union language and the educational system' we have given a picture of the developments that we visualise in this sphere. The linguistic medium of the competitive examinations should be in keeping with the media of instruction in the educational system, *i.e.*, the languages through which candidates appearing for a particular competitive test would have received their school or university education.

3. Some of the above tests are intended for candidates drawn from the secondary stage of education. In the secondary stage of

education, practically all over the country instruction is being imparted through the regional language for several years now. The recruiting authorities, if they have not already done so, should, in our opinion, take into account the reduced quantum of instruction in the English language which would hereafter feature in the curricula of schools at the secondary stage. If it should be found necessary, on a consideration of this matter, that the linguistic medium of the examination should be changed, the point should be further examined. If it should be found necessary to do so, a part of the examination may be held through the media of the regional languages. It is possible that, for reasons similar to those which we would examine in more detail below, it might transpire that the examination in several linguistic media entails the fixing of some sort of a quota system for recruitment on the basis of the regional languages if the interests of the non-Hindi-speaking regions cannot be sufficiently safeguarded otherwise. The necessity for and the merits of the quota system of recruitment in the Indian Administrative Service etc. Examination will be examined below. We would merely point out here that a quota system for admissions to training establishments is a very different thing from a quota system for filling posts in the all-India Services at the highest levels of administrative cadres.

Perhaps there has not been yet an overhaul of the linguistic medium of instruction in some of the training establishments and probably most of such training is still imparted in English. We have no doubt that on a review of the matter it would be found that English can be progressively replaced by Hindi as the medium of instruction in all these training establishments as new terminology is developed, new books and reading matter are produced etc. While of course we recognise that the *content* of such instruction is the more important and indeed the primary consideration, the *vehicle* of instruction must also take account of the changes that have come over and are rapidly overtaking the country's system of secondary education. In many States there is a curtailment of instruction in English language at the secondary stage and a postponement of the point at which it is to start. Unless the language media and the recruitment methods keep pace with this change-over, the students in such States are likely to find themselves handicapped. As in the case of other institutions, in these training establishments there will have to come over (where it has not done so already), an increasing shift in the medium of instruction from English to Hindi, limited only by the degree to which the shift can be made without prejudice to the quality of the training or instruction imparted. As this happens and the recruiting standards are adjusted appropriately, any handicaps presently experienced in any State due to failure of such articulation would rapidly disappear.

4. We must now consider the important and difficult question of language in the competitive examinations held for recruitment to the Indian Administrative, etc., Services. (This consideration will also apply *mutatis mutandis* to the Engineering examination at Serial No. 2 in the list). These examinations are conducted by the Union Public Service Commission for recruitment to services in some of the highest cadres in the administrative field of the

Government of this country. It is from the ranks of these cadres that the large majority of posts are filled in the higher administrative spheres in the affairs of the Union Government and, to a substantial extent, in the affairs of the State Governments also so far as the I.A.S. and I.P.S. are concerned. These competitions draw some of the best talent from amongst the educated youth of the country and thus exert a great—and, in our opinion a disproportionate—attraction on the freshly graduated youth emerging from the Universities. We give below statistics of persons who appeared for these examinations in the last four years:—

| Year | Number of candidates who | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Applied | Actually competed | Were declared successful |
| 1952 . . . . . . | 4,427 | 3,341 | 232 |
| 1953 . . . . . . | 5,063 | 3,582 | 199 |
| 1954 . . . . . . | 6,627 | 4,471 | 186 |
| 1955 . . . . . . | 6,659 | 4,541 | 340 |

5. It may be that the all-India services examinations exert a disproportionate pull on the educated youth of the country and are allowed even to influence courses of instruction at the Universities to an undue extent at present. One may hope that, with the growth and development of economic activities in the country, the openings available for educated youth will widen and expand and the all-India services will not, then, appropriate a larger share of our best educated youth than they deserve or it would be in the best general interests of the country to engage in that particular field of activity. Nevertheless, for the purposes of our immediate consideration, we must take into account things as they are at present. Competent administration has always been a very important component of good government in this country; and there is no doubt that it will continue to be so for a long time to come. In the administrative structure of the country, having regard to its present character, the 'quality' of the superior administrative personnel is a matter of special significance. With the expansion of governmental activities that has been taking place in numerous spheres and the projected schemes for economic and other development, the burdens on the superior administrative personnel are certainly not going to be any the less hereafter and, in fact, would probably increase. We, therefore, consider it essential that, in any recommendations that we may have to make, there should be no countenancing of any deterioration in the standards of the administrative personnel.

In Article 312 of the Indian Constitution there is a special provision that, 'if the Council of States has declared by resolution supported by not less than two-thirds of the members present and voting that it is necessary or expedient in the national interest so to do, Parliament may by law provide for the creation of one or more all-India services common to the Union and the States, and, subject to the other provisions of this Chapter (*i.e.*, Chapter I of part XIV of the Constitution), regulate the recruitment and the conditions of service of persons appointed, to any such service'. It is also laid down in the same Article that the services known at the commencement of the Constitution as the 'Indian Administrative Service' and the 'Indian Police Service' shall be deemed to be services created by Parliament under those provisions. Parliament has since passed an Act, known as 'The All-India Services Act, 1951' to regulate the recruitment and the conditions of service of persons appointed to the I.A.S. and the I.P.S. It will be noticed that the Constitution makes a special provision regarding services common to the Union and the States, as distinguished from services, including what are known as 'Central Services', which are exclusively for the affairs of the Union. The regulation of recruitment to the Central Services and the conditions of service of persons appointed to them, fall exclusively within the executive powers of the employer, *i.e.* the Union Government. That an examination for the recruitment to all these services is now-a-days held, in part, jointly or as a 'combined examination' is only an administrative convenience. The combined examination was introduced in 1947, and previous to this there used to be separate examinations for recruitment to the I.C.S. and the I.P. (predecessors of the present day I.A.S. and the I.P.S.), and the Central Services. This distinction between the constitutional position of the all-India services on the one hand, and of the Central Services on the other, will be found to be of considerable significance.

The States Reorganisation Commission has, among other measures, made certain recommendations relating to the all-India services with a view to helping 'in correcting particularist trends and also in securing greater inter-State co-ordination for the efficient implementation of all-India policies'. 'The *raison d'etre*', they observe, 'of creating all-India services, individually or in groups, is that officers, on whom the brunt of the responsibility for administration will inevitably fall, may develop a wide and all-India outlook'. They have recommended that, as far as possible, about fifty per cent of the new entrants in any cadre of the all-India services, existing or to be newly created, should be from outside the State concerned, the computation of fifty per cent being made after deducting the number of posts in any State to be filled by promotion. As regards the constitution of further all-India services, they have made recommendations as under:—

> '856. We also consider that, apart from the Indian Administrative Service and the Indian Police Service, some more all-India services should now be constituted. The question of reconstituting all-India cadres for certain technical departments and particularly the suggestion that the Indian Service of Engineers should be revived, has, we

understand, been under the consideration of the Union Ministries concerned for some time. The Central and State Governments have to work in very close co-operation in executing important development projects, which necessitates that technical personnel should be recruited and trained on a common basis and that they should have uniform standards of efficiency and the feeling of belonging to common and important cadres.

'857. We recommend, therefore, that the following services, namely, the Indian Service of Engineers, the Indian Forest Service and the Indian Medical and Health Service, should now be constituted'.

The profoundly important part in the unity and integration of the country that is assigned to the all-India services would be evident from the trend of these recommendations. It is against this background that we have to consider whether any changes are called for with reference to language in the competitive tests held for recruitment to these Services, and, if so, what they should be.

We might here recall attention to certain other fundamentals of the matter. Competitive examinations are designed primarily to test the general intellectual ability and discipline of mind of the candidate. The administrative services require personnel of certain standards of intellectual capacity and the test is intended to mark out such candidates. That is why the range of optional subjects tenderable at the examination is generally speaking as wide as options available for graduation at the Universities themselves. It is not, therefore, knowledge of a particular subject as such, and even less mere linguistic proficiency in a particular language, that is sought to be tested in these tests. At the same time certain attainments, including linguistic attainments, are deemed relevant for selection of the most suitable candidates and this factor accounts for the compulsory subjects and the *viva voce* for the test of 'personality' and 'address' in these examinations. In this class of tests there is need and room for requiring on the part of the candidate a degree of linguistic ability in the languages, considered appropriate for his duties subsequent to selection; *i.e.* in the present context Hindi and English. Apart from this, the competition must be so designed as to be a *general* test for intellectual ability and discipline and should not give undue weightage to the linguistic capacity of a candidate *per se*.

We are cognizant that there are certain defects and uncertainties appurtenant to a system of written examinations as a measure of intellectual ability or as an infallible guide to the potentialities of a candidate for turning out to be a successful member of the service to which he is recruited on the results of such an examination. The provision of the *viva voce* test as an important element of the examination is, we suppose, intended to be a corrective to some of these defects. We are not concerned here as to the merits of any fundamental change in the character of the examination, such as for instance, according a lesser importance to written answers and a relatively greater importance to psychological or personality tests

etc., as a measure for making better selection of personnel for the manning of these services. The observations that we make with reference to the written examination will remain valid so long as the written examination continues to have approximately the present importance in the method of recruitment.

Candidates for the combined competitive examination are persons who have recently graduated from the Universities. Obviously therefore, they have to be tested, for their intellectual ability and mental discipline, with reference to subjects tendered by them, through a medium of language that would bring out those faculties best. The general medium for these competitive examinations has obviously therefore to be in line with the medium in the Universities for the relevant faculties. We consider this problem in greater detail below.

We are bound to say that the all-India services competitive examinations appear to exert an undue attraction not only on our graduates but even on our leaders of thought and makers of policies, judging from the way they occupy a good part of the 'stage' even when such fundamental issues of profound significance like Language are under consideration! We would like to recall their proper place in the scheme of things to restore a sense of proportion and perspective. The recruitment that would come to the lot of a linguistic region every year, in say the I.A.S., on the basis of figures of current annual intake, should a quota system be introduced, would be of an order of 4 or 5 at the most*. The point for consideration is whether, it is not more in the general interest of the people of a State that these few posts in the highest administrative cadre are filled by the best candidates available in the country rather than that they necessarily go to candidates hailing from that linguistic region. We have no doubt whatever what the answer to this issue would be, once it is put in its proper perspective. The members of

*The total recruitment to the Indian Administrative Service and the Indian Police Service on the basis of the examinations held during the years 1947 to 1954 has been as under :—

| Year | Indian Administrative Service | Indian Police Service |
|---|---|---|
| 1947 | 33 | 39 |
| 1948 | 33 | 22 |
| 1949 | 35 | 31 |
| 1950 | 29 | 33 |
| 1951 | 38 | 38 |
| 1952 | 32 | 39 |
| 1953 | 42 | 44 |
| 1954 | 49 | 31 |

As against this an idea of the volume of employment potential in various classes of other posts in the Government of India establishments annually can be had from the statisties given in Appendix XV.

this Service are destined to hold high posts in the administrative organisation where capacity will make a difference to the well-being of considerable numbers of people. As we observed above, in our country good administration is still and, for long to come, will remain a very significant component of good government; and the quality of the administrators, in our conditions, has a decisive effect on the entire administrative machine. In the case of the all-India services, the chief consideration ought to be 'quality' and not share in the volume of employment going. The 'employment' aspect has no doubt its place but it should operate as a decisive factor where large numbers are involved and the consideration of 'quality' is less significant. That is why, at other levels of recruitment to the Union services, we have stressed a revision of staff structures and maximum 'decentralisation' of recruitment so that, in the fields where a sizable number of jobs are going, the regions should have appropriate scope for the entry of their youth into the service of the Union.

6. We would now proceed to consider the question of introducing a paper in the Hindi language *as a subject* in the examination for the recruitment to these services. First of all, it is clear to us that the Government are entitled to require that the candidates appearing for these competitive examinations should have a measure of knowledge of the Hindi language, which is appointed by the Constitution to be the language of the Union and of inter-State communication. For the proper discharge of their duties, whether in the employment of the Union Government or, in the case of all-India services, partly under the employment of State Governments, the members of these administrative cadres would need familiarity with the Hindi language. In the Union Government, of course, at and including the higher administrative levels to which members of these cadres are appointed, the language for official work generally is due to be Hindi in place of English by 1965 and to that end a beginning in the use of Hindi would be due to be made at the earliest practicable date. As the language of inter-State communication, knowledge of Hindi will also be required by all those officers of the State Governments, who have occasion to correspond with the officers of the Governments of other States or of the Union and for participating in conferences or joint deliberations. The Union Government, indeed, have embarked upon schemes for the purpose of imparting instruction in Hindi to their existing personnel with a view to equipping them for the discharge of their duties in the new circumstances that will obtain with the introduction and progressively larger use of the Hindi language in the affairs of the Union. We have had occasion, in other places in this Report, to suggest that the State Governments might undertake similar courses of instruction in Hindi for the benefit of their personnel likely to need such knowledge for purposes of inter-State communication. It would, therefore, be quite appropriate to expect that candidates appearing for these examinations should possess a certain degree of knowledge of the Hindi language; and it would be legitimate, in our opinion, to prescribe for the purpose, after due notice, a compulsory paper in the Hindi language in such examinations in the case of non-Hindi-speaking candidates.

In order that the interests of the non-Hindi-speaking candidates may not be prejudiced, we would suggest the following measures in

this behalf. To start with, the degree of knowledge expected in this compulsory Hindi paper may be pitched fairly low, any deficiencies being made good by means of a course of instruction in Hindi during the period of probation following selection; the standard may be gradually enhanced. Furthermore, to start with, in order that the requirement should not handicap non-Hindi candidates in the competition such a paper may be treated as only a 'qualifying test' in the first stage without the marks earned in it counting towards the competitive total. Subsequently, the paper, after due notice again, may be brought up to the status of other compulsory papers as a fully competitive subject, the marks counting towards the competitive grand total as well. Moreover, we think that the greater difficulty likely to be experienced by candidates having as their mother-tongue one of the four South Indian languages might be recognised and allowed for by requiring the other non-Hindi candidates, whose mother-tongues are closer to Hindi than the South Indian languages, to answer one or two stiffer questions in the Hindi paper, from which questions the South Indian candidates may be exempted.

7. A point for consideration will be, what arrangement should be made, so far as Hindi-speaking candidates are concerned, to place them, as far as possible, on a level of equality with the non-Hindi-speaking candidates in respect of the compulsory Hindi paper. To counterbalance the advantage gained by Hindi candidates for not having to appear for a compulsory Hindi paper, the device is sometimes suggested that the Hindi-speaking candidates should be required to offer similarly a paper in one of the regional languages other than Hindi. According to some persons, the compensation would not be adequate unless the Hindi candidates are required to offer one of the four Dravidian languages, inasmuch as their mother-tongue (Hindi) would be closer to the non-Dravidian languages than to the Dravidian languages. We would here recall the elaborate examination of the suggestion that we have made in Chapter VI in connection with the general curricula in the educational system at the secondary stage. For similar reasons, we are of the view that such a requirement would not be appropriate here as well. It must be remembered that the requirement to sit for a compulsory paper in Hindi is to be prescribed for non-Hindi candidates not with a view to burdening them but by virtue of the specific and legitimate expectation that candidates aspiring to enter these services should possess a measure of knowledge of the Hindi language, which language they would have constant occasion to use in the discharge of their duties. A compulsion to the Hindi candidates to offer a similar paper in a non-Hindi language (or more narrowly a Dravidian language) would not be on all fours with such a requirement. Nothing would be gained by compelling the large number of candidates at these examinations to qualify in a non-Hindi language which may not turn out to be the language of the State to which they would be allotted, even in the event of their being selected in the competitive tests. Such an imposition might, therefore, involve, for a large number of candidates, an unjustified and fruitless expenditure of energy. We attach the highest importance to encouraging, on general grounds, a study of South Indian languages, literatures and cultural patterns in Universities in other parts of the country and

especially the North. Elsewhere in the Report, we have had occasion to suggest arrangements in this behalf. But it would be inapposite to impose the duty of helping towards a cultural *rapprochement,* by such a specific compulsion on an arbitrary group of university graduates, namely, those seeking entry into the all-India or Central services. The apt and correct means for giving an impetus to such studies is by way of arranging for their adequate provision in the Universities and organising general incentives to make them popular.

It is, therefore, necessary to devise some other way of equating the Hindi-speaking candidates with the non-Hindi-speaking candidates with reference to the paper in the Hindi language that the latter would have to offer. We would recommend that the Hindi-speaking candidates may be required to offer a paper (to be answered in the case of subjects other than languages, in the linguistic medium of the general examination) from amongst a group of subjects such as the following:

Anthropology, South Indian History, South Indian Literatures, *or* such other 'Cultural Subjects' preferably bearing on South India; or an Indian language from the Eighth Schedule other than Hindi.

The knowledge acquired in the course of reading of such cultural subjects will not be without use to the candidates, in a general way, wherever they happen to be posted in the event of their selection, and, indeed, even if they happen to fail and take to other occupations in life. Of course, Hindi-speaking candidates, on their allotment to the Centre or to the cadres of different States, would be made to undergo instruction in an appropriate language during their probation, as in the case of non-Hindi-speaking candidates; but we are not considering here probationary instruction.

8. It is recognised on all hands that, for a long time to come, persons occupying posts on these senior administrative cadres would need to possess a sufficient degree of knowledge of the English language even after it is replaced by Hindi as the language of the Union and of inter-State communication. The provision for testing candidates in English in such competitive examinations through specific papers, even when the general medium of the examination is a different language can, however, be easily made and would not present any special difficulties.

9. We must next consider the very difficult and controversial issue about the language medium of these competitive examinations. The point for consideration is, what this language medium should be, when, in course of time in the future, English is displaced by Hindi, for the Union and inter-State purposes; by the respective regional languages, in the State administrations; and by Hindi/the regional language(s), as a general media of instruction in the educational system at the Universities. The two courses open are, one that such competitive examinations should be held in the Hindi language alone, or, secondly that they should be held in the various regional languages of the country (including, of course, Hindi); in either case, during the transitional period, the alternative medium of the English language would be available at the option of the candidate.

The difficulty arises out of the fact that the problem of 'moderation' becomes extremely difficult in the event of the several regional languages of the country being admitted as optional media of examination for the competitive tests. Omitting Sanskrit, the number of regional languages enumerated in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution is 13, including Hindi. The introduction of each new medium of examination adds, so to say, 'one more dimension' to the complexity of organising evaluation and marking of answer books. It seems to us that moderation would become very difficult if anything like this number of separate linguistic media is admitted for the competitive examinations. The Union Public Service Commission, whose opinion, in view of their past experience in these matters, must be considered as very weighty, have unequivocally pronounced that anything like effective moderation would be impossible in these circumstances. The point is that, if answer books are answered in these 12 or 13 languages, there would have to be separate sets of examiners for most of them, and the problem of maintaining some sort of comparability in the standards of marking followed by different examiners in different linguistic media might become quite unfeasible of solution. Normally, it is difficult to find persons with adequate knowledge of more than two or three of the regional languages; and, apart from such knowledge of the languages, the examiners must of course be qualified to examine answer books in the particular subject. So long as the number of linguistic media is small enough for persons to be available, who would be qualified to assess answer books in the respective subjects as well as have knowledge, linguistically, of most if not all the media eligible for the examination, the problem of moderation, even if difficult, is within the bounds of practicability. It is when the number of linguistic media goes beyond this limit that the problem becomes intractable. It is probably correct that moderation would be unfeasible with a dozen linguistic media: it may still be feasible, even if quite complicated, so long as, say, no more than four or five different media are admitted. It is only the examining authority, namely the Union Public Service Commission, who could judge when the critical position is reached, as it would depend on their experience as to the availability of examiners fulfilling these requirements.

We are inclined to the view that, in practice, it would be almost impossible to attain standards of dependable or convincing moderation if the competitive examination continues in the present form but is held through as many linguistic media as there are regional languages in the country. Apart from the standards of moderation actually obtained, it is necessary, for preserving the character of these competitive examinations, that there should be a general trust and confidence in the integrity and impartiality of the tests. Such a competition in several linguistic media with different sets of examiners for the different media would, at any rate, be suspect in the eyes of candidates of all manners of regional partialities, quite apart from objective difficulties of maintaining comparable standards amongst examiners examining in so many different and mutually unintelligible media.

It is necessary to emphasise the distinction between the problem of 'moderation' as it arises here and as it does in examinations where

different subjects can be offered in the same 'marking' group, or due to several examiners having to be engaged to cope with the large number of answer books to be assessed. So far as merely 'large numbers' are concerned, the problem is only quantitative and there are well-known methods for achieving effective moderation which are resorted to in all university examinations where the difficulty arises. So far as moderation as between different subjects is concerned, the issue is a little more complicated. Of course, in these competitive examinations, the range of optional subjects has to be wide enough to enable graduates, who have specialised in different faculties of the Humanities or of Natural Sciences to compete; and it is true that even as it is, there is no means of ensuring that the marking by different examiners of candidates' answer papers in, say, Chemistry and History, would be unfailingly a correct index of their intellectual ability or even proficiency in the respective subjects. This is an element of 'error' inevitable in any case in such a general competitive examination even as it is inevitable in university examinations where within the same marking group different subjects can be offered. There are, besides, well-known methods for enforcing some degree of equivalence in marking standards in such circumstances which recur at many points in university examinations also. In any case, any inequality in marking arising out of this factor would not be imputable to linguistic or regional partiality. It is a general and unspecific error which does not fatally detract from the competitive character of the examination.

10. It seems to us that the introduction of a large number of linguistic media might drive us to the adoption of a 'quota system' of recruitment to the all-India services. A quota system in the all-India services would be *ex facie* abhorrent to most persons and quite understandably so. The all-India services are a profoundly important link in the unity and integrity of the country and one would hate to consider any such fragmentation of the process of selection, or derogation of the principle of an open all-India competition for recruitment, which has obtained for these services for such a long time. While we share these sentiments, we have considered it necessary to examine the implications of the quota system objectively in all its aspects. In Appendix XI we have considered some versions of the quota system with an analysis of their implications. Apart from this, suggestions were made to us for bifurcating the single all-India competitive test into two stages or tiers, with a view to obviating the disadvantages of a quota system while admitting several language media at one of the two examinations. We have made an examination of some of these schemes also in Appendix XI but doubtless other suggestions are conceivable. A further examination of the issue may be made to see whether a system of successful moderation can be devised consistently with several language media by altering in some such way the form of the examination.

A consideration of the quota systems will show that a quota system of recruitment does not necessarily mean the allotment of candidates drawn from particular regions exclusively to the respective States of those regions. The policy of allotting about fifty per

cent (or any other proportion) of the new entrants in any State cadre of an all-India service from outside the State, as recommended by the States Reorganisation Commission, could still be achieved, theoretically speaking, in spite of a quota system of recruitment. However, we are inclined to doubt whether, in practice, it would be possible to maintain such a policy once a system of linguistic quotas of recruitment is introduced. Furthermore, it will be noticed that a quota system (as instanced in Appendix XI) with any measure of a safeguard about minimum quality, would still entail the common listing of candidates who have answered in different languages in an open general list for the purpose of enforcing minimum standards of attainment. The 'error' entering into the system, due to the difficulty of satisfactory moderation as between different languages, would therefore still persist with reference to such common listing, even though its incidence would, in this case, be at the margin of exclusion and not in respect of the marking of every candidate. Apart from these points, there are other strong reasons which impel us to the view that a quota system of recruitment to the all-India services should not be countenanced. It might result in a deterioration in the standards of candidates recruited at a time when we expect that administrative personnel will be taxed even more than it has been hitherto, as a consequence of the programmes of economic and other development, which the country has launched upon. It may be recalled in this connection that, for the Indian Police Service, for a while, a system of limited competition, on a provincial basis was tried and has since been given up, we understand, because among other things, this system did not yield a good enough quality in the personnel recruited. In the case of the administrative services this factor is likely to be even more significant. Recruitment to all-India services by a system of quotas, whatever the version adopted, would amount to a fragmentation of the all-India competition into so many provincial competitions, in essential particulars, indistinguishable from similar competitions held under the auspices of the State Public Service Commissions for recruitment to the provincial cadres of the different States. The provincial services have already a channel for induction into the all-India services in the shape of the 'promotion posts', that is to say, the proportion of posts in the cadres of all-India services open for being filled by promotion from the provincial services. The introduction of the quota system, we fear, would, in effect, thus lead to a fragmentation of the all-India services and to the 'provincialisation' of the fragments. Apart from these arguments on merits, it seems to us, that it may be, that such a quota system would be repugnant to the provisions of Article 16 of the Constitution in which it is enunciated that there shall be equality of opportunity in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under the State and that 'no citizen shall, on grounds only of........ descent, place of birth, residence..........be discriminated against in respect of any employment or office under the State.'

11. Some suggestions have been made to us purporting to solve the dilemma of reconciling the employment of several language media for the examination, with the clear necessity to establish effective 'moderation'. We recite them below in the interest of documentation. As we stated above it may be found possible on

further examination to solve the issue on other lines although we do not think the suggestions examined below furnish a solution.

One such suggestion is to the effect that examiners be instructed *not* to pay attention to language but only to the matter while correcting the answer books, so that the capacity or incapacity of a candidate in the handling of the linguistic medium prescribed for the competitive examination may be eliminated from consideration. This suggestion, plausible as it may seem at first sight, is however quite impracticable. In certain subjects like Chemistry or Mathematics, the linguistic medium may not obtrude to any significant extent in the answers to questions rendered by the candidates. In other subjects, however, and more particularly in subjects relating to the humanities, language and matter are inextricably interconnected and it is impossible to consider one and disregard the other. Apart from even subjects relating to literature, in subjects like history or politics or sociology, the thoughts expressed by the examinee and the language in which they are expressed are integrally related and it is impossible to judge one in isolation from the other. The suggestion, therefore, that the linguistic medium may be 'neutralised' by paying attention only to the content of an answer and not to the language in which it is expressed, is not practicable.

Another series of suggestions relates to awarding additional or 'grace' marks to candidates to compensate them for the degree of handicap imposed on them due to the linguistic medium of the examination. Thus it is suggested that if the medium of the examination is to be exclusively Hindi, additional grace marks should be given to candidates whose mother-tongues are other than Hindi. Presumably in such a system of grace marks differentiation would have been made between candidates whose mother-tongues are nearer Hindi such as say, Marathi, Gujarati, Bengali, Punjabi, etc. and those whose mother-tongues are farthest away from Hindi such as Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam, etc. Even if a reasonable scheme of differentiation could be devised to take care of this factor, we are convinced that no such arrangement would be practicable because it proceeds from an incorrect premise. The handicap experienced by a candidate in respect of the linguistic medium is *not* capable of being assessed so as to be compensated by the addition of a stated number of grace marks. The linguistic medium would prevent the candidate expressing himself effectively in his answers and thus altogether fail to reflect his knowledge of the subject. The degree of handicap the candidate would suffer due to this factor would vary from candidate to candidate as well as from subject to subject. It is not possible to devise a satisfactory system of differential grace marks to compensate for all these factors some of which would altogether be personal to the candidates.

We have had a third suggestion made, namely, that the answers of candidates rendered by them in different regional languages may be got translated into a single linguistic medium and marks awarded on the assessment of these translations. Such a suggestion is obviously open to the objection that in the assessment of answers, in that event, a variable element, namely, 'the capacity of the translator' would enter and that it would be altogether unfair to

judge candidates on the basis of such translations of their answers made by other people.

It is possible that there may be other variants of these, or other independent suggestions. After such consideration as we have been able to give to this matter, we have come to the conclusion that if answers are rendered by different candidates in a large number of different linguistic media, satisfactory moderation might become extremely difficult and the open competitive nature of the examination (if it continues to be held in its present form) could not be maintained. This is also the view of the Union Public Service Commission, the body best qualified to judge this matter.

12. The question of introducing the Hindi medium for these competitive examinations *optionally* must, however, be considered proximately. The issue would fall for being considered on two different grounds.

Hindi is appointed to be the language of the Union and of inter-State communication by 1965. The attainment of this objective implies a progressive introduction of Hindi in suitable sectors of these fields ahead of that date; so that the relevant administrative machinery may get inured to the new linguistic medium. The Central Government and some of the State Governments have already embarked upon schemes for imparting instruction in Hindi to the concerned staffs of their establishments. It would not be inappropriate, if, for the examination for recruitment to the Central Services, at any rate, the Union Public Service Commission offered the optional linguistic medium of Hindi alongside of English from a date in the near future.

Secondly, such an option would also be in consonance with the circumstance that, in several Universities in the Hindi-speaking regions, the medium of instruction for several faculties has already been switched over from English to the Hindi language. It would be inconsistent with and opposed to the trend for displacing the English medium by the media of Indian languages, which, following the advice of the University Education Commission of 1949, has developed amongst some of our Universities, if graduates trained in the Universities in an Indian language found themselves handicapped in competing for the all-India services. The progress of Indianisation of the medium has, for reasons we need not elaborate here, so far been more marked in the Universities in the Hindi areas than elsewhere. For some years now, some of these Universities, which are annually producing graduates trained up in certain faculties wholly through an Indian language medium, have been pressing for the logical step of introducing the Hindi medium for such subjects at the competitive examinations and a recognition of the new position obtaining is overdue.

A view is possible that no hardship need be caused by the granting of such an option to the non-Hindi-speaking candidates, as they would be able to avail themselves of the option to answer their papers in the English medium if they so chose. We might observe here that we were informed, by Shri B. N. Datar, Minister in the Ministry of Home Affairs, with reference to the suggestion made for

the introduction of Hindi as a medium of examination alongside of English, that the State Governments in the South have not made any proposal for other Indian languages being allowed as media of such examinations and that all that they desire is that English should continue as medium of examination in addition to Hindi. Some of us are inclined to agree with the view that the provision of English as an alternative medium would be adequate for the safeguarding of the just claims and interests of candidates of the non-Hindi-speaking areas and feel that one way of obviating the necessity for admitting the medium of other regional languages would be by continuing the option until, eventually, it becomes unnecessary due to a sufficient progress of the Hindi language amongst university graduates in all parts of the country.

We would not like to name any specific date by which such an option may be offered, beyond stating that, in point of sequence, the introduction of a compulsory Hindi paper for the non-Hindi candidates (and a 'compensating' paper for the Hindi candidates) may well precede the granting of such an option in favour of the Hindi language medium. We would further like to point out that it is not necessary—and would not be advisable—that the granting of such an option be postponed to a date after 1965. It would be necessary, for obvious reasons, to make the announcement in respect of the option some time ahead of the date that it would come into force for the guidance of aspiring candidates. Of course, the option of the Hindi medium could be accorded and taken advantage of only for subjects in which Universities have been training up their graduates.

13. We would point out, in this connection, that the question of considering the introduction of the regional languages (that is, other than Hindi) as liguistic media for these examinations would not, in any event, arise proximately. The adoption of a regional language as a medium for studies up to graduation has not yet been achieved to anything like an extent to necessitate the immediate consideration of the possible introduction of such a medium. In our recommendations regarding the place of Hindi in the educational system, we have suggested that Hindi should be available generally at least as an optional examining medium along with the respective regional languages, for the purpose of examinations in all the Universities in the country. By this arrangement, non-Hindi-speaking candidates aspiring to sit for the all-India competitive examinations would have been enabled to equip themselves for the purpose of exercising the option of the Hindi medium in such examinations by availing themselves of these facilities in the Universities. It is sometimes argued that no matter what the provisions regarding teaching Hindi to non-Hindi students are, the candidate with the Hindi mother-tongue will *always* have an advantage over the candidate who has had to learn it. This may or may not be so and we would not like to express any dogmatic opinion at this stage so far ahead of the material time. We would however like to point out that Indian candidates who for the most part commenced learning English after the primary stage, used to compete quite successfully with British candidates in examinations held in English in London for the I.C.S. despite other handicaps such

as the quality and character of instruction in Indian Universities as compared to the British, the inevitable handicap in the *viva voce*, and so forth. If this was so with reference to English, an entirely foreign language with a literary context quite alien to Indian life, is there any ground for supposing that any serious handicap would all the time operate against non-Hindi-speaking candidates? While the mother-tongue certainly gives an advantage in the early stages of education, where instruction relates to common experiences, in the higher stages, where specialised knowledge of a subject is to be acquired, it is open to doubt whether the mother-tongue by itself gives any such decisive advantage. After all, every boy from the Hindi region (many of whom have indeed a different mother-tongue such as Bhojpuri, Maithili, Rajasthani, etc.) has to learn as much as anybody else, the literary usage of the Hindi language during his educational career. Besides, apart from grammar and the vocables, most of the literacy context, *e.g.* the reference to Nature, social behaviour, cultural values, being drawn from Indian life and surroundings are a background shared alike by the non-Hindi with the Hindi boy. Indeed, the difference in this, more than the difference merely in vocabulary which is easily made up, was the real handicap of the Indian candidate who competed with the British candidate for the London I.C.S. in the past. We would, therefore, be inclined to discount that the non-Hindi-speaking candidates at these competitive examinations in the future would for all time have an insurmountable handicap with reference to the Hindi medium; and, even if it is found that there is an element of such handicap, it could perhaps be taken care of by some compensating device like another extra paper for the Hindi-speaking candidates.

14. The combined competitive examination for the Indian Administrative etc. Services is held for two groups of services, namely, (i) the I.A.S. and the I.P.S., the cadres of which are maintained for the joint requirement of the States and the Union Government, and (ii) the Central Services *e.g.*, the Indian Foreign Service, the Indian Defence Accounts Service, the Indian Railway Accounts Service, the Indian Customs and Excise Service, the Income-tax Service, the Postal and the Railway Services, etc., which maintain cadres for filling appointments exclusively on the Central Government's establishment. The position of the Indian Audit and Accounts Service though technically different from the other Central Services is, for the present context, analogous to that of the Central Services inasmuch as the cadre is not meant for the requirements of the States and is chiefly intended for manning superior posts in the centralised Audit and Accounts Department under the Comptroller and Auditor-General: accordingly, this service may be held to be included in the category (ii) above for the purpose of the present discussion.

So far as the category (ii) above is concerned, the position is distinguishable in law from that in respect of the all-India services. The Union Government is the exclusive employer and has the authority to lay down the requirements as to these services. In terms of the proviso to Article 309 of the Constitution, the recruitment and conditions of service of persons appointed to public services

and posts in connection with the affairs of the Union, are at present determined by rules made by the President, *i.e.* by the Central Government. So far as the Indian Audit and Accounts Service is concerned, in law, in terms of Article 148(5) of the Constitution, the conditions of service are to be prescribed by rules made by the President, after consultation with the Comptroller and Auditor-General. The interests of States so far as all these services are concerned are principally in the 'employment' aspect of the matter. A relevant consideration is that Hindi is appointed to be the language of the Union by constitutional provision by a specific date, and that presently various steps are in train and others will have to be taken for ensuring an adequate knowledge of the Hindi language amongst lower categories of employees of the Union Government. While in law the position is distinguishable, since the candidates appearing for these examinations are drawn broadly from the same class of university graduates as those who appear for the all-India services—and indeed since there is a 'combined examination', many candidates offer themselves for both the all-India and different Central services—presumably, the Government of India would like to treat the question of the linguistic medium for these services in the same manner as for the all-India services.

So far as the all-India services, namely, I.A.S. and I.P.S. are concerned, the position is that the cadres of these services are maintained for the joint requirements of the States and the Union Government and the State Governments have a direct interest in the method of recruitment followed. The All India Services Act, 1951, provides that 'the Central Government may, after consultation with the Governments of the States concerned, make rules for the regulation of recruitment, and the conditions of service of persons appointed, to an all-India service'. The interest that the State Governments have in these services is recognised by the statutory provision for consultation with them.

So far as all these services are concerned, *i.e.* the all-India Services as well as the Central Services, we would recommend that, in the first instance, from a date to be appointed in this behalf, the medium of the Hindi language may be made optionally available along with the English medium for candidates seeking recruitment to these services.

Hindi is being suggested for admission as a linguistic medium at these examinations having regard to the fact that graduates in several faculties are already being turned out through the medium of the Hindi language by several Universities in the country. The question of admitting other regional languages as media for these examinations would arise in respect of a particular language medium after that medium has made sufficient progress,—some standards in this respect could be laid down,—in the field of university education. The position is at present uncertain and it is not clear as to how many of the regional languages would come to be adopted as general media for purposes of university education. So long as this number does not exceed the limits of manageability with reference to 'moderation', the problem would present no serious difficulties. If the number of regional languages eligible for this

purpose threatens to become unmanageably large, the Union Government and the State Governments will have to face the issue as to whether they would countenance the consequences to the all-India character of the competition which would flow from a quota system or evolve, in mutual consultation, a formula whereunder the number of such linguistic media would be held within manageable limits and the form and character of the examination changed to the necessary extent.

It may well happen that by the time the point of having to admit an unmanageable number of linguistic media for the competitive examinations arises in practice, the progress in the knowledge of Hindi by university graduates in non-Hindi-speaking areas may have advanced so far as to make it unnecessary to contemplate further adding to the number of regional language media. We would emphasise in this connection that the issue has to be looked at, not from the point of view of any alleged 'prestige' supposedly accruing to a language by virtue of its admission as a linguistic medium in the competitive examinations, but on the consideration of the pragmatic question, namely, whether or not the interests of the non-Hindi-speaking candidates would suffer unless the linguistic medium of the regional language in question is admitted for the competitive examinations.

In the earlier years when the number of linguistic media to be handled has not yet become unmanageable the option of the English language might be found adequate to protect the just and legitimate interests of the non-Hindi-speaking candidates; and, later on, before the number of such regional languages pressing for and eligible for admission as media exceeds the stage beyond which satisfactory moderation cannot be arranged, the knowledge of Hindi may have so much progressed amongst university graduates in the non-Hindi-speaking areas as to make any such provision otiose. In any case the issue does not arise for decision presently and some of us do hope that, when the time comes for taking a decision on this issue, it may be found that the introduction of the regional language media for these examinations is not necessary for the safeguarding of the interests of the non-Hindi-speaking candidates; or other ways might have been found by changing the nature of the examination to safeguard their interests. While, therefore, pointing out the consequences of the adoption of an unmanageable number of regional languages as media for these examinations, we would not pronounce finally on the issue, both because in point of time it would be premature for us to do so and because the issue would seem to call for further examination. There will be another similar Commission to investigate the entire field in 1960, by which time the picture is bound to have become a good deal clearer.

All these points would arise for consideration in the future only when certain trends at present not quite predictable have worked themselves out. We have set out the pros and cons of the issue in the interest of comprehensive documentation but for the reasons already stated, it is not necessary for us to express a final view of the matter except that *prima facie* the adoption of an unmanageably large number of linguistic media at the competitive examinations

appears to us inadvisable if this should lead to a break-up in the all-India services in the form in which we have known them hitherto.

15. A statement was made by the Home Minister of the Government of India in Parliament on 2nd May, 1955, in this connection. It is announced in the statement that:—

> 'The Government have decided to be guided on the subject by the principles contained in the resolution entitled "Examination for all-India Services" which was passed by the Congress Working Committee on April 5, 1954....'.

The relevant portion of the Working Committee resolution reads as under:—

> 'The Working Committee recommend that progressively examinations for the all-India Services should be held in Hindi, English and the principal regional languages, and candidates may be given the option to use any of these languages for the purpose of examinations'.

The statement goes on to say:

> 'A detailed scheme will be prepared by Government, if necessary, after consulting the Hindi Commission which is to be appointed shortly.'

We had made a specific query to the Government of India with reference to this statement in the following terms:

> 'Having regard to the great difficulty or impracticability of arranging for a satisfactory "moderation" if answers are rendered by the candidates in so many languages, it has been suggested that some sort of a quota system as between different languages might become inevitable. Have these implications of the above pronouncement and their incidence on the present organisation of all-India services been considered? If so, what are the changes in the present organisation of all-India services contemplated in this respect?'

In reply to this, we were informed, on behalf of the Government of India in the Ministry of Home Affairs, as under:

> 'The question of introducing a quota system of recruitment to the all-India or Union Services on the basis of languages has never been considered by the Government of India; nor can such a suggestion be considered seriously as it would be completely contrary to the basic idea of an all-India competition. Government of India appreciate that there are difficulties in arranging for satisfactory moderation of answer papers if they are written in a number of languages. Whether this difficulty is insuperable and that the idea of answers being written in different languages should be abandoned, or whether any system could be devised to get over the difficulties and arrange for

moderation of answer papers, and if so what these arrangements should be are matters which the Government of India will have to consider in due course in the light of the views expressed by the Official Language Commission. At this stage, it is for the Commission to consider these problems and frame their recommendations.'

It would appear that it was not brought to the attention of the Government of India, when this statement was made, that the introduction of so many languages as media for the competitive examinations might lead to difficulties. A decision has already been announced by the Government of India and the only advice we can now tender is that it might be found impracticable to arrange for satisfactory moderation in the event of the number of linguistic media being allowed to exceed the limits of manageability: and that, prior to this stage being reached, the Union and the State Governments would have to take mutual counsel and choose from amongst the alternatives open; namely, of either allowing the all-India services to become different in quality and character owing to a break-up of the single all-India competition or altering the scheme of the examination or, devising ways to hold the number of such media within manageable limits.

16. We sum up below our conclusions and recommendations arising out of the above discussion in paragraphs 9 to 15:

(a) So far as the all-India and Central Services are concerned (and this would apply, unless otherwise provided, also to other all-India services created hereafter), the alternative of the Hindi medium in addition to the existing English medium may be introduced after due notice. As and when other regional languages become a medium of instruction in the Universities up to graduation stage as Hindi has done, the admission of other linguistic media will have to be considered.

Suitable standards will have to be laid down as to what degrees of progress as a medium should have been made in university education in respect of any language before its eligibility as a linguistic medium for the competitive examination for recruitment to these services may be considered.

The medium of the English language may be continued as a further alternative for as long as may be necessary: if, eventually, a position should arise when this alternative could be dispensed with, such dispensation should of course be made after sufficiently long notice*.

---

*Dr. R. P. Tripathi disagrees with these conclusions and recommendations to the following extent :—

He is definitely against including regional languages as media for these Union Public Service examinations and would like the media to be only English or Hindi. Candidates with English medium should be required to submit to a test in Hindi and candidates with the Hindi medium should be required to submit to a test in English. After ten or twelve years, English may be replaced by Hindi alone.

Sardar Teja Singh is of the view that at the time when the admission of Hindi as a linguistic medium in addition to the English medium is considered for these competitive examinations, such introduction of the other regional languages which may likewise be ripe for it should also be considered. The treatment of Hindi and other regional languages for eligibility as a medium for examination should in all respects be alike conformably to the view that we have taken about giving equal scope as media of university education to both Hindi and the regional languages.

(b) While 'moderation' might still be practicable so long as the number of linguistic media is manageable, having regard to the availability of examiners with suitable bilingual or multi-lingual qualifications, a stage might arrive when the admission of further linguistic media would be found impracticable.

Before such a stage is reached the Union and State Governments must take mutual counsel and decide whether, (1) they would accept a change in the scheme of recruitment to the all-India services or, in the alternative, (2) agree upon a limitation in the number of the linguistic media, or (3) make other appropriate changes in the system of the examination.

(c) We hope and trust that before the contingencies contemplated in (b) above eventuate, the progress of Hindi amongst non-Hindi-speaking university graduates generally would have advanced sufficiently to admit of their competing on equal terms with Hindi-speaking candidates at these examinations through the medium of the Hindi language:

And until then, the availability of the English medium would give to such of the non-Hindi-speaking candidates as may need it an alternative sufficient to safeguard their legitimate interests:

Some of us entertain the hope that it would not, in the upshot, be necessary for the Union and State Governments to make the difficult choice presented by the alternatives in the last sub-paragraph of item (b) above.*

17. We have next to consider the competitive examinations held for recruitment to the Central Secretariat and allied offices who have joined the Central Secretariat Scheme. As observed in paragraph 1 above, the nature of this recruitment is indistinguishable in principle from the recruitment to the centralised units of the great administrative departments of the Centre whose activities are organised on a countrywide scale. Our observations relating to recruitment to the Central Secretariat and allied offices may be held as applicable to the recruitment of such other personnel also.

So far as competitive examinations for recruitment to different grades of the Central Secretariat Service are concerned, the position, as we view it, would be as follows: There should be much less room for any objection to the granting of an option to answer papers in Hindi for the purpose of this recruitment. So far as non-Hindi personnel who seek entry into these services are concerned, the option of the English medium would be available. The personnel drawn by this recruitment have to serve almost wholly in jobs in which knowledge of Hindi would be required, as they would be

---

*Certain members including Sardar Teja Singh and Dr. P. K. Parija are of the view that it should be possible by bifurcating the competitive examination into two stages to solve the problem of "moderation" notwithstanding numerous linguistic media for the examination. There may be a preliminary examination for weeding out a large number of applicants in the media of the various regional languages, followed by a subsequent and final examination in a common medium restricted to a much smaller number. A further suggestion is that the *viva voce* may be held in the regional languages. It would appear necessary that these and other suggestions are further examined by the concerned authorities.

working almost exclusively in the fields of activities in the affairs of the Union, wherein the official language, Hindi, would be in use, other recruitment having been decentralised and localised to the extent necessary as suggested elsewhere. As regards a compulsory paper in Hindi at the examinations for the recruitment, we would advise the adoption of the following principles:—

Provision may be made for some years in favour of non-Hindi candidates for their being given further instruction in Hindi *after recruitment* to the service, the standard of the compulsory Hindi paper at the recruitment being correspondingly lower. The minimum standard of the compulsory Hindi paper at any time may be fixed so as not to be less than the standard of Hindi attainment which, under the scheme for Hindi instruction to existing non-Hindi personnel, is envisaged by the Central Government: that is to say, at the time when the Central Government is taking special steps for training its non-Hindi-knowing personnel in the Hindi language, the Government is entitled to expect that the new entrants into its service do not come in with less knowledge of the Hindi language than would have been attained, at any particular time, by the pre-exising non-Hindi personnel of the Government. A further method of graduating the requirement would be to prescribe the compulsory Hindi paper first as merely a qualifying but not competitive or ranking paper; and subsequently to raise its status to equality with other papers as a fully competitive or ranking paper.

18. We would like to make one point in regard to the optional subjects tenderable at the competitive examinations held by the Union Public Service Commission. In fact, the same point obtains to a greater or less extent with reference to similar competitive examinations held for the respective services by the Public Service Commissions of the States. We have given in item No. IV in the volume of Supplementary Papers* a statement showing the position of regional languages and literatures amongst the optional subjects in the Union Public Service Commission and State Public Service Commissions examinations. We have had occasion elsewhere to suggest the provision of greater facilities for teaching the different regional languages of India and their literatures in secondary schools and Universities. We would like to point out that these regional languages and literatures do not feature amongst the optional subjects tenderable by the candidates at the Public Service examinations to the extent one might wish them to do. The curricula of Public Service examinations have to be in general consonance with the curricula in the educational system. We have strongly recommended the giving of an impetus to the study of other regional languages and literatures in our educational system in every State, having regard to the wealth and multiplicity of this linguistic inheritance in our country. We would similarly recommend that the concerned authorities might review the list of optional subjects tenderable at the various Public Service examinations and consider whether greater scope should not be allowed for the subjects of language and literature in the different regional languages.

19. One of the necessary concomitants of our recommendations relative to the linguistic media of the all-India services and allied competitions held by the Union Public Service Commission is the introduction of a similar option in favour of Hindi medium in the public services examinations held by the State Public Service

*Not printed.

Commissions.* With the provision of such an option for the Hindi medium at the Union Public Service Commission examinations and a provision for examination in Hindi at the Universities, it is possible that a number of students in the non-Hindi regions may prefer to take their university instruction in the Hindi language with a view to appearing for the Union Public Service Commission competitions. If such candidates wished to appear for the competitions held by the Public Service Commissions of their States as well, they should be in a position to do so. Certain State Public Service Commissions have already commenced giving an option to compete in the regional language medium alongside of English at the examinations conducted by them *e.g.*, Bihar, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. The arrangements we advert to above would entail a further option being given in favour of the Union language. We do not see that there would be any practical difficulties about allowing such a further option. Probably, the States would themselves want to provide such an option in order that their candidates appearing for the all-India competitions are not prejudiced in seeking employment within the State should they want to do so.

---

*Dr. B. K. Barua wishes to point out that the above facility would be needed only as an interim measure until the regional language of the State concerned has become a linguistic medium at the Union Public Service Commission examinations.

## CHAPTER XIII

## PROPAGATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF HINDI AND THE REGIONAL LANGUAGES

### PROPAGATIONAL AND DEVELOPMENTAL EFFORTS MADE SO FAR

1. We have reviewed elsewhere the progress that has been made so far in the use of the Hindi language in the affairs of the Union and in the introduction and use of the regional languages in the administrations of the different States. We have also examined the prerequisites of further progress in regard to Hindi in the business of the Union Government. Somewhat similar considerations would apply to the further use of their respective regional languages in the administrations of the different States. In the chapter on 'The Union Language and the Educational System', we have noticed the progress made in the introduction of the study of Hindi and the regional languages in the educational system and in achieving a change-over of the medium of instruction to an Indian language in place of English. We have also laid down therein what we consider as the minimum programme for instruction in Hindi within the educational system for the purpose of carrying out the language policy adopted by the Indian Constitution. The special aspect of 'Terminology' with reference to both Hindi and the regional languages was examined in chapter V. In this chapter we propose to examine the question of propagation of Hindi as well as the regional languages and certain aspects relating to the development of all these languages other than those already considered in the foregoing.

2. We will first consider the question of propagation of the Union language, Hindi, amongst the non-Hindi-speaking peoples of the country. It is obvious that the provisions of the Constitution relating to the official language of the Union require, for their satisfactory implementation in what we have called 'the private sector of national life', a great deal of propagation of knowledge of the Hindi language amongst the non-Hindi-speaking populations, if there is to be an adequate underpinning of the national Language Policy. Whereas the Constitution provides for change-over of the medium of the general business of the Union to Hindi by 1965, we would continue to have in our midst for a long time the adult population of the country, which has not had the benefit of a modicum of instruction in the Hindi language, which, we have advocated, should be imparted compulsorily at the secondary stage in the educational system of the country before completion of the compulsory age-limit of 14 years. Schemes for the propagation of Hindi amongst the non-school-going population, therefore, are a matter of great importance for the satisfactory implementation of the language provisions of the Constitution.

In pursuance of the highly constructive and almost prophetic lead given by Mahatma Gandhi as early as 1918, a great deal has already been done in the non-Hindi areas for the propagation of Hindi under

the auspices of voluntary institutions working in this field. Between themselves, these institutions have now over 6,700 centres of teaching and nearly 4,300 examination centres: they hold 29 different examinations of various grades and have so far taught over 71 lakhs of students! On any view of the matter, it must be acknowledged that the amount of work done and the success achieved by these voluntary agencies, without any significant assistance from Government so far and in conditions which prior to attainment of Independence could not have been encouraging, are most remarkable and impressive. Great credit is undoubtedly due to the workers who have been working in this field in a spirit of selfless public service; sometimes entirely in an honorary capacity and, even when they worked on a stipendiary basis, generally with inadequate rates of remuneration. It must be recorded with gratification that all this work has been done almost entirely by local initiative, with local funds and through local personnel of the respective non-Hindi regions. It is because of this highly valuable constructive work already put in by these workers, working with quiet devotion and without any flourishes of publicity, in this unsensational segment of national life, over a period of two or three decades, long previous to the Independence of the country being in sight or even within promise, that in 1949 it became possible to think in terms of the adoption of a single language for, at any rate, the official purposes of the Union, when the people of India assembled in a Constituent Assembly to give to themselves the Constitution of India. It is now necessary that the charge of this responsibility is, so to say, directly 'taken over' to official auspices. Of course, the actual work of teaching and propagation may, and should, continue to be carried out by those voluntary agencies who have acquired valuable experience in the field and have developed appropriate techniques and resources including personnel for the purpose. The State must, however, come in with financial and other aids and exercise the necessary supervision over the work done by voluntary agencies to secure co-ordination of activities and rapid expansion of the extent of propagation, to improve the quality of instruction and to introduce the necessary measures of standardisation, etc.

3. Some of these problems of co-ordination have already been receiving attention. In July 1951 a Conference of leading Hindi organisations and others interested in the propagation of Hindi was held in the Rashtrapati Bhawan under the presidency of Dr. Rajendra Prasad. At this Conference it was decided that an advisory body be formed to advise the Central Government in discharging its responsibility to propagate Hindi in the non-Hindi areas as enjoined by the Constitution. The Hindi Shiksha Samiti was accordingly set up and has since been reorganised by the Government of India, *vide* the Ministry of Education Resolution No. F. 2-36/54-H. 4, dated 13th October 1954. It now consists of 24 Members including the Chairman, and comprising one representative each of the 17 non-Hindi-speaking States, one representative of the Lok Sabha, one representative of the Rajya Sabha, two representatives of leading Hindi organisations and one representative each of the Governments of two Hindi-speaking States. The Samiti meets periodically to advise the Government of India on future programmes for the propagation of Hindi. The institution of such an Advisory Committee to advise the Education Ministry of the Central Government on matters relating to the propagation of Hindi is, of course, a move in the right direction, namely, towards placing such propagation on

a suitable footing, having regard to its importance in the context of the provisions embodied in the Constitution. No doubt several of the matters we will hereafter notice relating to this field are already engaging the attention of the Hindi Shiksha Samiti: we would, nevertheless, like to recite, very briefly, the directions in which, it appears to us, steps should be taken for the systematic organisation and expansion of this work. These are:—

(1) Co-ordination of work among the various agencies, and where necessary demarcation of their activities.

(2) Survey of their requirements for the purpose of adequate expansion of their allotted fields of activity.

(3) The introduction of some measure of uniformity and comparability in standards of examinations; and ensuring that proper methods are adopted and appropriate academic standards maintained in the conduct of the examinations.

(4) Provision of aids for improvement of teaching methods and greater facilities for teachers' training.

(5) Securing an appropriate and graded supply of suitable text-books for the different regions of the country and for different categories of persons receiving Hindi instruction; supply of supporting reading matter and literature for the benefit of neo-literates and special classes of pupils, like children, women, etc; and

(6) Ancillary to the propagation of the Hindi language, the provision of reading room and library facilities for those recently made literate in Hindi.

N.B.—A paper has been prepared in the Commission's Office, setting out all the information that we have gathered in the course of collecting evidence relating to the working of various voluntary agencies in the field of Hindi propagation in the country: it is printed as Paper VI in the Supplementary Volume*.

We notice below the above points very briefly:

It appears to us that there is need for co-ordinating the work of different agencies, so that overlapping may be avoided and each agency may have a suitable field allotted to it for the expansion of its activities. The different agencies may be invited to prepare schemes of expansion within their respective fields—indeed several of them appear to have prepared such schemes already—and these, after due scrutiny, may be adopted for implementation. For the rapid expansion of work in this respect, it appears to us that it should be possible to provide that the branches of recognised associations working in this field could have, for small or no consideration, the use, out of school hours, of school buildings belonging at any rate to the Government or local authorities. There seems to be, at present, a large variety of standards in the numerous examinations conducted on behalf of these voluntary agencies. Among other reasons, if the Union and the State Governments are to recognise some of these examinations—and we believe it would in many cases

*Not printed.

be convenient for them to do so—for the purpose of government personnel required to acquire prescribed Hindi qualifications, it is essential that a measure of uniformity, or, at any rate, comparability, should obtain as between examinations conducted by different agencies. It may be that somewhat different standards ought to be prescribed for different regional groups—such as a somewhat lower standard for students with Dravidian mother-tongues and a higher one for students having mother-tongues from amongst the regional languages nearer to Hindi. However within the same category the examinations held by different agencies should be mutually comparable.

From what we have observed of the working of these agencies, one of the pressing needs in this field seems to be provision for trained teachers. We understand that the need for this has already been recognised by the authorities and grants have been given to the Akhila Bharatiya Hindi Parishad, Agra, for starting a training school for Hindi teachers. Some of the difficulties relating to teachers may be due to the inability of the institutions to afford sufficient stipends to the teachers. For teachers drawn from the non-Hindi regions—and, of course, much the larger part of this work must be done by teachers whose mother-tongues are the languages of the regions in which they work—it might be useful for improving their accent and ability in conversational Hindi, to give them stipends to undergo short period courses in institutions located in Hindi-speaking-areas. Where existing organisations have teaching centres of their own, it would probably be useful to devise ways and means for expanding and strengthening them. So far as text-books are concerned, while several of these agencies have organised publication of books of their own series, it might be necessary that the question of text-books is examined and tackled on a more comprehensive basis. For the purpose of facilitating the learning of Hindi by different regional language students, text-books in Hindi written in terms of each regional language would seem to be called for. Also, for different categories of persons undergoing instruction in Hindi, the material in the text-books ought to be appropriately designed. Apart from this, text-books must conform to uniform standards of spelling, grammar, etc., as well as be free from blemish as regards accuracy of facts and appropriate as regards the matter that they contain. It is in the very nature of these arrangements that apart from instruction in the Hindi language, some of these Hindi classes should, in fact, function, as perhaps they are already functioning, as general agencies for adult education. The teaching methods and content of text-books have to be apposite to the requirements imposed by this consideration. As regards reading room facilities and suitable literature for the purpose, the point is obvious and it is hardly necessary to expatiate on it at any length.

4. In Article 351 of the Constitution it is clearly laid down that 'it shall be the duty of the Union to promote the spread of the Hindi language'. However, the sector of education, the most important formal agency available for this purpose, lies almost entirely in the State field: besides, the State Governments are better placed, than the Union Government would be, for rendering the necessary guidance and assistance to the various institutions/organisations

engaged in Hindi propagation, in their respective regions. In view of all this the present practice, we understand, is for propagation of Hindi being promoted primarily through the agency of the State Governments, any financial assistance to be given by the Centre to the various institutions working in the regions, being routed through the State Governments. While this is obviously the correct and the most convenient arrangement, it would appear that there would be no impropriety and there might well be considerable advantage in practice if some of the institutions of an all-India character in this field were directly recognised and assisted by the Centre.

By far the most important handicap under which these voluntary agencies engaged in the propagation of Hindi are at present working is, of course, the inadequacy of finance for expanding their activities even to the present limit of their organisational capacity and improving the quality of their teaching. We whole-heartedly recommend that the Central Government should consider sympathetically the granting of necessary financial assistance to these voluntary agencies for enlarging and improving their activities in the various ways referred to above. This is a work of the highest national significance in the context of the conditions at present obtaining in the country. Compared to the huge amounts of outlay provided for other purposes in the Five Year Plans of economic development, the requirements for the propagation and development of the Union language and the regional languages would, in any case, be very small; and 'the dividends' that we would reap—if these activities are placed on a sound and systematic basis—would be out of all proportion to this modest expenditure.

5. While the rapid and extensive propagation of knowledge of the Hindi language is directly involved in the implementation of the constitutional provisions, the propagation of corresponding knowledge of other languages in the Hindi-speaking areas and, in particular, a widespread understanding of the literatures and cultural patterns of the linguistic groups speaking them, is equally significant from a long-term point of view and for promoting the necessary degree of mutual comprehension amongst the different linguistic regions in the country. Indeed, the mutuality that is necessary in this respect is not merely between the Hindi-speaking regions and the rest of the country; what is necessary is the spread, in each linguistic region of the country, of knowledge of every other regional language and understanding of the literatures and cultural contributions of all other linguistic groups.

An understanding and sympathetic knowledge of the distinguishing cultural pattern of other linguistic regions in each, is now for us a prerequisite of survival and progress as a nation. The pragmatic requirement for official intercourse at pan-Indian levels has an emotional counterpart. We would like to notice here the deplorable ignorance of South Indian history, South Indian cultures and languages and literatures which unfortunately characterises today, not only the common people of the North and other parts of India but even the well-educated classes. The teaching of history in our schools and text-books, which partly accounts for this disproportion in the educational equipment of an average Indian, has been biassed

in favour of the North, which has seen the rise and fall, and has been the seat, of Indian Empires in recent centuries. The relatively lesser extant knowledge about the history of the South in earlier centuries has been reflected in the text-books and the school teaching. This is so in spite of the fact that unquestionably some of the finest and unadulterated cultural patterns of Hindu India survive in the usages and customs of the South, and that during centuries when the Northern plains were the scene of ceaseless political turmoil and were repeatedly ravaged by the invader, the South was the haven of native culture and the arts of India. The fact that the South Indian would now be compulsorily learning Hindi and therefore more of the language, literatures and cultural practices of the North, while such learning of South Indian languages in the North must remain on an optional basis, does not help the situation. It is all the more necessary therefore that every attempt is made by all public authorities to promote the learning of South Indian languages and the acquiring of knowledge of South Indian history, art and cultural patterns, in other parts of India and particularly the North.

To this end, we have advocated elsewhere a more important place being accorded in public service examinations for studies of different Indian languages and literatures. We have also advocated a wide-spread provision of facilities for imparting instruction in other Indian languages in the secondary schools in all regions. In the Universities likewise we would advocate the opening of full-fledged departments and the founding of chairs for the teaching of the languages and literatures of other regions. Obviously every University cannot have these facilities for *all* the other regional languages: however each may attempt to provide for two or three regional languages other than the language of the region, besides providing a full-fledged faculty in the Hindi language which we think is necessary in each University. Provision should also be made for stipends to be given to students to pursue further their studies in other regional languages, during a year or two of academic 'secondment' to a University within the concerned linguistic region; thus a Hindi-speaking student studying say the Telugu language or literature should be enabled to spend a stated number of terms with the Telugu Department of a University in the Telugu region and get a stipend to help him to do so. We would like to see a broad multiple stream of intercourse and study of each other's languages, literatures and cultural patterns amongst the youth in the Universities of all linguistic regions in the country. We would suggest that special grants on a liberal scale may be made available by the Central Government to the different Universities for these important purposes.

Such a widespread expansion of teaching facilities for other Indian languages in each region, would call for a more systematic study of teaching practices and methodology in this regard than has hitherto been attempted. The problem of personnel for manning all these teaching posts would also have to be tackled by founding training institutes as well as expanding facilities in existing training establishments. For research into the study of the problem of methodology of teaching different Indian languages through other Indian languages, it might be necessary to set up an all-India institution. We refer to a possible venue for the location of such an

institution in the chapter dealing with 'Agencies etc. for implementation of the National Language Programme'.

The use of the Linguaphone and tape recording methods of teaching other Indian languages might have very promising potentialities, especially in respect of propagation amongst grown ups, and we would suggest that the matter may be explored by the concerned authorities. Besides encouraging generally the understanding of other literatures and cultural practices amongst all linguistic groups, for which obviously the All-India Radio has immense potentialities, it might be possible for that authority to organise lessons for teaching of different Indian languages, through other Indian languages, on the A.I.R. broadcasts in the same way in which there are programmes for teaching English to overseas listeners on the B.B.C. We would advise exploration of such possibilities.

We would like to see a vastly larger and more intimate intercourse than seems to be held at present amongst the *literati* in the different regional languages individually as well as through their literary associations. For practically every regional language there is a representative literary association of the nature of a Sahitya Sammelan, and, in the suggestions that we have made in the next chapter about the setting up of a National Academy of Indian Languages, we hope they will find at least one common platform and meeting ground. We have heard of Sahitya Sammelans holding their plenary or special sessions in other linguistic regions of the country; and we would commend the wider adoption of this practice which should be educative to the participants in the sessions no less than to the general public of such regions.

6. We will now review briefly the work done in the field of development and enrichment of Hindi and the regional languages by or under the auspices of the Union Government as well as the State Governments. The factual information is based upon the material supplied by these authorities to the Commission.

Apart from the terminological work which has been noticed elsewhere, several other measures have been taken by the Union Government for the development of Hindi language and literature. Prizes have been awarded for the best Hindi books in the different fields; a scheme for the preparation of a Hindi Encyclopædia in ten volumes has been drawn up and the work will be entrusted to the Kashi Nagari Pracharini Sabha; schemes to encourage production of suitable literature for neo-literate adults have been in operation for some time; Hindi books for children's libraries are under preparation; a People's Encyclopædia couched in a simple Hindi, for the common citizens, is being prepared; the preparation of dictionaries, grammars, etc. is being encouraged; and so on and so forth. In the allied field of 'literature' as distinguished from 'language', a Sahitya Academy or the National Akadami of Letters was sponsored by the Government of India and inaugurated on 12th March, 1954, as 'a national organisation to work actively for the development of Indian letters and to set high literary standards, to foster and co-ordinate literary activities in all the Indian languages and to promote, through them all, the cultural unity of the country'. Though

set up by the Government, the Akadami is to function as an autonomous organization. Grants are being given to Universities for the development of the Departments of Hindi; and grants would be admissible to Universities for setting up Hindi Faculties as well as faculties in respect of other regional languages, through the University Grants Commission. We are bound to record here that in the view of some of us the work done by the Union Government so far, which could properly be called work for the development of the Hindi language, is meagre in comparison to what could have been done or might still be done hereafter in this respect.

Work for the development of Hindi and the regional languages is also being done in the States. To illustrate, the following items of such work being done in some of the States might be mentioned:—

In Uttar Pradesh, with the objective of promoting and enriching Hindi literature the State Government created in 1947 a fund, known as the 'Hindi Literature Fund', for giving financial assistance to authors and litterateurs in distress and to award prizes for works of outstanding merit. The State Government have also started, since April 1955, a 'Publication Scheme', with the objective of promoting and enriching Hindi literature; according to this scheme, the State Government have undertaken the production of books in Hindi on all modern subjects. The scheme envisages the publication of 300 books in all during the next five years, of which 100 books will be original books, 100 books translations of classics and a hundred general books, like the Home University Library series. The total cost of the entire scheme would be Rs. 25 lakhs. A scheme has been prepared for the production of suitable children's literature in Hindi and it contemplates the production of 60 such books in the Second Five-Year Plan period.

The Madhya Pradesh Government have established a body, called the 'Shasan Sahitya Parishad', with a view to encouraging writers in Hindi and Marathi, by giving them rewards and recognition, to produce original works and to prepare translations, in both these languages, of the best works of literature in the Indian languages as well as important languages of the world, to publish new works of high literary merit and arrange for literary conferences, gatherings, etc. A non-lapsable fund of Rs. 1 lakh was created for this purpose in 1953-54, and an amount of Rs. 1 lakh is to be credited to this fund annually. For assisting the Nagpur University, which had resolved to switch over to Hindi and Marathi as the media of instruction progressively according to a specific programme, the Madhya Pradesh Government have taken steps to get scientific terminology prepared and to help in the publication of suitable text-books.

The Government of Bihar have set up the 'Bihar Rashtrabhasha Parishad' with a view to promoting the spread of Hindi and enrichment of its literature.

Apart from the work done under the auspices of the Central and State Governments, various other private agencies have been working in the field of development of Hindi, as, indeed, similar organisations and agencies have been working to a greater or less extent

for the development of the other regional languages. The Kashi Nagari Pracharini Sabha of Banaras was founded in the year 1893 with the chief object of propagating Hindi language by bringing out standard editions of old Hindi texts as well as useful literature in Hindi on subjects in which it was deficient. It has published, so far, about 400 books in Hindi on various studies, including a Hindi Shabda Sagar. The Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Allahabad, founded in 1910 has been encouraging the production of good literature in Hindi by awarding prizes; it also conducts examinations in various subjects through the Hindi medium. The Kashi Vidyapith, Banaras, has also, to its credit, numerous publications in Hindi of a high standard on various subjects, like History, Economics, Sociology, Philosophy and Psychology. The Hindustani Academy, Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad, was founded in 1927 by the Government of Uttar Pradesh to nurture, develop and promote Hindi and Urdu literatures in the United Provinces and has published standard books on various subjects. The name of the Hindustani Culture Society, Allahabad, founded in 1942, may also be mentioned in this connection. The name may also be mentioned of the Vijnyan Parishad, Allahabad, founded in 1914 which has published a number of books in Hindi on scientific subjects; and of the Bharatiya Hindi Parishad, Allahabad, founded in 1942 which has, among other things, got compiled a comprehensive Hindi-English Dictionary of scientific terminology and generally serves as a forum of discussion by teachers teaching Hindi, or other subjects through the medium of Hindi.

* The Punjab Government set up a Translation Bureau two years ago to bring out Hindi and Punjabi translations of standard literary and scientific works published in English and other European languages. It also set up a language department in 1955 with a view, among other things, to translating all scientific terms into Hindi and Punjabi and preparing glossaries. Also the Punjab University set up a Publication Bureau which has brought out some important works relating to Hindi and Punjabi. Of these 'A Dictionary of the Punjabi language' and 'A History of the Punjabi script' might be particularly mentioned.

A Punjabi Sahitya Academy was started about a year back to bring out useful literature in Punjabi.

The Bombay Government has subsidised the preparation of an Index of articles which have appeared in the Marathi periodicals during the last 150 years. The first volume of this is reported to be ready and the second to be under preparation.

It has also subsidised the preparation of basic vocabularies of the three regional languages of the State, *viz.*, Gujarati, Marathi and Kannada, by the Sahitya Parishads of these three languages. The work relating to the first two languages is complete, while that in respect of the third is yet to be taken up.

---

*This account is only illustrative of the efforts being made by and in the various States towards the development of their regional languages. It is by no means exhaustive (being limited to the information available with the Commission), even so far as the States mentioned herein are concerned, and is based on the information received from them.

It has also appointed a Committee to consider the question of production and publication of children's literature in the three regional languages.

Besides the Government, voluntary organisations have also done useful work. The Maharashtra Sahitya Parishad has been preparing a glossary in Marathi of technical and scientific words for the last 12 years. It has also taken up the preparation of a History of Marathi literature and language in seven volumes. The Prasad Prakashan, Poona, has brought out a Sulabha Vishwa-Kosha (a concise encyclopædia) in six volumes.

The University of Poona has made a provision of Rs. 50,000 in its annual budget for the preparation of suitable text-books in Marathi for the university examinations.

The Gujarat University and Gujarat Vidyapitha, it is understood, have undertaken the work of fixing up the scientific and technical terminology in Gujarati. The Gujarat Vidya Sabha has already published a small dictionary of technical terms. The Vidyapitha has also published several dictionaries and is planning to bring out a Gujarati encyclopædia. The old Baroda State had published a series consisting of a Gujarati vocabulary for scientific subjects. The former Gondal State in Saurashtra had similarly published 'Bhagavat-gomandal Kosh' in nine parts, which is both a vocabulary and an encyclopædia.

The Mysore University is publishing in its journal 'Prabuddha Karnatak' a list of Kannada technical terms in different subjects. The University is also bringing out books on scientific subjects in Kannada.

The Mysore Government is planning to bring out an up-to-date encyclopædia in Kannada.

The Madras Government, in 1940, appointed a Committee to standardise technical and scientific terms, necessary for the High School forms, in the languages of the State. These terms were fixed and they have been in use in the text-books of the State since 1948-49. The Government has been also encouraging the production of text-books on scientific subjects by offering prizes for them.

The Tamil Academy has undertaken the work of preparing a Tamil Encyclopædia in ten volumes, three of which have already been published. Saiva Siddhanta Publishing Society has published a dictionary of administrative terms and the Madras Presidency Tamil Sangham has drawn up a list of about 5,000 administrative terms.

The Calcutta University appointed in 1937 a Paribhasha Committee which brought out in Bengali brochures on several scientific subjects. The syndicate of the University has appointed another Committee recently to go into the matter further. Bangiya Bijnan Parishad has also planned to compile scientific and technical terms in Bengali. Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Bangiya Bijnan Parishad and Vishwa-Bharati of Calcutta have brought out a number of books on

scientific subjects in Bengali. Bangiya Sahitya Parishad has also brought out useful works on other subjects including an encylopædia in Bengali in 22 volumes.

The Orissa Government has set up a Committee recently to compile an Oriya Glossary. The first volume of the glossary containing administrative terms has already been published.

The development of Hindi is not only not antithetical to, nor inconsistent with, the development of regional languages, but in fact the development of any Indian language is of assistance to the development of the other Indian languages and the developments in all have to proceed in concert, or, so to say, 'march in step', each with all others. On a more restricted interpretation of our Terms of Reference, we would be concerned only with the problem of the development of the Union language so far as this is involved in the consideration of the progressive use of that language in the affairs of the Union, for all-India purposes of official communication and for purposes of enactment of laws and as the language of the High Courts and the Supreme Court: yet, we have considered it advisable to examine the problem with reference to the other languages as well and not merely the Union language, since the development of Hindi is intimately connected with the development of the other regional languages and since the implementation of the national Language Policy, as embodied in the constitutional provisions, calls for rapid and co-ordinated development in all the regional languages of the country as well as in Hindi.

There has been growing recognition, amongst the Union and the State Governments, as to the importance of such developmental work being done by voluntary agencies in the field of Hindi as well as regional languages. India has a rich and varied linguistic inheritance, corresponding to its rich and varied cultural inheritance. There could be few other countries in the world in which there is as much wealth of material available and scope for research in the field of linguistics and philology as there is in India. Much the larger part of this is still to be worked upon and there is a great deal of work which requires to be done with respect to both the languages and the different literatures in India. We may instance a few items of such work. The translation of classics of each Indian language into all others; the preparation of *graded basic vocabularies for Hindi and the other regional languages as well as of common vocabularies amongst the different Indian languages or groups of languages; works bringing out identities or similarities of grammar, syntax, specialised vocabularies, etc. amongst the different Indian languages; the collection and preservation of valuable manuscripts in the various regional languages and the publication of those which are likely to serve a wider interest, and so on. Some of these studies might be wholly of an academic interest; yet others would have a direct and immediate bearing on the promotion of the national policy regarding languages. We feel that apart from the interests of scholarship a

*We have seen press reports of appointment by the Hindi Shiksha Samiti of two sub-committees to prepare a list of 2000 basic Hindi words for use in Hindi readers and 500 basic words of Hindi the knowledge of which would constitute the minimum standard of literacy in Hindi.

greater and growing *rapprochement* amongst the various Indian languages and a wider understanding and comprehension of the varied cultural inheritance of India would be promoted by the encouragement of such studies and, therefore, the undertaking of such research and studies deserves every encouragement at the hands of the Union and State Governments.

It is hardly necessary to add that, besides the current regional languages, there is an immense amount of work which needs to be done in respect of Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrits, Apabhramsas, etc. The Sanskrit language pre-eminently, and the other ancient languages in different degrees, have powerfully influenced current Indian speeches and a study of these has an obvious bearing on the study of contemporary forms of speech. We understand that the problem of putting the study of Sanskrit on a systematic basis is already separately under the consideration of Government. We also gather that there is an idea of establishing an Institute of Indology in which among other things the study of these languages and their literatures would be undertaken.

We have seen reports that Government propose to establish a National Book Trust which will undertake publication of good books in cheap editions in all languages. The publication of reference literatures to which we adverted in Chapter VI, and the publication of other literature with a view to promoting mutual comprehension amongst linguistic regions in the country to which we refer herein, would certainly receive a great impetus if such an organisation was set up.

7. The variety of Indian linguistic media is not a national 'skeleton' to be ashamed of and to be somehow hidden away. It is a wealth of inheritance in keeping with the continental size, ancient history and the distinctive tradition for assimilating and harmonising diverse cultural and racial elements, of which this country can be justly proud.

Indological researches, hitherto only a scholarly pursuit for academicians, are now potent with practical moment of the highest consequence to the country. Here is a tremendous challenge to the Indian linguists and a like opportunity to help in forging linguistic ties to match and sustain the cultural and political unities of the community of Indian peoples. Nowhere in history could philologists and linguists have ever been called to a greater duty!

## STANDARDISATION OF INDIAN SCRIPTS

8. In this Section we propose to consider the problem of standardization of Indian scripts. By this we mean the possibility of introducing a common script for different Indian languages which are at present written as a rule in the various scripts associated with them. There is another problem from which this issue must be distinguished, namely, that of the *reform* of the Devanagari script. For certain reasons related to modern mechanical aids and agencies like printing, typewriting, teleprinting, etc., it is necessary to introduce certain reforms in the current Devanagari characters which have been

adopted as the script for Hindi, the official language of the Union. That is a different matter which will be dealt with in another section of this chapter.

In the same way in which the strong identities and similarities amongst the different languages in India have been overlaid and obscured, different characters which came to be developed in the course of centuries in different parts of the country for the writing of different Indian languages, overlay and obscure the basic unity underlying all the extant Indian scripts.

At some time in the history of human evolution, it was discovered that the best method of writing down the words of a language was a system of symbols in which definite sounds and phonetic values were signified by particular symbols. The art of writing, which must have commenced with ideograms or pictorial hieroglyphs, switched over, with this discovery of tremendous potential significance, to the practice of modern phonetical writing as we know it. The Phoenician script is believed to be one of the earliest known scripts for the writing of alphabetical characters. It is believed that all the scripts developed in different parts of the world originated from the Phoenician script. However that may be, two scripts are known to have existed in ancient India, the 'Brahmi' and the 'Kharosti', the latter probably confined to the North Western regions of the sub-continent. There is a third script originating from 'Vatteluthu' believed to have originated in South India and claimed by some scholars to be a very ancient script developed independently of the above two. Almost all the modern scripts of India are derived directly from the 'Brahmi' script. Whether, the Indus Valley Script, which is yet to be deciphered or satisfactorily interpreted, was a contemporaneous or an earlier development and whether, the theory of all extant scripts having originated from Phoenician sources will have to be revised, as a consequence, are matters still not sufficiently settled.

Whatever may ultimately be proved in this behalf it makes no difference to the common source of the regional scripts in India and one can trace the inter-relationship of all the various forms through which they have evolved to their present day characters. Practically all the Indian scripts, except for Tamil, have almost the same alphabet, that is to say, the series of vowels and consonants, though the characters of the alphabetical series are written in different ways. The arrangement of the alphabetical series is also practically identical. Even in the case of Tamil, the alphabetical arrangement is similar but aspirates are absent. In some of the Indian languages there are a very few additional symbols for sounds peculiar to those languages; but the total number of these additional symbols would be small. *The symbols or characters of the alphabet in the different languages have also a measure of relationship and most of them are clearly variations made on a single original base. Thus, in some scripts the letters are given curvilinear flourish; in others, certain distinct types of calligraphic style came to be developed; in some, the line on the top of the letter, the 'शिरोरेखा' was

**Vide* AppendixXIV.

kept and in others it was done away with; for purposes of facility in fast writing other variations were made in some series of alphabets. Some of these variations must have been due to the requirements of different materials used for writing such as palm-leaves, parchment, etc.; some others due to commercial and trade contacts; yet others, simply due to the accident of historical or political fortune; and some may have been just wholly fortuitous or idiosyncratic. These variations have in course of time crystallised into separate scripts now made up of different and mutually unintelligible characters. Then, with the advent of modern science, came the art of printing. Mechanical printing, of course, completely petrifies the shape and form of characters in the alphabets originally adopted at the time of printing. In the result, today, we have a large number of scripts in use all over the country, of which, about a dozen or so, in which the regional languages as enlisted in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution are written, are the most prominent.

9. Among these scripts the Devanagari script has a peculiar position of its own. The Devanagari characters long in use for Sanskrit and the Hindi language have now been adopted for Hindi as the official language of the Union. In addition to Hindi, Marathi is written in the Devanagari characters. The Gujarati script except for the शिरोरेखा is very close to Devanagari; Gurmukhi and Bengali scripts have also fairly substantial visible similarity with the Devanagari characters. Apart from this, Devanagari is the script of the Sanskrit language and over considerable parts of the South it has been used instead of the local scripts for writings in the Sanskrit language and for the study of Sanskrit. The Devanagari script thus accounts for a larger proportion amongst the different scripts, in which the Indian languages are written, than even the Hindi language accounts for amongst the speakers of the different regional languages in the Indian population. If there is to be, therefore, one common script for the purpose of writing in all the Indian languages, judging numerically, the best claimant, at any rate, amongst the Indian scripts would certainly be the Devanagari script.

10. Having reflected on the close similarities and affinities amongst the various Indian languages, and foreseeing that on the attainment of Independence it would be necessary to evolve a common linguistic medium for the whole country, many leaders and thinkers in the past saw the necessity of a single script for all the Indian languages and advocated it. The importance of having a uniform script for the entire country was advocated, for instance, by Justice Shardacharan Mitra who pioneered this movement at the beginning of the present century through an institution called 'Eklipi Vistar Parishad'. In 1910 Mr. Justice V. Krishna Swami Iyer delivered the Presidential address at the Common Script Conference held at Allahabad in the Congress which was organised by Justice Shardacharan Mitra. In this address Justice Krishna Swami, who was in his time a foremost jurist, eminent Sanskrit scholar and distinguished literary man of the country, advocated for a common language for the country together with its consequential necessity

namely a common script. We make no apology for quoting a few excerpts from this address:

> 'A common script when there are as many as 20 scripts in the land, a common language, when there are as many as 147 languages spoken in the country, seems at first sight an impossible dream. But there are those who have watched that problem from their own serene heights and who have come to the conclusion that what is today a dream and what is merely a hope of the future tomorrow may the day-after-tomorrow be a realised fact. And, further it is necessary for all of us to bear in mind that there is no such thing as impossible in the dictionary of Providence (Hear, hear). Two hundred and nineteen millions of people are today speaking a variety of Indo-Aryan vernaculars. Fifty six millions of people are speaking Dravidian languages which are supposed to have an origin different from the Aryan. I venture to believe that it is no crusade against this multiplicity of languages and scripts to recommend that all these people speaking one hundred and forty-seven languages may well afford to have, in addition each to his own Indian vernacular, one common language of expression. I also venture to think that in addition to the several scripts which they happen to learn they may well afford to have one common script which shall be capable of being understood all over the land. I ask you for a moment to consider the immense disadvantages under which we are suffering by reason of our having separate scripts which divide one section of the people from another. Even if the language was different, but the script was the same, it would be possible having regard to the fact that many of the Indian languages have an Aryan origin, for people to understand one language by reason of some particular words or terms of expression being understandable. It is possible notwithstanding the variety of scripts for people to make themselves understood, even if the language was not the language in which the person was speaking in his home. Again, gentlemen, I ask you whether it is not necessary at the present day when some of our Indian vernaculars have been enriched by many writers of eminence, bearing in mind the fact that all these have common origin, in the Aryan literature of ancient days—that the treasures of one language should be handed on to another, and whether that would not be more easy if there was the medium of common script.... I am sure that so far as a script is concerned it has absolutely no connection with the religion of a community. I do not believe that any script has any particular connection with the religion of the people of any land'.

Lokmanya Tilak strongly advocated the adoption of Devanagari as the common script for all Indian languages as early as 1905 in a speech delivered at Banaras before the Nagari Pracharini Sabha in the following terms:

> 'To avoid this difficulty (*i.e.* the multiplicity of different scripts of Indian languages) it was at one time suggested that we

should all adopt Roman character, and one reason advanced in support thereof was that it would give a common character both for Asia and Europe.

'Gentlemen, the suggestion appears to me to be utterly ridiculous. The Roman alphabet, and therefore Roman character, is very defective and entirely unsuited to express the sounds used by us. It has been found to be defective even by English grammarians. Thus while sometimes a single letter has three or four sounds, sometimes a single sound is represented by two or three letters. Add to it the difficulty of finding Roman characters or letters that would exactly represent the sounds in our languages without the use of any diacritic marks and the ridiculousness of the suggestion would be patent to all.

'If a common character is needed for us all, it should be, you will therefore see, a more perfect character than the Roman. European Sanskritists have declared that the Devanagari alphabet is more perfect than any which obtains in Europe. And with this clear opinion before us, it would be suicidal to go to any other alphabet in our search for a common character for all the Aryan languages in India. No, I would go further and say that the classification of letters and sounds on which we have bestowed so much labour in India and which we find perfected in the works of Panini is not to be found in any other language in the world. That is another reason why the Devanagari alphabet is the best suited to represent the different sounds we all use. If you compare the different characters given at the end of each book published in the Sacred Books of the East Series you will be convinced of what I say. We have one sound for one letter and one letter for each sound. I do not think, therefore, that there can be any difference of opinion as to what alphabet we should adopt. The Devanagari is pre-eminently such an alphabet. The question is one of character or the form in writing which the letters of the alphabet assume in different provinces; and I have already said that this question cannot be solved on mere antiquarian grounds.'

Mahatma Gandhi's advocacy of a common Devanagari script for Indian languages is of course quite well known. In the conditions which existed previous to 1947 when the country was partitioned into the two States of India and Pakistan, in conjunction with the advocacy of Hindi-Hindustani, Mahatma Gandhi used to advocate the cultivation of both the Urdu and Devanagari scripts, the latter as a common script for all Indian languages. In the course of his Presidential *address at the Bharatiya Sahitya Parishad, Madras, Mahatma Gandhi observed as under:—

'Of course, everyone must know his own language thoroughly well, and he should also know the great literature of

*See 'Harijan' dated 3rd April 1937.

other Indian languages through Hindi. But it is also the object of the Conference to stimulate in our people the desire to know languages of other provinces, *e.g.*, Gujaratis should know Tamil, Bengalis should know Gujarati and so on. And I tell you from experience that it is not at all difficult to pick up another Indian language. But to this end, a common script is quite essential. It is not difficult to achieve in Tamil Nad. For, look at this simple fact. Over 90 per cent. of our people are illiterate. We have to start with a clean slate with them. Why should we not start making them literate by means of a common script? In Europe, they have tried the experiment of a common script quite successfully. Some people even go to the length of saying that we might adopt the Roman script from Europe. After a good deal of controversy there is a consensus of opinion that the common script can be Devanagari and none else. Urdu is claimed as a rival, but I think neither Urdu nor Roman has the perfection and phonetic capacity of Devanagari. Please remember that I say nothing against your languages. Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Kannada must be there and will be there. But why not teach the illiterate in these parts these languages through Devanagari script? In the interest of the national unity we desire to achieve, the adoption of Devanagari as a common script is so essential. Here it is a question of just shedding our provincialism and narrowness, there are no difficulties at all. Not that I do not like Tamil or Urdu scripts. I know both. But service of the Motherland, to which all my life is being given and without which life would be insupportable for me, has taught me that we should try to lift unnecessary burdens of our people. The burden of knowing many scripts is unnecessary and easily avoidable. I would appeal to men of letters of all provinces to resolve their differences on this point and be agreed on this matter of prime importance. Then and then only can Bharatiya Sahitya Parishad be a success'.

Then again on the 11th February 1939 he wrote in the 'Harijan' as under:—

'But sentiment and science alike are against the Roman script. Its sole merit is its convenience for printing and typing purposes. But that is nothing compared to the strain its learning would put upon millions. It can be of no help to the millions who have to read their own literature, either in their own provincial scripts or in Devanagari. Devanagari is easier for the millions of Hindus and even Muslims to learn, because the provincial scripts are mostly derived from Devanagari......... But the millions, whether Hindus or Muslims, will never need the Roman script except when they wish to learn English. Similarly, Hindus who want to read their scriptures in the original have to and do learn the Devanagari script. The movement for universalising the Devanagari script has thus a

sound basis. The introduction of the Roman script is a super-imposition which can never become popular. And all super-imposition will be swept out of existence when the true mass awakening comes, as it is coming, much sooner than any one of us can expect from known causes.'

In 1935 with reference to the resolution on this subject passed by the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan and the appointment of a Committee with Shri Kakasaheb Kalelkar as Chairman, he observed as under:—

'Today the impenetrable barrier of different scripts has made the learning of sister languages and the learning of Hindi by the sister provinces a needlessly heavy task ...... We ought not unnecessarily to tax the future generations with the trouble of having to learn different scripts...... Let no one run away with the idea that the reform will diminish the importance of the provincial languages. Indeed it can only enrich them even as the adoption of a common script has enriched the languages of Europe by making intercourse between its provinces easy......'

'Anyone who has any knowledge of the different Indian languages and scripts, knows to his cost what time it takes to master a new script. For the love of his country, no doubt, nothing is difficult and time spent in mastering the different scripts, some of which are very beautiful, is in no way idly spent. But this spirit of abandon is not to be expected of millions. National leaders have to make things easy for them. Therefore, we must have an easily adaptable universal script for all India, and there is nothing so adaptable and ready-made as Devanagari script.'

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has recorded in his Autobiography that at one time he had been attracted by the Roman script:—

'Its success in Turkey and Central Asia had impressed me, and the obvious arguments in its favour were weighty. But even so I was not convinced, and even if I had been convinced, I knew well that it did not stand the faintest chance of being adopted in present-day India. There would be the most violent opposition to it from all groups, nationalist, religious, Hindu, Muslim, old and new. And I feel that the opposition would not be merely based on emotion'.

Further to this he goes on to observe as under:—

'But this question is not even an academic one in India today. The next step in script reform for us seems to me the adoption of a common script for the daughter languages of Sanskrit, Hindi, Bengali, Marathi and Gujarati. As it is, their scripts have a common origin and do not differ greatly, and it should not be difficult to strike a common mean. This would bring these four great sister languages much nearer to each other'.

11. There are some persons who would advocate adoption of the Roman characters as the common script for the Indian languages. There are two arguments urged in support of this advocacy. One of them is that the adoption of the Roman script would be of advantage considering the large number of languages in the world particularly those in Europe which are written in the Roman script or in some slight variation of it. Latterly as a part of comprehensive language reform Turkey also adopted the Roman script. Since the last World War Indonesia has attempted to tackle its language problem by adopting the Roman script for its 'Bhasha Indonesia'. Undoubtedly the adoption of a script which is as widely current amongst the world languages as the Roman, has certain merits about it in the saving that it would entail in the learning of yet another script by all those Indians who would have occasion to learn any of the languages written in the Roman script. We have advocated the compulsory teaching of English at the secondary school stage to all those students who intend to pursue their academic education beyond the landing-off stage of fourteen years marked by the end of the course of free and compulsory education. Even so, the advantage represented by the saving of time and energy to the persons who would otherwise have to learn Roman script for learning a Western language, would be small compared to the benefits that would accrue to enormously larger numbers from the adoption of Devanagari as a script for all the Indian languages.

A common script greatly helps when the languages to be learnt are very close to each other. The saving of labour involved in acquiring a new script is not a significant proportion of the total labour of learning *an entirely foreign language* with its vocables, turns of phrase and expression, content of ideas to be conveyed, wholly different to that of the language of the learner. Where these are closely related, the effort to be expended or saved in respect of script is a significant proportion of the total effort needed. The initial resistance to learning a new language is the greatest as until one begins to understand, it is a dull and wearisome proceeding. Coming as it does at the commencement of such an effort, the saving of labour in respect of the script is apt to make a decisive difference between learning and not learning another Indian language in the case of an Indian. That is why Mahatma Gandhi so much emphasised a common Devanagari script for all Indian languages.

A second point is often sought to be made in favour of the Roman alphabet as against the Devanagari alphabet which, in our opinion, on a proper consideration of the matter, would be found really to tilt in favour of the Devanagari alphabet rather than the Roman. It is suggested that because the Roman alphabet has a much smaller number of characters than the Devanagari alphabet, large advantages are to be derived from its adoption in respect of printing, typewriting etc. which cannot possibly be derived from the Devanagari alphabet. The subject of adapting the Devanagari alphabet and reforming Devanagari characters for the purpose of facilitating their use in connection with these modern devices and mechanical aids is examined in the following section. To anticipate the conclusion, it is quite practicable to arrange for the supply of typewriters

and the facility of other mechanical devices by making slight adaptations in the Devanagari characters and introducing certain reforms. We have there also noticed the position regarding alleged disadvantages in speed etc. in the typing of Devanagari characters. The significance of any such disadvantage—and we are not convinced that there is any such—is in any case inconsiderable and cannot be very material in the much larger issue of the choice of script. In regard to printing also any disadvantage involved in the Devanagari alphabet, owing to printers having to keep for the same job a larger variety and quantity of types, is quite small in significance in relation to the other issues entering into the situation. The infelicities of the Roman alphabet in the writing of Indian languages are, on the other hand, quite serious and substantial. It is impossible to write correctly all the sound values of the Indian languages with the smaller number of letters in the Roman alphabet except by devising a large variety of diacritical marks which in effect means so many more symbols for representing sounds which cannot otherwise be represented in the Roman characters. Either the new symbols are distinctive enough not to get slurred over in writing in which case the supposed advantage of the smaller number of characters is lost; or they are slight and inconspicuous in the shape of dots or simple additions to existing letters, indicating different sound values according to the position of the diacritical marks, in which case they are apt to be slurred over like 'nuqtas' in the Persian alphabet. It is feared, not without reason in our opinion, that the general use of Roman characters for writing Indian languages would in course of time, quite seriously affect their pronunciation. On a balance of all these considerations, we are of the view that there are no particular advantages to be gained by adopting the Roman script as a common script for Indian languages. The Roman script used to be advocated previous to the partition of the country in 1947 into the States of India and Pakistan as a neutral solution as between the Persian script commonly used for Urdu and the Devanagari commonly used for Hindi. Since the inauguration of the Constitution in 1950 which has now put an end to this controversy by enacting that Hindi in the Devanagari script shall be the language of the Union, if there is to be a single script for all the Indian languages, the claims of Devanagari for consideration are unquestionably greater than those of any other.

It may be stated that the Indian phonetical system, which underlies the Devanagari script as well as other Indian scripts, must rank high among the world's phonetical systems for its comprehensive character, the scientific arrangement of letters, the distinction between vowels and consonants and the ingenious methods of combining these to produce different sounds. Very few alphabets could have so systematic a coverage of the various sounds commonly produced by the human oral organs as there is in the Indian phonetical system. Besides, the alphabet of the Indian phonetical system, as contrasted for instance with the Roman alphabet, is arranged in a rational and symmetrical order in appropriate scientific groupings: the number of redundant letters is small and every letter is intended to serve a specific purpose. It was by virtue of this that Monier Williams called the Devanagari script 'the most symmetrical and perfect alphabet in the world'. No script can of

course represent all the conceivable sounds which the vocal organs of man are capable of producing. With the addition of a very few letters, however, the Devanagari alphabet is capable of taking care of all the sounds in all the Indian languages. It might very well be asked how, against an Indian script which already enjoys a fairly large coverage and in which so much of the literature of the country has been written for so many centuries, and is based on a phonetical system admittedly one of the most scientific in the world, it would be any advantage to adopt another script new to all the Indian languages, alien to their sound values and even on general merits in many respects deficient.

It may be pointed out in this connection that in the Indian Army during the War, an attempt was made to introduce the Roman script in the writing of Hindustani. Since 1951 this attempt has been given up, and the Devanagari script has been introduced in its place and now the army educational examinations, which the Jawans have to pass, are being conducted in Hindi/Hindustani in the Devanagari script.

It has been suggested to us that for certain purposes the writing of Hindi, the Union language of India, in the Roman script would be of advantage. For instance, it has been stated that so far as the Indian population settled in Indonesia is concerned, since the adoption of Roman script for the Bhasha Indonesia in that country has made the population familiar with the Roman script, the learning of Hindi by Indians in Indonesia would be greatly facilitated if they were to learn it in the Roman script. Furthermore, it has been suggested that having regard to the cultural, linguistic and commercial contacts that have subsisted between India and Indonesia over centuries, memorials of which are to be seen in the Indonesian vocabulary as well as folk-lore, if Indonesians themselves wanted now to pick up some knowledge of the language of India, the availability of Hindi literature in Roman script would be a considerable facility. So far as such special cases are concerned, of course, there should be no objection whatever to books being made available for them in Hindi written in the Roman script. The Union language as recognised by the Constitution would, however, continue to be Hindi written in the Devanagari script and anybody who wants to learn the Union language will have to learn the Devanagari script also.

12. There is one more general point that we would like to make. Indians in the olden days evolved different scripts for their languages from a common stem namely the Brahmi script. They had the courage to alter the characters wherever necessary to suit the requirements of their special writing media like *tad-patra* and *bhojpatri*. Today the requirements of scripts are different and we have to be ready to adapt them, among other respects, to the necessities of the modern mechanical aids and the limitations of a typewriter key-board. One of the strongest of these requirements is the promotion of a single script for all Indian languages, at least as one of the optional media, and if we are to be true to the tradition of wisdom and progressiveness displayed by our ancestors in

this regard, we would not be objecting to the change. So far as a language is concerned, it is the record as well as a living testimony to the culture, history and patterns of thought and behaviour of the community who speak that language. The case of the script is, however, entirely different. A script is only a convenience, the mechanics for writing a language: a language is learnt from the mother by the child; a script is an entirely formal acquisition. Any suggestions about reform of script or standardization of scripts should, objectively speaking, not evoke any of those sentiments of gregarious pride customarily associated with matters relating to language. A point to remember in this connection besides, is that this is a reform wherein it is not a case of 'all or nothing': every advance made towards adopting Devanagari for other languages at present written in different scripts is of help. Thus for instance if initially the script was adopted for all the Indo-Aryan languages, or more narrowly for even the two sister languages of Bengali and Gujarati, whose present scripts are so close to Devanagari, we should have the very considerable block of Hindi, Marathi (which are already written in the Devanagari script), Bengali, Gujarati and Assamese (whose script is practically identical to Bengali) languages, all of them in a common script. The most opportune time to make a beginning in this direction is now, when the State Governments are embarking on a vast expansion of primary education facilities in pursuance of the directive of the Constitution. The language difficulties in China it would seem are on the whole much more serious than those of India. Their script presents, for instance, certain grave inherent difficulties; however, there is one point in respect of which Chinese conditions are more favourable. As was inevitable over a country of vast dimensions, different dialects developed in different regions of China and several of them, as spoken, are mutually unintelligible. However, the fact that a common script obtains all over the country works powerfully as a bond of unity and for maintaining an integrity of common literary and cultural inheritance. Herein there is a lesson we might copy with great advantage.

Having regard to all these considerations, we would advocate the adoption of the Devanagari script, optionally, for use for the writing of the other Indian languages besides the Union language. Under the suggestions that we have made as regards the place of instruction in Hindi in the educational system of the country, every student in the secondary school will have to learn Hindi as the Union language in the Devanagari script, which is prescribed for it by the Constitution. If in course of time every educated Indian would come to possess a measure of knowledge of the Hindi language as well as the Devanagari script, obviously the scope for the spread of Devanagari as an optional script for the writing of the various regional languages of India would be very great. We have no doubt that once an authoritative lead is given in this respect the institutions working for the propagation of Hindi and the numerous other institutions working in the literary fields in the different languages will enthusiastically take up the cause of spreading a knowledge of the Devanagari script alongside of the appropriate scripts of the different regional languages and thereby help

in the cause of promoting a greater mutual understanding amongst the language groups in the country.*

In this connection, the somewhat special cases, relating to the Persian script in which the Urdu language is generally written and the Bengali script in which Bengali is written, might be adverted to. The Persian script is a link with Pakistan where Urdu is spoken, and some of the regions to the Northwest of India, in which the Persian script is current: the Bengali script is a link with the speakers of that language in Eastern Pakistan. Since, however, we advocate the use of the Devanagari script only optionally for the purpose of these languages as of other Indian languages no harm would be done to these links which join certain linguistic groups in the country with other groups in countries neighbouring India.

The Indian phonetical system and the Indian characters of the alphabet, or some variant or derivative of the one or the other, have found currency outside Indian frontiers in certain neighbouring countries like Nepal, Ceylon, Burma etc. The adoption of a common alphabet for all Indian languages (even though optionally for some), might not be without significance to these countries.

We have been greatly impressed by the volume of thoughtful and responsible opinion in the country which looks upon the adoption of a common script as one of the strongest means for bringing about a *'rapprochement'*, amongst the different Indian languages and for promoting greater mutual understanding amongst different linguistic groups in India. A large number of persons, who advocated this view to us, came from regions wherein Devanagari was not the current script for writing the regional language. Nevertheless, we are of the view that a reform like this one has essentially to be promoted as a voluntary measure with the largest possible consensus of opinion drawn from the concerned region behind it in each case. We would therefore abjure any forms of action savouring of compulsion in this behalf and advocate merely the use of the Devanagari script for the writing of the regional languages at the option of the writer, so that the script may merely have currency alongside of the scripts in which the respective regional languages are written at present.

---

*Sardar Teja Singh feels that each language has a genius of its own which is best expressed and presented in its own special script. He would like to quote following observation from a public speech of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in this connection :

> " A change in script is a very vital change for any language with a rich past, for the script is the most intimate part of its literature. Change the script and different word-pictures arise, different sounds and different ideas. An almost insurmountable barrier is put up between the old literature and the new and the former becomes a foreign language that is dead ".

According to Sardar Teja Singh, the advocacy of adoption of Devanagari script for all Indian languages is sometimes motivated (though not of course in this Report) not so much by the desire to promote easy bilingualism but with a view to eliminating the separate identity of certain languages which have affinity with Hindi such as Urdu and Punjabi. He would advise forbearance regarding the use of Devanagari even optionally so as to avoid any misunderstanding that this is a first step towards the elimination of languages like Urdu and Punjabi as viewed by this class of thought and considers it vital that the separate identity of such languages should not in any way be allowed to be obliterated.

## REFORM OF THE DEVANAGARI SCRIPT

13. The question of the reform of the Devanagari script has been engaging the attention of a large number of individuals and institutions over a considerable time. With the coming into effect of the constitutional provisions under which the Devanagari script became the script for the official language of the Union, these pioneering ventures ceased to be the field of activity of individuals and institutions only, and the State Governments and the Union Government also have since come into the picture. Printing, type-writing and teleprinting and such mechanical aids and conveniences play a very important part in modern life. Unless these aids and facilities are developed for the Union language and the regional languages of India, they would be handicapped in the process of progressively displacing the English language from its present position in the different spheres of national life in the country.

Normally, of course, the presumption would be in favour of adapting mechanical devices to the requirements of script rather than otherwise. However, there are certain limiting factors which should be borne in mind in this connection. So far as the type-writer is concerned, the limiting factor is the physiological limitation namely, that the typist has to cover the entire key-board of the typewriter digitally with his fingers. This limiting circumstance also operates in connection with other mechanical aids, like the teleprinter, which if it is to be convenient, should be articulated with the ordinary typewriter so that the reproduction of the same message twice differently is avoided.

During the centuries when the Devanagari script was evolved, these considerations were unknown. It so happens that the size of the Devanagari alphabet and the variety of ways in which conjunct consonants and vowel combinations are written in the Devanagari script have come to amount to such a large number of characters that they cannot be easily accommodated within the limits imposed by these modern mechanical devices. It so happens that the Roman alphabet has a much smaller number of characters and there are no vowel combinations or conjunct consonants, the vowels being written as separate letters alongside of consonants. Furthermore, as compared to the Devanagari, in which the vowel symbols written in combination with consonants go above the main line as well as below, in the case of the Roman alphabet, no such difficulty arises. As a result of all these, the Roman alphabet is much more readily amenable to the requirements of these modern mechanical aids than the Devanagari alphabet is as it stands. What is true of Devanagari is also true to more or less degree of the various other scripts in which the regional languages of India are currently written.

So far as stenography is concerned, intrinsically there need be no difficulty about developing stenography in Hindi or any of the regional languages. Stenography is merely the art of writing symbols according to sound values of words. As a further aid, a good stenographer in course of time develops his own logograms and phraseograms. Stenography is based on phonetic representation by symbols of sound and there is no reason ordinarily to imagine that any language will not be susceptible of the stenographical facility.

14. So far as servicing Devanagari script by the usual mechanical aids and devices is concerned, the problem is that of practical adaptation of the different necessary combinations of Devanagari characters to the limits imposed by a modern typewriter keyboard. The Kashi Nagari Pracharini Sabha has evolved a script for the purpose. The Government of Uttar Pradesh appointed in 1947 a Committee known as the Devanagari Script Reform Committee under the Presidentship of Acharya Narendra Deva to examine the reforms proposed by the Nagari Pracharini Sabha. The report of this Committee was submitted in May 1950. By that time the Indian Constitution had been inaugurated and the Constituent Assembly itself had appointed a Committee under the Presidentship of Shri Kakasaheb Kalelkar to consider the problem of shorthand, typewriting, etc. Consultations were held between the two Committees and they reached more or less similar conclusions save on some minor points. The Uttar Pradesh Government first tentatively accepted the recommendations of Narendra Deva Committee and thereafter convened in Lucknow in November 1953 a Conference which was held under the presidentship of the Vice-President of India, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, and in which representatives of several States and certain eminent persons and linguists, some Ministers of the Central Government and the Secretary of the Education Ministry participated. The Conference standardized the form of Devanagari script in a particular fashion which has since come to be known as the 'Lucknow Conference proposals' about the Devanagari Script. The Conference also prescribed punctuation marks to be used in Hindi and specified the mathematical symbols and marks for keyboards of Hindi typewriters. The recommendations of the Lucknow Conference have since been adopted by the Government of India and the following State Governments:—

Bombay.
Madhya Pradesh.
Punjab.
Uttar Pradesh.
Hyderabad.
Rajasthan.
Madhya Bharat.
PEPSU.
Saurashtra.
Bhopal.
Coorg.
Vindhya Pradesh.

The Board of Scientific Terminology in October 1954 appointed a Committee comprising among others, representatives of the Controller of Printing and Stationery, India and of the Director General of Posts and Telegraphs, to go into the question of the keyboard of the Hindi typewriter which is closely linked with the reform of the Devanagari script. This Committee has tentatively evolved a certain keyboard. The Government of India are to finalise the keyboard after consideration of any representations received in regard to it.

The problem of Hindi shorthand writing was considered by a Committee appointed under the presidentship of Shri Kalelkar by the Constituent Assembly in 1950. Some four different systems of stenography are at present in practice so far as Hindi stenography is concerned. From what we heard about this in the course of our taking evidence in the States which have switched over substantially to the Hindi language for purposes of their administration, there are no inherent difficulties about a sufficient supply of Hindi stenographers becoming available if there was a demand for them and the services of such as are available are reasonably satisfactory.

Certain criticisms have been made with reference to the decisions of the Lucknow Conference in regard to the reforms of the Devanagari script adopted by it, particularly regarding the position of the *matra* of the short vowel 'इ'. The keyboard tentatively proposed by the Government of India appears to make allowance for some of these criticisms. A more general criticism was voiced in certain quarters regarding the Lucknow Conference, with reference to the position of the participants in that Conference, namely that it was over-weighted by persons drawn from political and public life and not sufficiently representative of linguists, philologists and persons working in the literary field.

It might be stated that the Lucknow Conference proposals do not purport to be final or definitive in regard to script reform. In fact the conference itself contemplated a further conference to consider the issues further. However, the Lucknow conference does represent a successful attempt to bring some of the issues to a conclusion and the fact that the conference proposals have met with such a large degree of acceptance at the hands of the State Governments besides the Central Government certainly marks a step forward in this field which has suffered so greatly hitherto for want of leadership. In this field vastly more useful than the perfect solution to be evolved at an indefinite time in the future, is a serviceable solution presently commending itself to the largest number of interested parties and coming into force.

We are not concerned with the specific details of the reforms adopted in the Lucknow Conference and their merits or the particulars of the typewriter keyboard tentatively proposed for adoption by Government. We only wish to stress the urgency of finalising the typewriter keyboard as well as authoritatively adopting reforms to be made in the Devanagari script. Unless these issues are settled —which indeed we might observe might have been done much sooner—it is not possible to go further forward in the matter of progressive implementation of the language provisions of the Constitution. In the States, particularly in the Hindi regions where the State Governments have adopted specific policies for the replacement of the English language progressively by the language of the region, namely Hindi, it was frequently complained to us that progress in the implementation of these policies has been retarded owing to these matters not having been authoritatively settled, which can only be done on the leadership and under the auspices of the Centre.

15. There is one technical aspect of the typewriter keyboard which was brought to our notice by the representatives of the Ministry of

Communications. It is suggested that there is an advantage about the typewriter keyboard and the keyboard of teleprinters being identical because thereby the operator would be able to type out the message straightaway. The set-up of the proposed standard typewriter would presumably be considered by the appropriate authorities alongside, and integrated with, the requirements of the tele-communication services.

We have had suggestions made for widening the availability of the facility of sending telegrams in Hindi. Apparently this question is tied up with the question of devising the specifications of the Hindi teleprinter.

Just as there are no intrinsic difficulties about adapting Devanagari script to the requirements of modern mechanical aids, similarly there should be no insuperable difficulties in the way of so doing in respect of the scripts of the other regional languages as well. In fact we understand that typewriters in several of the Indian regional languages are already available. There should be no difficulty in typewriters being manufactured and supplied to the requirements provided there is sufficient demand for them after the respective keyboards have been finalised.

## WHICH HINDI ?

### A consideration of the provisions of Article 351 of the Constitution.

16. Article 351 lays down:—

> 'It shall be the duty of the Union to promote the spread of the Hindi language, to develop it so that it may serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India and to secure its enrichment by assimilating without interfering with its genius, the forms, style and expressions used in Hindustani and in other languages of India specified in the Eighth Schedule, and by drawing, wherever necessary or desirable, for its vocabulary, primarily on Sanskrit and secondarily on other languages.'

During the deliberations of the Constituent Assembly when this Article was under consideration, Shri S. V. Krishnamoorthy Rao moved an amendment which read as follows:—

> 'The President shall appoint a permanent Commission consisting of experts in each of the languages mentioned in Schedule VII-A for the following purposes:—
>
> (i) to watch and assist the development of Hindi as the common medium of expression for all in India;
>
> (ii) to evolve common technical terms not only for Hindi but also for other languages mentioned in Schedule VII-A for use in science, politics, economics and other technical subjects;

(iii) to evolve a common vocabulary acceptable to all the component parts in India.'

The late Shri Gopalaswamy Ayyangar dealt with this aspect of the matter in the following words:—

'I wish to add only one thing which I believe I committed myself to certain friends who moved certain amendments yesterday, particularly the amendment which was supported by a most well-reasoned speech from Mr. S. V. Krishnamoorthy Rao. He suggested that on account of the fluid condition of the Hindi language, particularly in respect of political, constitutional, scientific, technological and other terms, it is desirable that an academy or a commission should be established as soon as the new Constitution comes into force so that it may make a review of the use of this language in different parts of the country and standardise words and expressions. I think, Sir, it is a most helpful suggestion in the present conditions of the country. He moved an amendment to that effect, but I do not think that it is necessary to add to the draft I have placed before you for carrying out his ideas. We have an article in that particular part which directs the State to take steps for promoting the development of the Hindi language, to take all steps that may be necessary for enriching it, for enabling it to draw upon Hindustani and other languages in the country, for styles, forms of expression and so on and for enriching its vocabulary by borrowing in the first instance from Sanskrit and secondarily from all other languages in the world. That is a comprehensive directive which we have put into this Part XIV-A and I am sure that whatever Government may be in power after this Constitution comes into force, will take steps necessary for promoting this particular object and in doing so the suggestion of Mr. Krishnamoorthy Rao will, I have no doubt, be implemented.'

17. It would, therefore, appear that at one time it was thought that a permanent Commission would be appointed for undertaking the work contemplated in Article 351. Such a Commission has not in fact been appointed. Of course a certain amount of work has been done by way of propagation of Hindi in the non-Hindi-speaking areas and by way of evolving terminology for Hindi and to that extent the terms of this provision have come under implementation.

We are of the view that the terms of this Article would be best fulfilled by carrying out programmes of development of the Hindi language along with similar programmes for other languages. We have recommended in Chapter XIV agencies for the carrying out of this work as well as for the evolving of common terminology for all languages and the same would also be the best agencies for implementing the provisions of this Article. It does not seem necessary to us that any other agency need be created for this purpose.

If one could imagine, that over the last two centuries all the other changes in the means of transport and inter-communication

and closer commercial, political and economic integration of the country, etc. had occurred, excepting only the discovery of the printing press with its attribute, *viz.* petrifaction of literary proto-types, there could be no doubt that under stress of practical necessities, a new linguistic medium would have been gradually evolved for the purposes of pan-Indian intercourse at all necessary levels. In fact the Urdu language and the Hindi language have been evolved historically under somewhat similar circumstances during a preceding period. Such a new linguistic medium evolved for all-India purposes of communication would have been compounded of the various linguistic elements in the country and we suggest that the result would not have been much different from what is sought to be achieved by deliberate promotional effort in respect of the Hindi language in the terms of Article 351 of the Constitution and by 'enriching it with forms and expressions drawn from all the regional languages of India'. The constitutional provisions including Article 351 are no more than an attempt to telescope and anticipate by deliberate effort the consummation that should have come about naturally as an upshot of the exigencies of the situation if one could afford to wait a sufficient length of time to allow all the component elements in the situation to work themselves out.

18. There are certain specific aspects relative to the transfiguration of Hindi which is contemplated in this Article to which we would like briefly to advert.

In the course of our investigations we came upon different opinions as to the character of the Hindi language that was developing and the way in which in the opinion of the witnesses it should develop in the future. Of course everybody professes to agree that the language should be as simple and readily intelligible as possible. Indeed, obviously nobody could propose otherwise. There are, however, strong differences of opinion as to what is 'simple' and what is 'difficult'; what is 'intelligible' and what is 'unintelligible'. Thus, for instance, in the Delhi-Punjab area, people complain of Hindi becoming unintelligible on account of an undue admixture of what they regard as highly Sanskritised and 'jaw-breaking' new vocables being imported into the literary language; on the other hand, it is generally believed that Hindi, with a lesser admixture of unfamiliar and highflown Urdu or Persian words and a larger proportion of Sanskrit words instead, is more readily understood in most other parts of the country, where points of affinity and intelligibility are found in the Sanskrit words used in the Hindi language. The fact of the matter is that in this vast country of ours with its multifarious linguistic pattern what is regarded as simple and intelligible in one part may be felt to be genuinely difficult, unfamiliar and unintelligible in other parts.

Where the question is as between a shorter and simpler Urdu word and a longer and more difficult Sanskrit word or *vice versa*, there should be no difficulty as to the choice to be made if only one word is wanted. The real hard case is where structurally both words are equally simple but, owing to the previous familiarity, one word is intelligible in one part, while the other word is intelligible in the other part. In such cases we would suggest that both the words

may be embodied in the vocabulary as synonyms or alternatives. No harm is done if the Hindi language were to develop, so to say, in two different styles, one with a bias for Sanskrit and the other with a bias for Urdu in such border-line cases. It must not be forgotten that in common conversation such instances of alleged incongruities, 'malapropisms' and bombast are apt to be singled out and high-lighted out of proportion. The people like to fancy themselves as martyred to scholarly and tendentious 'high-falutin' and, provided there is good humour in it and a sense of perspective is not lost, few would be so austere as to grudge the public the good entertainment to be had out of 'slating' the high-brows, pillorying their perpetrations and generally bemoaning the linguistic tyrannies of the reformer! But it must be recalled by those concerned with the policy aspect of the matter that if high-flown stuff on both sides, *i.e.* Urdu and Sanskrit, is excluded the remainder of the vocables needed for common use would not present a great number of such difficult points. To the small extent to which such a difficulty would occur, even within such vocabulary, it may be solved by using both words optionally.

In a vast country like ours, it is inevitable that there should be local variations of style, and much more so of oral speech, in the Union language as current in different parts; and indeed such variations do prevail even today over the areas where Hindi is accepted as the cultural language though allied dialects are spoken in the homes. Even in the United States of America, although there is a more or less fixed form of literary speech universally accepted, the oral speech as current in different parts or different social or racial groups has distinctive variations. Indeed this is so even in England in spite of the compactness and great homogeneity of the people of that country. Whatever the extent of these dialectal distinctions in Hindi amongst us, there will have to be a core of standard literary Hindi, based upon the 'khari boli', and accepted everywhere and admitting only of variations of style. It is this Hindi, which is based on what is understood by the common people, and which is in some measure already a *'lingua franca'*, being more or less understood on Railway Stations and at places of pilgrimage where the Indian people drawn from different linguistic regions foregather, which has been appointed to be the language of the Union by virtue of the large numbers who know it already and not either of the extreme 'polarisations' of it: namely, highly Sanskritised Hindi eschewing sometimes even *tadbhava* sanskrit words, and using as far as possible *tatsamas*; or the other type, namely, a highly Arabicised style redolent with allusions to a mythology, legends, flora and fauna with which the ordinary Indian is not familiar.

That this Hindi will be compounded of enrichments of terms and expressions drawn from other regional languages (and of technical vocabulary suitably evolved) would not however derogate from its integrity as a standard literary language. Apart from these 'enrichments' drawn from other linguistic sources and the evolution of technical and specialised terminologies, the Hindi of the future is going to be inevitably influenced by the very important fact that it will eventually come to be a medium of expression for pan-Indian purposes by the people of the non-Hindi-speaking regions, with

different mother-tongues, who would have learnt the language as a special acquisition. The Hindi of the future belongs to every Indian equally and both by virtue of their numbers as well as by virtue of these specific constitutional provisions, the non-Hindi elements taking to the Union language would doubtless be able to influence its shape and character significantly.

One more point might be mentioned in passing. We appreciate that there are bound to be regional variations in pronunciation of words in the Union language in this vast sub-continent. Such variations occur even in such a single compact area as for instance the United Kingdom. In the case of the Hindi language as it might be expected to develop in the future, considering the peculiarities of intonation and accent amongst the different linguistic groups of India, obviously one must expect a wide range of variety of pronunciation. While recognising the inevitability of this we believe that it would be of use to evolve and recognise a standard system of pronunciation, if only as a norm to be worked up to as far as possible, somewhat similar to what the 'King's English' is for the English language. It should be possible to disseminate the knowledge of such a standard Hindi pronunciation through the aid of broadcasts on the All India Radio.

19. One more suggestion is made in connection with developing Hindi as the Union language which it would be convenient to notice here although it is not connected with the provisions of Article 351. It is sometimes suggested that in the interests of the non-Hindi-speaking people and in order to facilitate the learning by them of the Hindi language, certain reforms in respect of grammar should be introduced in Hindi. The two specific points generally put forward in this connection are the following:—

It is stated that a good part of the difficulty experienced by non-Hindi persons learning Hindi is accounted for by the complexities of the Hindi gender. The Hindi gender is somewhat arbitrary and even inanimate objects have either a masculine or feminine gender and the adjectives qualifying the substantives have different endings corresponding to the genders. The verbs are also conjugated according to the gender. It is, therefore, suggested that non-Hindi-speaking people should be given a liberty to use, if they so wish, only one form of gender, say, the masculine form. That is to say, the non-Hindi-knowing persons may speak in terms of only one gender, say the masculine gender, with reference to objects commonly regarded as of masculine as well as those of feminine gender in Hindi. It is similarly suggested that to simplify the language further in respect of numbers, the non-Hindi-speaking people may use the words denoting singular for purposes of plural number as well. Thus it is proposed that the non-Hindi-speaking people may have a licence to say 'Ek Admi Aya' as well as 'Das Aurat Aya'. Whether these or any other simplifications in Hindi grammar are practicable and would, if introduced, inure into the accepted currency of standard Hindi, are not matters on which we can or would like to pronounce. We feel however bound to point out certain weaknesses in this argument. After all, it is not a question of merely granting a liberty to, or legislating an impunity in favour of, a particular set of persons to

perpetrate grammatical errors so long as these are rated as 'errors'. The only penalty incurred by a Hindi writer writing in his mother-tongue, for similar grammatical perpetrations, would be that his writing would not be considered as good literary form of Hindi; no system of reprieve or absolution would prevent similar Hindi, merely because it is from the authorship of a non-Hindi person, from incurring a similar odium in the eyes of those who judge what is good literary form in Hindi. Unless this kind of Hindi is accepted as 'good Hindi' by all those qualified to judge, and it becomes a standard literary form, no reprieves or special immunities in favour of particular persons would make the position any different for them. People will consider this kind of Hindi as bad Hindi so long as that is not the accepted literary form of Hindi, irrespective of who the author of the writing is. And it benefits nobody to teach to the non-Hindi persons such a 'simplified' Hindi so long as it is not accepted as good Hindi.

The point, therefore, is whether Hindi grammar can be simplified for all. The grammar of a language cannot be changed to order. Whether in the course of years, as a result of such a large number of non-Hindi-speaking people learning Hindi and expressing themselves in that language, there would be any difference made to the vocabulary, syntax or grammar of that language, are matters which nobody can foretell at present.

## THE PRESS AND THE INDIAN LANGUAGES

20. In Chapter IV we refer to the Press as an important element within the sphere which we have called the 'private sector' of national life from the point of view of the country's language problem. While the sphere of the Press lies outside the ambit of direct governmental action, there is one aspect relating to the Press in India to which in the present context a reference is necessary. This is the question of supply of news in the medium of the Hindi language, and if possible also other major regional languages, for servicing the Indian language newspapers in the country.

The Press Commission appointed by the Government of India recently surveyed the whole field relating to newspapers and periodicals. The Commission found that, out of about 330 daily newspapers currently published, the English newspapers accounted for about 40 and the rest were accounted for by newspapers in Indian languages; the Hindi newspapers accounting for 76 and Urdu newspapers for 70 out of the grand total. The English newspapers account for nearly 7 lakhs out of the total circulation of just over 25 lakhs and the Hindi and Urdu newspapers account for a circulation of 3·79 and 2·13 lakhs respectively, other regional languages accounting for the rest. The survey conducted by the Press Commission further shows that the daily newspapers in this country are published largely from urban centres and that their penetration into rural areas, which house the bulk of India's population, has been very slight so far. Relatively speaking, the circulation of English newspapers is more concentrated in urban areas than in rural areas as compared to the circulation of Indian language newspapers. The

Press Commission concludes that, with the growth of literacy, there is an immediate potential for a very large increase in readership, much greater in the rural areas than in the urban areas; that the English newspapers do not have any considerable scope of adding largely to their circulation; but that Indian language newspapers have great possibilities and in the next few years we might expect that their circulation would increase to double the present figures.

It is in this context that we must view the problem of news agencies and the question of making news available in Indian language media for the Indian language newspapers. India's two major news agencies are the Press Trust of India and the United Press of India which at present supply both domestic and foreign news to all newspapers in this country in English. As a consequence, Indian language newspapers have to employ a large staff for translating the news from English. Having regard to the cost and inconvenience entailed in translating the news into the different Indian languages in so many newspaper offices and further having regard to the vast prospective scope for Indian language newspapers, the question of taking measures for the news being supplied to Indian language newspapers in an Indian language medium or media, assumes great significance. The provision of such a facility would doubtless serve as a valuable impetus to Indian language newspapers. We are not concerned with reforms relative to the constitution or functioning of the existing Indian news agencies or the question of setting up additional news agencies and other specialised, organizational problems relating to the functioning of news agencies or the dissemination of news; these have all recently come under the consideration of the Press Commission. Nor are we concerned with technical problems relating to means and methods of telecommunication by news agencies to their customers. We are concerned only to emphasize that the provision of a full and comprehensive news service in one or more Indian language media would serve as a great help and impetus to Indian language journalism and, as such, deserves exploration, and eventually suitable sponsorship, from the Government.

It is difficult for us to say whether financially it would be remunerative to organise the supply of news by a news agency in more than one Indian language medium. No doubt the news agency would in each case provide an additional Indian language medium if the custom justifies it. Even if news were supplied in the medium of only one Indian language, which presumably will be Hindi, for reasons which we have adverted to before the translation of material received in one Indian language into other Indian languages would be far easier than the translation of material received originally in the English language into any one of them. Therefore, the supply of news in Indian language, even if the medium is confined to one language only, would still be of considerable assistance from the point of view of newspapers in all the Indian languages.

Besides, the supply of news in other Indian languages but in the Devanagari script (*i.e.* the script of the Hindi language) would presumably present less difficulty than supplying it in the appropriate script of the particular regional language. Today, besides the supply in English, news is in some cases supplied in different regional language texts but in *the Roman script*. Likewise when supply of

news is organised in the Hindi language, the supply of such news in the *Devanagari script* but in the texts of the regional languages should be easily practicable. In fact since the Devanagari script lends itself more naturally to the pronunciations of other Indian languages, this should be distinctly easier to arrange.

This issue has another and an important bearing on the subject-matter of languages which we must notice. The newspapers, including both the daily and the periodical ones, undoubtedly play a very important role in stabilising the currency of terms and in establishing literary vogues. The supply of news in an Indian language by an Indian news agency would furnish ready opportunities for ensuring that the use of various terms and expressions, not only in the Union language but also in the other Indian languages, is uniform, and standardised in each language and common as far as possible to all of them. If for no other reason, for this purpose alone, the arrangements for the supply of news in the medium of an Indian language deserve consideration and every encouragement at the hands of Government.

## CHAPTER XIV

## AGENCIES ETC. FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE PROGRAMME

1. In this chapter we propose to consider the question of agencies for the implementation of the different aspects of the National Programme for languages.

So far as the change-over in the linguistic medium of the Administration is concerned, there are certain lessons to learn from the experience of some of the Hindi-speaking States, in which, more than in any others, deliberate and progressive measures have been taken for replacement of the English by the Hindi language. Some of these State Governments have found it convenient for the implementation of their language policies to establish special departments or wings of departments in the Secretariat for handling all matters arising out of the language policy of the State. Any such change in the linguistic medium necessarily involves many administrative measures and expedients: *e.g.*, arrangements for training personnel in Hindi, standardization of shorthand and typewriting systems, training the staff therein and procuring of typewriters and other mechanical aids adjusted to the new linguistic medium; preparation of technical, administrative and legal terminology and translations of departmental manuals, rules, regulations etc. Lastly, it is necessary to organise an Agency for resolving any difficulties that the other departments of Government might experience in changing over to the new linguistic medium and, in the ultimate analysis, for enforcing compliance with Government policies laid down in this behalf.

In the change-over of the linguistic medium of the Union Government all these varieties of tasks would similarly arise. In addition thereto, the Union Government will be expected to give a lead, as indeed it alone would be in a position to do, for co-ordinating all such work to the extent to which such co-ordination is necessary, with reference to similar or corresponding language policies being followed in the different States. Thus, for instance, in the matter of establishing systems of shorthand, in finalising the typewriter keyboard, in adopting standardized administrative terminology, in evolving standard forms of noting, address, correspondence etc., in respect of all of which it is absolutely necessary to have co-ordination as between the State Governments and the Union, the lead will have to be coming forth from the Centre. Apart from the task of co-ordination, the amount of work involved in bringing about the change of the linguistic medium smoothly in the affairs of the Union is itself going to be quite large and complicated having regard to the size of the administrative machinery of the Centre and its complexity. A large amount of literature connected with the day-to-day business of the Government—rules, orders, manuals and other procedural publications in accordance with which the business of the



220 HA—16

Government is conducted—will have to be translated; and while the first draft of the translations might be prepared by different Ministries and administrative units, for the purpose of ensuring that words and expressions (even when *not* fresh technical terms), are used in the same sense, it will be necessary to have them 'vetted' by a single agency before final adoption.

Then in the allied field of introduction of the new linguistic medium in legislation and in law courts, a good deal of preparatory work will fall to be done: *e.g.*, preparation of a legal lexicon; the rendering into the Union language for the purposes of enactment of the Hindi version, of the unrepealed laws of the Centre; similar rendering into the Hindi language of the Statute books of the various States, unless this work is delegated to be done by the States under a suitable system of co-ordination to ensure identical language; the rendering of statutory rules, regulations etc. into the new linguistic medium and so forth. Two other categories of work would require to be done under the auspices or the lead of the Centre; namely, work relating to the educational field and work relating to the development of the Union language, as well as, we suggest, the regional languages.

So far as the educational system of the country is concerned, State Governments, Universities and other authorities will of course have to take decisions in their respective fields of authority. Moreover, in exercise of the powers vested in the Centre and in discharge of its duties with reference to the item in the Union list in the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution, namely, 'co-ordination and determination of standards in institutions for higher education or research and scientific and technical institutions', the Union Government will have to hold a continuous watching, supervisory brief over the progress of the national policy for languages in this important sector. Then again, if there is to be the maximum degree of identity in the fresh terminology to be evolved for use in the different regional languages, the subject must be handled under Central auspices. A change-over in the educational system at the university level will imply a large effort in the preparation of text-books and other supporting literature: in regard to this also it would certainly be of great help to all concerned to obtain a lead from Union authorities and achieve co-ordination under Central auspices.

Lastly, there is the work regarding the propagation of Hindi in non-Hindi areas and of other regional languages in the Hindi areas; development of Hindi and regional languages in the different ways suggested in the last chapter; and the work arising out of the provisions of Article 351 of the Constitution.

2. So far as the work relating to the administrative field is concerned, in view of its difficulty, complexity and the articulation of various activities of different departments and agencies which would be involved, it is obviously essential that there should be a definite organ of Government operating under a sufficiently high authority which would be charged with all such responsibility. We have had suggestions made to us that we may recommend the constitution

of a separate Ministry, to be called the 'Ministry for the Union language' or more widely 'Ministry for Indian languages', to be specifically put in charge of the implementation of the Government's language policy. While we would emphasise the need for locating the responsibility specifically in a designated administrative organ of Government, we would leave it to the Government themselves to decide the detailed administrative mechanics; namely, whether there should be a separate Ministry or a department within a Ministry or merely a wing or division of a Ministry for the adequate and efficient carrying out of the purposes already recited above. It is a matter for Government themselves to decide what number of Ministries should be constituted and the allotment and distribution of work amongst them; and provided the responsibility for the formulation and implementation of these policies is unmistakably on a specific administrative unit and that unit is headed by an officer of the requisite status, the exact nature of that unit is a matter that we would prefer to leave to Government themselves to determine.

So far as implementation of measures touching upon the judicial field are concerned, it is for the consideration of Government whether a suitable modus for consultation with the Supreme Court, and some of the High Courts in a representative way, should not be evolved.

As regards propagation of Hindi in non-Hindi areas, the Education Ministry of the Government of India has already an advisory agency in the Hindi Shiksha Samiti recently re-organised on a broader basis. As regards the propagation of other languages in the Hindi areas, this would have to be promoted principally through the educational system and it would be for the Union Ministry of Education to give a lead in the matter.

3. Would it be an advantage organisationally to set up at the Centre an Advisory Board, with representatives of States, to co-ordinate the activities so far as implementation of language policies in the fields of law and administration are concerned? The Hindi Shiksha Samiti with representatives principally from non-Hindi States seems a suitable agency for the specialised field of Hindi propagation. For the general co-ordination of all inter-connected language activities to other aspects within the important fields of administration and law, it would still be necessary to secure a continuous, unbroken stream of organised consultation. It appears to us that such an Advisory Board at the Centre with States' representation on it will serve a useful purpose. The need for such an agency is not in any way diminished by the other semi-autonomous, semi-academic Agency that we would presently be recommending for looking after, *inter alia,* the developmental and terminological work.

So far as the educational field is concerned, there is the Inter-University Board for consultations with the Universities and there are other established methods for taking counsel with the State Governments.

4. So far as the terminological work is concerned, the general trend of opinion, it seems to us, is that the actual fixation of technical

words is better carried out by an autonomous body rather than as a departmental activity of the Central Government. Under the procedure at present followed, we understand that terms prepared by the Board of Scientific Terminology actually go as far as the Cabinet before adoption! Also, if, as we envisage hereafter, there is to be an attempt to secure more effective co-ordination than hitherto with the evolution of similar terminology in the regional languages, we imagine, it would be all the more preferable to remove the work from the field of departmental activity by a Ministry of the Union Government. It is our duty to mention, and we do so without comment, that we have had criticism voiced to us as to the absence or paucity of scientists, teachers, professors of different faculties and practitioners of different professions and persons representing all the regional languages involved, within the expert committees of the Board of Scientific Terminology where the terms are initially evolved. It would be for the Government to consider whether the composition of units evolving these terms requires to be widened. Apart from any such improvement in the composition of the Agency, it may be worth considering whether it would not be best to have a single Authority for evolving new technical terms for Hindi as well as the other languages, so that there may be co-ordination in this work throughout the process. Apart from terminological work, the various items of developmental work, of which in the last chapter we have suggested a few instances illustratively and not exhaustively, would also seem more suitable for being done in a semi-autonomous, semi-academic body rather than in the normal processes of the departmental machinery of a Government Ministry.

For this terminological work as well as the work arising out of Article 351 of the Constitution as well as the work relating to the development of the Union and the regional languages, we feel that it would be best if a new single Agency, which may be called an 'Academy of Indian Languages', was set up. On the governing body of the Academy representation should be accorded to the Union Government, the State Governments, Universities and perhaps also to certain recognised professional and literary associations drawn from all regions of the country and working in the different languages. So far as the terminological work is concerned, it should be carried out in one wing of the Academy; for different subjects, different Committees will have to be appointed, comprising linguists and scholars as well as representatives of the concerned professions and representatives of different regional languages, so that a terminology may be evolved which takes into account all these pertinent points of view and is identical for the Union and all the regional languages to the maximum possible extent. Thus, for the evolving of the law lexicon, lawyers and judges may be associated with linguists and others in the Committee, same as in the case of the special terminologies for other specialised faculties. The other activities of such a body would relate to the promotion and development of Hindi as well as the other regional languages. It may be that this Agency may be found convenient, in addition, for watching the progress in the production of text-books and their availability in different languages for university education whenever this may be necessary, the Academy may itself organise the preparation and publication of text-books in the different languages, enlisting in the task the

assistance of different Universities. It may also be that such an institution would be found to be a useful agency for organising the publication of scientific literature and reference books in Hindi and the different regional languages. Of course, we do not mean to suggest that all this work should be done directly by the Academy itself. No doubt a good deal of it could be 'farmed out' to Universities or other academic bodies and the Academy might only extend its auspices to it; some other work may have to be merely sponsored by the Academy. The available talent and institutional facilities are all too few as it is; they must be fully pressed into service for these purposes.

To the extent to which the Hindi language is to be the instrumentality for the business of the Centre, the Centre has a special interest in the development of that language; at the same time the States have an interest in the development of the Hindi language as it is to be the language not only of the Union but for purposes of all-India official communication as well. Each State has likewise an interest in the development of its own regional language as an instrumentality for the conduct of its administration. From a cultural point of view, for the same reasons for which the Centre has an interest in the literatures in all languages of the country, it has also an interest, we suggest, in the development of all the regional languages. A part of the difficulty in the handling of linguistic issues, we submit, has been arising so far owing to an imaginary confrontation between the Union as the sponsor of the Hindi and the States as the sponsors of their respective regional languages. Actually, each is and should be interested in both, as is demonstrated, among other things, by the interest of the Centre in the literatures of the different languages and the responsibility that has been accepted by the States for initiating and organising facilities for the propagation of Hindi and for the provision of teaching Hindi at the secondary stage of education. The location of the developmental work in *all* languages including the Union language under the auspices of a single institution, in the management of which the Union and the State Governments would be participating, would also have the advantage that these imaginary antithetical alignments, as between the Union Government on the side of Hindi and the State Governments on the side of regional languages, would be removed; and an expression will be given through a '*National Academy of Indian Languages*' to the co-partnership between the States and the Union in the task of organising measures for implementing the overall national language policy of the country. Whether, apart from participation in the governance of the Academy, the State Governments should be called upon to make financial contribution also towards its expenses, is a matter of detail which it is not necessary for us to consider.

While academic and literary opinion should be allowed to have full say in the evolution of new terminology and of schemes for development of the languages of the country, in order to resolve insoluble differences, should they arise, it would be necessary to provide reserve powers with the Central Government for giving directives to the National Academy on matters of policy and as regards the tasks to be carried out by it from time to time.

Once such an Academy comes into being, it will be a convenient forum for consultation with academic opinion in all matters of language policy in which Government may wish to be advised by such opinion. The exact details of the constitution of such an academy would be for the Government to work out if they approve of the idea. We would however permit ourselves to make a couple of suggestions. For the carrying out of the important tasks assigned to such an institution within appointed time schedules, it would be necessary to provide it with sufficient stipendiary staff attached to the Academy itself for doing the initial work on the basis of which, men drawn from Universities, literary fields and the professions, with jobs of their own to do, would be consulted. We have also a suggestion to make as regards the suitable location for the Academy. We would suggest, if that is practicable, that the Academy be located somewhere in the non-Hindi-speaking areas of the country. Hyderabad, which is a meeting ground for five or six important regional languages, suggests itself as a very suitable venue for the location of the National Academy of Indian languages. It may also have possibilities worth exploring in the way of spare buildings and premises.

5. Along with such a National Academy of Indian Languages it has been suggested to us that two more institutions touching the same field require to be established. A Central Library for the literatures of all the languages specified in the Eighth Schedule is, we are informed, badly needed and that none of the present agencies anwers anything like the purposes such a Library should. It has also been suggested that a National Institute for Training of Language Teachers, with reference to teaching Hindi, English as well as the other Indian languages, needs to be established. The importance of training in the methodology of teaching languages with maximum efficiency in minimum time is obvious in India where national interest requires that instruction in three or more languages may have to form a part of the curriculum at the secondary stage of education for large numbers of children. Whether there would be any advantage in establishing these institutions alongside of the National Academy of Indian Languages or whether the venue for their establishment could with advantage be somewhere else, are matters which obviously must be decided by the administrative authorities.

6. We also think that it would be advisable for the Central Government to institute a practice of rendering annually to the Parliament a report on the general progress made during the previous year in regard to the implementation of the language policy laid down in the Constitution and connected matters so far as they appertain to the Central field of authority. The language issue touches manifold aspects of national life and, having regard to the need for a steady and unremitting pursuit of a well-conceived course of action during the transitional period, we think it would be of distinct advantage if the Central Government were to render to the country's highest democratic forum an annual report on their stewardship during the preceding twelve months.

## EDUCATING PUBLIC OPINION ON THE NATIONAL POLICY ABOUT LANGUAGES

7. We would like to make herein a suggestion which though small in itself is, in our opinion, of the highest significance. We have reason to believe that a proper understanding of the constitutional settlement of the language question and the implications thereof is not sufficiently widespread. Large numbers of people appear to entertain misapprehensions as to the position of the regional languages under the constitutional arrangements when Hindi becomes the language of the Union. The fact that the interests of all Indian languages march abreast of each other is not sufficiently realised. It is also not realised that in the linguistic pattern the regional languages will have just as important a role to play in their respective regions as the Union language will have in the administration of the Union and for purposes of official intercourse between the units of the Union. The situation is not helped by the lack of sufficient appreciation of the precise place appointed for Hindi in the country's linguistic scene, which sometimes characterises the utterances even at responsible levels. It is *not* the purport of the constitutional provision, either overt or implied, proximate or eventual, that Hindi should displace the regional languages within their regions and in the appropriate fields. The constitutional settlement envisages for all time the Hindi language and the regional languages subsisting alongside and beneficially to each other in their appropriate fields. Some of the greatest harm to the cause of Hindi is probably done by its undiscriminating zealots. The implications of the national policy about languages with reference to the English language are also the subject of frequent and persistent misconception. It is not appreciated that even after its displacement as a general medium of instruction, of administration, of legislation and of the judiciary, a knowledge of the English language will survive, and in fact be fostered, amongst all persons who would need such knowledge for the proper discharge of their functions. It is necessary to give wide publicity to the fact that the displacement of English by the Indian languages is sought not as a measure of revivalism or as an earnest of breaking away from Western science and knowledge and 'harking back to ancient India' whatever that may mean, but for the adequate fulfilment of those very democratic urges which have been generated in the Indian community partly as the result of the impact of English political ideas and the Western civilisation on Indian society in the last couple of centuries. It is not a case of any kind of animus against the English language; nor is the selection of the Hindi language as the language of the Union a recognition of any claim that this language is more developed than any other of the Indian languages or is a better medium of expression than they are, or is richer in its literary inheritance. The choice and the implications thereof are purely a matter of convenience viewed objectively as we have explained elsewhere. We would suggest to the concerned authorities, both at the Centre and in the States, that the widest publicity may be given to all aspects underlying the national language policy of India, in order to inculcate a proper perspective amongst the people at large in this regard. In what manner this message may be carried to the Indian people,

*e.g.* by means of suitable documentary films, by organising the celebration of *Antar Bharati* or Indian languages *melas*, by production of suitable leaflets and other literature, etc. are matters which the Information Services of the Central and the State Governments would be best able to judge.

## CHAPTER XV

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

1. We have surveyed in the foregoing chapters the Indian linguistic scene as it obtains at present and the more important issues that transpire from it on a consideration of the need for providing a linguistic medium for all forms of intercourse at the levels of Union and inter-State activity. We have seen how, in spite of the large number of distinct languages and dialects customarily recorded in the linguistic census, the sub-continent has in the main a dozen or so great languages as enlisted in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution. Many of these languages have an enormous wealth of literature and literary tradition going back over centuries and in the case of some of them the literary tradition reaches back certainly more than a couple of thousand years and possibly very much longer. Considering the size and population of the country and further, having regard to the close affinities amongst the different forms of speech generally, and more especially within the two or three linguistic families into which the languages fall, what is striking is not their multiplicity so much as the extent to which we find common elements and strong affinities amongst the various Indian languages. These common elements and strong affinities are easily accounted for. For one thing, both the great families of languages—the Indo-Aryan as well as the Dravidian—have freely drawn whenever necessary upon Sanskrit. All our languages, including what are known as the Dravidian languages, have through all the centuries of their existence habitually drafted, in a greater or less degree, to meet every new situation or requirement for expression of a new idea or shade of meaning, upon that vast and inexhaustible treasure-house of vocabulary, phrase, idiom and concept comprised by the Sanskrit language and literature. The literary traditions of different Indian languages have for the same reason strong identities. The Ramayana and the Mahabharata, the Puranas and the Shastras, the classical poems, dramas and literary masterpieces of Sanskrit have served throughout these centuries not only as the reservoir of ideas, sentiments and parables to be drawn upon freely by all for the embellishment of their literary output but also as bench-marks of literary excellence, standards for social conduct, as exemplars of morality and, in short, as the repository of the wit and wisdom of all the Indian peoples throughout the ages. In the words of a distinguished foreign scholar* of Indology, 'India, though it has more than five hundred spoken dialects, has only one sacred language and only one sacred literature, accepted and revered by all adherents of Hinduism alike, however diverse in race, dialect, rank and creed. That language is Sanskrit, and that literature is Sanskrit literature—the only repository of the Veda or "knowledge" in its widest sense; the only vehicle of Hindu theology, philosophy, law and mythology; the only mirror in which all the creeds, opinions, customs, and usages of the Hindus are faithfully reflected; and (if we may be allowed

*Monier Williams : 'Hinduism'.

a fourth metaphor) the only quarry whence the requisite materials may be obtained for improving the vernaculars or for expressing important religious and scientific ideas'.

Until the advent of the English language during the last two centuries, all the advanced terminology in practically all departments of knowledge in the different Indian languages was, as a rule, drawn from Sanskrit linguistic and literary sources. The Sanskrit language has been the mother, and in some cases if not the mother the foster-mother or nurse, of the vast majority of the forms of speech that have flourished in the past or are current in India today. The fact that Sanskrit was for many centuries the accepted medium of learning and intellectual intercourse between different regions speaking their own Prakrit or Apabhramsha or other common forms of speech as the everyday lingua; the fact that the Sanskrit language had a carefully constructed and well-settled grammatical structure all along while the other languages, being in formative stages, were undergoing constant mutations; the infinite variations and inflections admissible in Sanskrit grammar which render the vocabulary of the language extremely adaptable to the requirements of literary expression; and the further fact that in course of time by reason of its very usage for this purpose the Sanskrit literature came to be the repository of all higher thinking in all branches of knowledge in the country: all these circumstances combined to bring about over the course of history the strong affinities and common elements which are so striking amongst the different regional languages of India.

Apart from Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic and other languages also have had a considerable, though varying share, in enriching the vocabularies of the regional languages: and in the case of some even grammatical forms have been influenced by one or more of these languages.

Then there is very close relationship between the alphabets and the scripts in which most of the major Indian languages are currently written. The phonetic system of all the regional languages, is basically identical; most of the characters of the various scripts are derivatives from a common base. In fact, practically all the scripts of the regional languages except for Urdu have been derived from a single common source, namely the Brahmi script.

2. These affinities between the different forms of speech current in different regions in the Indian sub-continent are of course only a reflection of that fundamental bedrock of common cultural traditions, ideals and values—in short the 'Indian way of life' which underlies the apparent diversities and differences amongst linguistic or cultural groups in the Indian community. Over the entire Indian sub-continent there has been unceasing intercourse throughout recorded history in the fields of social and religious thought and philosophical speculation; and movements which arose and developed in different parts of the country have invariably overflowed into and influenced in more or less degree the other parts. That the entire stretch of land south of the Himalayas and girdled by the seas which constitutes the sub-continent of India is a single geographical entity has

been repeatedly demonstrated throughout all recorded history. There exist no insuperable physical barriers within this geographical entity while the entire region is separated from the rest of the Asiatic mainland for the most part by outstanding natural frontiers. As a consequence there has been no obstruction to movement of men, and therefore of ideas, within the country; while for the most part and excluding conquests and forcible impositions, the territory has been ensconced away and sheltered from the movements sweeping across the highways of the Asiatic mainland. Besides, there have been within the country innumerable mutations in the chess-board of political authority and the spheres and frontiers of political jurisdiction with their consequential impact on the cultural life of the people. All in all, within the territories of the sub-continent there has been ceaseless intercourse in all fields of human endeavour, of the body as well as the mind; in commerce, in arts and crafts, by way of pilgrimages to shrines and sacred places, in religious and philosophical speculation, ethical ideas and codes of conduct. Through the 'crucible of history' as it were, over many centuries, as a result of this unceasing intercourse, a common way of life has crystallised and emerged which we call 'the Indian way of life'. A language is the standing record as well as contemporary expression of the culture and experience of the particular group speaking that language. The linguistic pattern in India, therefore, naturally conforms to the cultural pattern. While there is an astonishing variety of regional expressions, both linguistic and cultural, there is an unmistakable bedrock of identity underlying these multiple expressions.

This cultural identity was overlaid and temporarily obscured through long periods of history by the political vicissitudes to which the country was subjected. The ideal of a single political authority in India or an all-India overlordship has always characterised Indian political thinking since times immemorial. Ancient history records the names of many rulers who established suzerainty over practically the whole of the sub-continent. This political unity was lost for many centuries until with the establishment of British authority in the early part of the 19th century the political unification of the entire country was once again brought about. Thus Indian unity is not only the recent result of *Pax Britannica* or India merely a 'geographical expression' comprehending divergent nationalities as is sometimes suggested. In spite of the immensity of the size and the variety of cultural patterns, and notwithstanding that the country had over many centuries not enjoyed the benefits of political unity, it is manifest that there is and there has always been a deep and abiding cultural homogeneity amongst the regions and peoples of India.

3. Since the attainment of independence in 1947, as a result of the political unification brought about by integration of Princely States and jurisdictions within the sub-continent of India, the country has attained a degree of political unity never witnessed before for almost a couple of thousand years. Both in extent and in intensity this is indeed a higher degree of integration than even the unification brought about during the British rule. Even the British rule did not comprehend some 500 odd small and large political jurisdictions called the Princely States of India. Although the British

power, as the suzerain, imposed its supreme authority over all these in respect of defence, external affairs, certain matters relating to all-India communications, etc., for various linguistic and cultural purposes these jurisdictions enjoyed and exercised a measure of autonomy. During the preceding 150 years of British rule, the country had, however, undergone a process of progressive political unification. During this period the English language which was the language of the rulers of the country came to enjoy, at any rate in the territories known as British India, all the official prestige and patronage that appertains to such a status. Even in the jurisdictions of the Princely States the administration and law were generally modelled on the prototype in the territories under British administration: and while indigenous languages endured in those fields to some degree in some of them, the exceptions were sufficient only to introduce a variety in the pattern rather than make any significant difference to the development of the indigenous languages. By and large English came to supersede the indigenous languages in the spheres of administration and higher education as well as in all the other important and significant sectors of public life at all-India levels of intercourse, both official and non-official. The Indian languages, over a course of decades, developed various deficiencies and inadequacies as a result of their ceasing to be used in the higher fields of national activity and endeavour. When India attained independence in 1947, it was the English language which had furnished for several years previously the only common national forum in which people, drawn from all parts of the country and speaking their different regional languages as mother-tongues, freely participated. The last 150 years also happened to have been a period during which unprecedented scientific advances and technological progress were achieved and enormous changes took place in the physical circumstances of material existence all over the world. Languages normally develop in response to the occasions of social communication and intercourse and since these stimuli did not act on the Indian languages it is not surprising that they failed to develop the vocabulary, technical terms and forms necessary for full expression in the changed circumstances. The language problem of India, therefore, presents itself to us as one of developing our Indian languages so as to make them adequate vehicles of thought and expression, on the eventual displacement of the English language, without harm to the cause of science and advancement of learning or prejudice to the unity and integrity of our national life. More particularly, in the field of official all-India intercourse, the problem presents itself as that of forging and developing a suitable means of communication at all appropriate levels of inter-State and inter-regional contact in the newly rediscovered political unity of the country. In its larger perspective, we have to find a linguistic medium for the expression of the abiding cultural unity of India and for the requirements of pan-Indian intercourse incidental to the life of the single national community of Indian peoples and the common destiny of the country. The vast improvements in the means of communication of the present day, the high degree of commercial, industrial and economic interdependence and integration that has come about in the country in the recent decades, and lastly the fact that the Constitution of the Indian Republic is based on a system of adult franchise and, therefore, envisages the comprehension of. and even active participation in, the affairs of the State by all the adult population of the country,

invest a new significance to the requirement of a common linguistic medium. This, therefore, is the language problem of India.

The problem is not by any means unprecedented in the country's history. Over many centuries in the past, as noticed above, the Sanskrit language and literature furnished a common medium of inter-regional intercourse to all the learned and elite of the land. Through many centuries when different forms of speech, largely unintelligible mutually, flourished in different parts of the country and were the languages of the common folk, a refined and standardised form of speech known as the Sanskrit language arose or was deliberately evolved and it furnished a ready means of communication for the higher *literati* across the entire length and breadth of India. In like manner during the centuries of Muslim rule in India, preceding the British, the Persian language furnished a common medium for conduct of the affairs of governance, for dispensation of justice and for inter-communication between different political powers and authorities including non-Muslim principalities. The last of this series of all-India languages is the English language. Today it is not only the official language of India and the language, still for the most part, of higher education; it is also still almost the sole medium of intercommunication for certain purposes amongst the different Indian regional language groups. The number of people who use this language with some degree of facility, though small in relation to the total population, constitute a very important cross-section comprising as they do the bulk of, if not the entire, intelligentsia within every language group. The latest of this series of all-India languages, namely, English has had its own distinguishing features of which one of the most important was that it was the first all-India language free from affiliation to any particular caste, creed or indigenous racial group. The cross-section of the intelligentsia speaking this all-India language was undoubtedly more inclusive of all castes, creeds and regions than the previous all-India linguistic media. Its one fatal and incurable shortcoming in the present circumstances is that the persons in enjoyment of this medium are, and have always inevitably been, a small coterie isolated from the stream of life of the remaining Indian community. The requirement of today in terms of a common all-India medium of communication has thus historical parallels; though, of course, the occasions for such pan-Indian intercourse are vastly wider and the purposes deeper, in the democratic context of the present day in which a citizen in any part of India ought to have, potentially at least, the means of acquainting himself with national affairs as handled at pan-Indian levels. We now need a linguistic medium which is not confined to the few as the Sanskrit, Persian or English languages were, but which is, or could be made, available to the necessary extent to all who may have occasion for using it. While, therefore, the distinguishing circumstances are profoundly important, it is necessary to record that the situation historically is not without precedent.

4. One instance of this larger question of a common medium of expression at inter-State and pan-Indian levels of intercourse is the official plane for which the Indian Constitution has enacted that Hindi should be the official language for the affairs of the Union and inter-State communication. These requirements of official intercourse between different States or for the purposes of the Union,

are only one cross-section from a special angle of the vastly larger nexus of inter-relationship between the different regions of the country and the pan-Indian purposes for which, for like reasons as in the case of official business, a common linguistic medium is necessary. The provisions of the Indian Constitution limit themselves, for obvious reasons, to the requirements of these official planes of activity; and the terms of reference specifically charged on this Commission are also in the main restricted to the consideration of issues arising therefrom. However, for reasons that have been stated from time to time in the preceding chapters of our Report, we have had to consider the larger and more basic issues which were necessarily involved in the requirements of an official linguistic medium of expression. So far as the problem of replacement of the English language, for the purposes of the Union and for purposes of inter-State communication, by the Hindi language and problems ancillary thereto are concerned, we have given elsewhere in the Report a plan of development and a programme of action for the phased attainment of the objectives. In fact, so far as the official plane is concerned, the issue is settled in principle by the provisions of the Indian Constitution and it is only their detailed and smooth implementation that remains to be considered. The constitutional provisions, as we saw elsewhere, are viable and elastic and are calculated to take care of any accelerations or decelerations in displacement that might be found necessary for particular purposes. The specific details in the unofficial field, to quote only one instance the educational system, are yet to crystallise and constitute other facets of the language problem in India. For the larger purposes of the country as well, it is necessary to evolve a common linguistic medium *pari passu* with the establishment of the official medium. Indeed the two purposes are inextricable and cannot be considered in isolation and many of our recommendations and conclusions are calculated simultaneously to help towards the former while accomplishing the latter.

5. We have had occasion to make recommendations regarding the linguistic medium for the competitive examinations for all-India services organised by the Union Public Service Commission. This narrow and limited issue, touches upon the larger and much more important issue of the media of instruction at the Universities. The problems for consideration in this context are the relative claims of the regional languages, Hindi and English as media for university education for different faculties and at different stages and the place to be occupied by the English language in university education even when it would not be the medium of instruction. The medium of instruction in the Universities is in the main an issue within the determination of the university authorities. The Government of India have authoritatively announced that they have no intention of interfering with the independence of Universities or of making the choice of the medium a subject of governmental policy. Universities are run for the pursuit of knowledge, the advancement of learning and the imparting of such knowledge to, and the inculcation of a love for such learning in, their alumni. The question of the medium of instruction, though profoundly significant for the purposes of the University as well as public life generally, has only a secondary importance, being concerned with the instrumentality rather than the content of knowledge, against the context of the basic purposes of university education. The choice of the medium of instruction

by university authorities can, besides, only be contingent upon the progress made in the development of the linguistic medium and the availability of text-books and supporting literature for purposes of study therein. We reaffirm the view that it is right and proper that the choice of the medium should continue to be left with the university authorities. We have no doubt that the university authorities would want to switch over to the medium of Indian languages as soon as they find that for particular branches or stages of university studies such change-over of medium can be brought about without prejudice to academic standards. Indeed, even apart from larger patriotic considerations, for pedagogic reasons alone such a change would be obviously desirable as and when it becomes practicable considering that both comprehension and expression by students are likely to be as a rule superior in the Indian medium. Indeed we contemplate that in their other capacity as seminaries of learning, the Universities would themselves participate actively in the development of terminologies and literatures in the Indian languages and thus help to hasten the day when such change-over of medium could take place. The question next arises of the choice of medium of instruction as between *Hindi and the regional language* for the purposes of different branches of study and the different stages therein. We have noticed in the foregoing pages at appropriate places the pros and cons in regard thereto. However, in this respect also we have advised that the matter may be left in the first instance for determination by different Universities acting on their judgment but of course in due concert with each other. The need for providing for easy interchange of students and teachers, of mutual recognition of degrees and the maintenance of comparable academic standards, etc. would doubtless ensure that the Universities march in step and the action taken by any particular University is harmonious and consistent with that taken by others. In the event of any of these questions assuming a significance to warrant its abstraction to the level of national policy, should the Government consider it necessary to orient university education in particular directions, no doubt they would devise means of implementing their policies.

So far as the place of instruction in the English language in university education is concerned, while we have no doubt the universities would be sensible of the preferability of the medium of an Indian language over that of a foreign language, if otherwise practicable, we are confident that they will always be mindful, from the point of view of maintenance of academic standards, of the present necessity of equipping their graduates, particularly in the scientific, legal and technical studies, with a sufficient command of English and/or another suitable foreign language to serve as a 'key' to the storehouse of knowledge not yet available in the Indian languages. For a long time to come, we have no doubt that students graduating in scientific subjects and technological studies, at any rate, would need, for their further self-education and to keep abreast of the advances of knowledge, access to the literatures published in English or some other suitable Western language as these would not be available to anything like the requisite extent in Hindi or any of the regional languages. The Universities would no doubt want that their graduates should be equipped with at any rate the faculty for comprehension in a linguistic medium which would enable them, if

they so wished, to maintain contact with the rapid advances in scientific knowledge available through current publications and journals in other languages and would take appropriate steps to this end.

Apart from the educational system, in other spheres of national life, the different linguistic media must necessarily be left to attain the place that would, in the course of natural developments, belong to them. We have not as a rule concerned ourselves with the details of the specific issues arising in what may be called the non-official sector of national life; although of course the programmes for development of Indian languages that we have suggested would necessarily influence this sphere as well.

6. It is a completely mistaken notion to imagine that there is any 'antipathy' so to say or incompatibility of interest between the Union language and the great regional languages. For one thing, Article 351 of the Constitution provides for the enrichment of the Hindi language by assimilation of the forms, style and expressions used in the other languages and by drawing wherever necessary or desirable for its vocabulary primarily on Sanskrit, the mother of most of the Indian languages. Apart from the nature of the Hindi appointed to be the Union language, it is incontrovertible that by virtue of their great similarities, the development of each Indian language is going to help and not obstruct the development of all others. It is only as regards the appropriate fields in which the regional and the Union languages might be employed that there is room conceivably for a difference of opinion. This, however, is a wholly pragmatic issue to be judged on a consideration of various relevant factors as a matter of the greatest possible general convenience. Once it is recognised that it is in the national interest that all languages of the country should be developed and that their development is not antithetical but interconnected and mutually beneficial, no passion need be brought into the consideration of these issues of practical convenience. We believe that language is essentially a perfect means of expression and communication for its own environment and there is no warrant for supposing that any well-developed language, let alone the rich regional languages of India, is incapable, under appropriate conditions, of expressing any thought or sentiment which the members of a linguistic group find it necessary to communicate. Mahatma Gandhi, with his astonishing insight into the fundamentals of controversial issues, said as long ago as 1928 that 'there never was a greater superstition than that a particular language can be incapable of expansion or expressing abstruse or scientific ideas'.

We, therefore, deprecate the institution of comparisons between the different regional languages of India or the literatures that are extant in them. Each language may have its own merits and deficiencies; and, of course, literature comprises literary productions in a variety of fields like poetry, fiction, criticism, scientific publications, serious books of study, etc., and, therefore, at any point of time one literature may be more abundant in some respects than another. Nevertheless, it is impossible to reduce all these aspects to a single lineal dimension and say that any of these important languages and

literatures is better or worse than the other. We generally found that all such prejudices were voiced by people who denigrated other languages and literatures without knowing anything of them. And, in any case, the point at issue is not the quality of their respective literatures when we are considering the developmental potentialities of the languages as a vehicle of expression and the appropriate fields in which the regional languages should be employed as against the Union language.

A language, as we observed elsewhere, is the standing record as well as contemporary expression of the culture and experience of the particular group speaking that language. It is the loom on which these cultural patterns are woven, and it is obvious to us that all of us who are justly proud of our common cultural inheritance must cherish and develop all languages, more especially all those important languages of India recognised by the Constitution as such. The central concept of the Indian tradition and way of life is one of harmonising and unifying diverse cultural expressions. We submit, therefore, that we ought to approach each of our languages in a spirit of humility and reverence, even if it be the rude unwritten speech of a tribal group, because each such language is a unique expression of the culture of the particular social group who speak it. We must sustain and cherish each of the elements entering into the multiform cultural life of India. We must assist each of the languages to become a still better vehicle for the expression of its language group and a harmonious and worthy component in the integrated cultural life of the country.

7. We have made detailed and comprehensive recommendations as to the steps that we consider necessary to be taken for promoting the development of Hindi, the official language of the Union, in particular, and of all languages, principally the regional languages, in general. Both Hindi and the great regional languages enumerated in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution suffer today from identical lacks and deficiencies and have similar problems to face. If the physical impact of scientific discoveries during the last couple of centuries had come upon us in a normal way, our regional languages might have responded to the requirements of the situation and they would not have been found deficient for the purpose of expressing certain concepts and ideas in the sphere of sciences and technology as they happen to be today. The problem of development therefore confronts us not in respect of the Union language alone, but, in a greater or less degree, in respect of all the remaining regional languages also.

Apart from the common problems confronting all major Indian languages at the moment and the strong affinities and common elements that bind them together, there are other factors and conjunctures which if properly utilised ought to bring about progressively a greater *rapprochement* amongst the various regional languages in the country and their literatures. We have examined the question of the scripts in which the Indian languages are currently written and have explored the possibilities of furnishing to them all, optionally, an additional common script in the shape of the Devanagari alphabet for facilitating the study of each other's language and literature mutually by the different linguistic groups in the country and

for encouraging amongst the public a wider multi-lingualism. We have also noticed in an earlier chapter the problems of evolving technical terminology for the Union language and the different regional languages and have advocated that such new terminology should be common amongst the largest number of languages to the largest extent that it may be possible to achieve. We have also made detailed recommendations about the organizational and administrative arrangements necessary for accomplishing in practice this consummation. In addition to this, we have made elsewhere recommendations for the evolution of a Hindi as contemplated by Article 351 of the Constitution 'to serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India' with forms, style and expressions drawn from other languages of India. We have also recommended promoting a greater identity in the general vocabularies of the different regional languages. If energetic steps are taken for promoting all these measures, we have no doubt whatever that within a period of a very few years 'the distances' so to say between different Indian languages would have considerably diminished and the acerbity of linguistic controversies very greatly ameliorated.

Apart from a greater *rapprochement* amongst languages we have suggested several measures for a greater mutual comprehension of languages, literatures and cultural patterns amongst the different linguistic regions of the country. We have recommended the provision of wide-spread facilities for learning other Indian languages in the secondary educational system; we have recommended the founding of chairs for the study of other regional languages in every Indian University; we have recommended the wide propagation of distinguished literary works in each regional language by means of translations into all other languages; we have suggested measures for improved teaching of languages, for a systematic study and production of necessary text-books and guides designed for the teaching, through the medium of each regional language, of all other regional languages; we have made recommendations for the interchange of students amongst the Universities located in different linguistic regions; we have suggested the institution of a Central library possessed of books in all important Indian languages: and if the steps that we have recommended are taken, not only will the Union language have been adequately propagated in the non-Hindi-speaking areas furnishing the basis for the implementation of the constitutional provisions for its use as the language of the Union, but there would come about a far greater comprehension of the languages, literatures and cultural patterns, besides Hindi, amongst all our peoples including the Hindi-speaking population.

8. We wish to draw attention to one more important point. It is the contemporary generation alone which will keenly feel the degree of difficulty and inconvenience inseparable from any solution of the language problem that we may embark upon. Succeeding generations will not feel the difficulties with the same keenness. Language is not an attribute with which one is born but an accomplishment which is acquired over a course of years including the long periods spent at school and University. Therefore any solution which the country will adopt for itself and which, after its adoption, is systematically and vigorously pursued, would, when the contemporary generation accustomed to other ways disappears in a few decades, be easy and

natural for the succeeding generations coming up with the passage of time. In this view, almost any variant of the range of practicable solutions would be equally serviceable from the long-term point of view. However the short-term or the immediate point of view cannot be ignored and we have of course been sensible of the importance of weighing the pros and cons of all the alternatives and have spared no pains to that end, before adopting the best possible of such solutions within the range. The problem of languages is a complex and involved issue. A view regarding this problem in many of its facets presupposes certain judgments relative to certain more or less 'imponderable' factors. We would therefore be wholly willing to allow that there may well be honest differences of opinion as regards the best solutions for adoption by the country. While this is so, we wish to emphasise that rather than contending over any minor imperfections in the solution, it is infinitely more important that the goal and the programmes once determined after due consideration are universally and unreservedly accepted all over the country and implemented whole-heartedly within their respective spheres by the various concerned authorities. More particularly we would like to emphasise that the language policy of the country must never be allowed to become the sport of partisan politics.

9. There is another aspect of the matter which we feel we are called upon to emphasise. In the solution of the language problem many agencies are concerned besides the Union and the State Governments, *viz.*, the Universities, the Judiciary, the legal and other professions, the Press, the scholar as well as the man in the street. In whatever we do, therefore, for the attainment of the final solution, reliance must be placed not so much on the aids of law and governmental support and patronage—powerful and indispensable though these aids are—as on the ready co-operation of all concerned, elicited by the merits of the solution propounded and the programme chalked out for its attainment; and last, but not least, on the fundamental good sense and patriotism of the people. A complex and detailed linguistic revolution, such as we have to bring about, cannot be enforced merely by the fiat of the State; it is a task in which we must engage the ready and enthusiastic co-operation of the various agencies concerned and of all important elements in the national life. The objectives, properly viewed, are common and are shared by all Indians of good will; they are enshrined in the Constitution which the people of India solemnly adopted after mature deliberation six and a half years ago. The problem is essentially one of means and instruments to be used and the pace to be set for achieving accepted ideals.

10. Apart from the fact that various authorities are involved in the accomplishment of the linguistic revolution and that for its smooth attainment the ready and willing co-operation of the public at large and voluntary agencies ought to be engaged, it is necessary to emphasise that the question of language is inherently a subject wherein popular verdict has the last word. The test of a word is ultimately in its currency and languages are developed and new vocabularies and literary forms established not by fiat of the State or even by the labours of lexicographers and philologists, but by the acid test of their survival in the currency of everyday speech and

writing. A living language resides in the currency of daily speech in the work-a-day world and in the market place and not in the dictionaries of lexicographers. Normally, all living languages are constantly responding to the needs and stimuli of new social experiences and occasions and in the process of such responses new words are coined or borrowed and adopted and new terms and expressions are thus launched forth. Their survival and assimilation depend on their suitability and popular acceptance. While, therefore, the deficiencies that currently occur in the Indian languages due to certain special circumstances lend themselves to rectification by suitable promotional effort, it must always be recognised that any such effort must be tentative and the words and expressions so coined must first be provisional, their final adoption depending upon whether or not they acquire currency for the appropriate purposes. It is for this reason that we have emphasised the necessity of frequent periodical restandardization in the process of equipping the Indian languages with the special vocabularies which they lack at present.

We have noticed in an earlier chapter how in any practical programme for the development of the Indian languages the question of evolving of new terminology and expressions features very prominently. A great deal of the success of our efforts in developing languages is going to depend upon the suitability of the new terms and expressions we adopt and the ease with which they are absorbed and assimilated. We have also explained how certain specific difficulties arise due to different views being taken in different areas of the country as to the simplicity of new terms as well as the difference in the import sometimes attached to the same words. While we recognise that the task is in all conscience difficult, we feel constrained to adjure that the linguists and scholars charged with the minting of new terms and expressions must approach their task objectively. New terms and expressions must be coined with the object of their being serviceable for the relevant purposes of expression and communication and not merely as memorials to scholarship or as an exercise in some preconceived ideologies of language 'purism'. All living languages are freely borrowing and assimilating foreign terms and expressions. Every new word well assimilated by a language is a conquest made by it and not an inroad into it. New vocabularies must be evolved having regard to the simplicity of the new words and terms, their probable currency and serviceableness and the adaptability of the graft to the genius of the host language, regardless of the considerations of the so-called racial origin of words or any doctrines of revivalism. The common man by and large has no interest in doctrines of language 'purism' and, apart from being perfectly right in this view, he is of course the final arbiter of the matter.

11. There is yet another aspect of the matter which we would like to note. It is sometimes suggested that the switch-over from one linguistic medium to another, be it in the field of administration or of education, should not take place until the new linguistic medium has in every way been perfected. The suggestion is based upon a misconception and such a course of action would not at all be practicable. The counsel is comparable to an exhortation to a person desirous of learning to swim that he should not enter the waters

until he has mastered the art of swimming in theory! Language is a living organism. It cannot be concocted in a laboratory or prefabricated in a literary workshop for the purpose of eventual erection. It cannot be launched ready-made and complete; it must be allowed to grow and develop in response to the needs, occasions and stimuli of practical life. While the effort to equip the language may go on, simultaneously it must be enabled to enrich itself under press of actual use. For a living language comprises not the word-piles in the pandits' lexicographs, useful as they are as a reservoir and standbye, but the everyday currency of speech and communication of thought. We must, therefore, make a beginning even as we go along and perfect, in the light of practical experience, the terminologies and forms of expressions evolved at the desk and launched forth provisionally.

12. We have considered the various issues arising out of the subject-matter of our enquiry in the context of the provisions of the Indian Constitution relating to languages and within the four corners thereof. As we have explained in detail in chapter IV, the constitutional provisions are not rigid or procrustean; they are deliberately so contrived as to admit of a great deal of viability in different directions subject however to adherence to certain fundamental essentials. As we observed before, the provisions as embodied in the Constitution are very comprehending and make due allowance for the complexity of the situation as well as the relative unpredictability of certain important factors entering into it. These provisions, which we understand were adopted after a great deal of cogitation, represent the resultant of the various factors governing the situation as they appeared to the members of the Constituent Assembly drawn from all linguistic areas of the country. While considering the various issues within the general framework of the constitutional provisions we would not have hesitated to make appropriate recommendations had we felt that any particular detailed provision of the Constitution was impracticable: in the absence of this, the presumption clearly lay in favour of our proceeding to frame our recommendations and conclusions within the framework of those provisions. Apart from anything else, there is to be a further review of this position by a President's Commission in 1960. As regards the time-schedule for the replacement of English by Hindi as the Union language, it is not possible to judge the practicabilities of the time-schedule in the abstract: whether any particular target in time would be attained or not would depend on the effort made in the meantime by way of preparation and we have therefore refrained from rushing into any predictions in regard to this point.

In other respects also we have felt compelled to view our task within the constitutional framework as laid down by the Indian Constitution. Thus, for instance, the 'audit of the accounts of the States has been included in the Union list of subjects in the Constitution. We felt that we could consider a harmonising of the linguistic difficulties only within the assumption that 'audit of State accounts' would continue to be a Central subject. Some witnesses had suggested the 'provincialisation' of State audits as a solution of the linguistic difficulties presented by the inescapable dichotomy that

the accounts of State Governments are likely to be kept in, and the language of State administration is likely to be, the regional language, whereas 'audit' as a Central subject would be administered through a single all-India organisation namely the Indian Audit and Accounts Department. We felt, however, that merely on the ground of linguistic convenience, which it must be remembered belongs to the level of a mere 'instrumentality', to advocate a major change in the constitutional arrangements would be unwarranted. In the same way, our recommendations regarding language of the High Courts and of the lower judiciary take note of the fact that the former are in the Union list of subjects, whereas the latter are included in the State list of subjects. Likewise, in the conclusion that we have reached as to the place of Hindi instruction in the curricula of secondary schools, we have been influenced by the important provision of the Constitution, under Article 45, wherein it is laid down that 'the State shall endeavour to provide, within a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years'. And, lastly, in the major basic conclusion regarding the unfeasibility of the English language serving for all time as the common medium of expression for pan-Indian purposes, we have been powerfully influenced by the fact that the Indian Constitution is based on the principle of universal adult franchise and envisages the entire Indian electorate being in a position to take an interest in the governance of the country.

The constitutional provisions of a federation embody the organic political relationship between the Union and its federating units. Every federation strikes its own balance to harmonise the interests of local autonomy with the imperatives of a unified national life. We were concerned merely with 'language', a means for the convenient carrying on of intercourse between the units and the Union. In the process thereof, for us to have advocated constitutional revisions would have been like prescribing as a cure for a shoe-pinch the cutting off of the foot! 'Language' is only the garb and it is the garb which must be tailored to the requirements of the body politic, not the body politic amputated to the requirements of the garb.

13. The constitutional provisions fix, so to say, the objectives to be attained and mark out the main channels of development, the progress within which would depend wholly on the efforts made in the meantime. In a matter like this, wherein the goal is accepted, it is desirable to attain it as quickly as possible so as to reduce to the minimum the manifestly unsatisfactory period of transition. Nevertheless, the pace has to be set having regard to factors not wholly predictable and it is obviously necessary to be both firm and flexible in the appropriate respects. It would not be possible for any authority to proceed to lay down a cast-iron framework prescribing an exact time-table up to the final consummation for all the different fields and phases of the linguistic revolution that we have to bring about. At the same time, if there were no targets set down or firm programmes chalked out for the proximate future and fulfilled in their due course, we should make little or no progress at all and the transitional stage, in which some disadvantage cannot altogether be obviated, would be unduly prolonged; nay, it might

even go on indefinitely. It is, therefore, necessary to allow a maximum flexibility in details and on the fringes, while adhering steadfastly to the central core and objectives, and to lay down as we get along—and only as far as can be seen ahead at any time, but no more!—specific programmes of action for the attainment of the goal and to carry them to fruition with energy.

Accordingly, while we have recommended specific programmes and lines of action for the immediate future, we have not felt it necessary to postulate any definite periods of time with reference to certain other consummations which are contingent on intermediate preparations the exact period for which cannot be set down today, *e.g.*, the replacement of English by Hindi/the regional languages as a general university medium; or the replacement of English by Hindi in the field of legislation and as the language of the higher tribunals of justice. These consummations depend entirely upon the time taken for the completion of the necessary prerequisites for such change-overs and the energy and speed with which the necessary steps are taken to these ends. While we have set down, as far as was possible, the sequence of the necessary phasing, we thought it would be presumptuous for us now to postulate the exact period of time by which the whole process would have been completed.

The Constitution provides for an investigation by a similar Commission to be appointed by the President at the end of 10 years from the commencement of the Constitution, *i.e.* in 1960. We have also had occasion to recommend an annual parliamentary review of the progress registered. In view of this and also having regard to the flexibility appropriate to the subject-matter as noticed above, it would have been gratuitous for us at this time to try to lay down a time-table of action relating to the period beyond the proximate future that is to say, our immediate ken. We must, however, emphasise that it is necessary to keep the position under review continuously and to chalk out lines of further action as the situation unfolds itself. It must be constantly borne in mind that the transitional stage has certain inescapable disadvantages and that for manifest reasons it would be desirable to get through the transitional period as quickly as possible. The younger generation is all the time being set on and committed to a course of studies, extending in the case of graduation over a period of some 10 to 12 years, towards certain attainments and if the 'end-product' is desired to be different we have to take advance decisions about it. While we 'palaver' and hesitate, the question is being decided in default by the very act of our indecision for large numbers of people in the meantime. It is, therefore, necessary to take and announce decisions and chalk out clear lines and targets of progress in the fields where this is necessary and practicable, so that a systematic and phased attempt may be made to reach the goal set. In our opinion, a great deal of unnecessary irritation has been caused and adverse comment evoked in the past by several uncoordinated measures for displacement of English—measures which were apt to look like a sort of 'experimentation' or even 'trifling' with the upbringing of children, a matter of such deep concern to their parents. For instance, there seems to have occurred, in some cases, a failure, in the higher reaches of the educational system, to adjust the linguistic medium and the courses of study to the reduced knowledge of English with which students would come from the

15. We are greatly impressed by the deep and anxious concern universally voiced in the course of our evidence by large numbers of responsible people about the maintenance of the unity and integrity of the country and the relevance of a satisfactory solution of the problem of language to that end. This feeling informed the evidence in all parts of the country; not the least, those parts in which the evolution of a common linguistic medium is going to impose the greatest burdens on the contemporary generation. We are deeply impressed to witness that the one great concern, and consuming passion of all thoughtful Indians at the moment should be the unity and the greater 'emotional integration' of the country. This integration is to be conceived of not merely in the political sense or as relative to the official business of the Union. It comprehends and, indeed, affects more vitally other aspects of the national life also, including the cultural one. The reorganisation of the States of the Union has not only highlighted the importance of consolidating the country's unity but also focussed attention on the importance of a common pan-Indian linguistic medium as an instrumentality for bringing it about. With the formation of largely unilingual States as Federal units, one might expect that the displacement of English by the regional language will be further accelerated in the administration of the different States. This narrowing down of the field in which English is employed at present, though in itself a comprehensible trend, would temporarily derogate from the only common linguistic medium which subsists presently: this makes it all the more necessary that the evolution of the common linguistic medium which is eventually to replace English, namely the Union language, should be accelerated and strengthened. Decentralisation of administration is essential for local autonomy, for encouraging self-governing practices and to bring the seats of authority nearer to the people whose needs and aspirations they are intended to serve. It so happens that after the reorganisation of States recently undertaken, the frontiers of such decentralised authority would march along the borders of linguistic regions in India. It is, therefore, necessary to forge a strong and growing link by means of a common linguistic medium for all-India purposes. By the same token by which the regional language was successfully pressed as of decisive importance in the formation of the constituent units of the federation, the official language of the Union must be accorded its due place for subserving the unity of India and tardiness in the implementation of the measures necessary to that end can be countenanced only at our own peril.

We shall shape the pattern of our languages: and then the pattern of our languages will shape us!

Throughout our proceedings and especially while framing our conclusions and recommendations and drafting the Report, we have been constantly mindful of the difficulties of the non-Hindi-speaking regions of the country, more especially of those regions whose languages are most 'distant' from Hindi. There can be no denying that a considerable amount of strain by way of having to acquire a new linguistic medium for their various purposes is going to be imposed in the present generation on certain categories of persons drawn from these linguistic regions. We have tried our best to alleviate the incidence of this hardship to the maximum possible extent. Apart from

various facilities for acquisition of the new linguistic medium and the concession of appropriate periods of time for doing so, we have made numerous suggestions for the transitional period to accommodate individuals who might find themselves in special difficulty in this regard. Various arrangements have been suggested for safeguarding the interests of candidates from such regions in the recruitment to the employ of the Union Government. We recognise, however, that despite all this, there would be a measure of hardship, in the shape of the additional effort for the learning of a new language, that would fall upon certain categories of persons. This however is the irreducible minimum and is wholly unavoidable and can only be regarded as the price that must be paid during the present transitional time for switching over the business of the nation permanently from an untenable foreign linguistic medium to an agreed indigenous linguistic medium. We would recall what we have recorded elsewhere in the Report, namely, the widespread and sympathetic appreciation of the difficulties of the non-Hindi-speaking regions with which we met in the Hindi areas on the one hand and the recognition of the need for evolving a common indigenous linguistic medium for the whole country to subserve its unity which we encountered amongst all responsible opinion in the non-Hindi-speaking regions on the other. It is unfortunate that the incidence of this period of transition should bear in this respect on particular categories of persons from amongst the citizen-body of the nation.

These hardships are, however, in their very nature transitional. So far as the next generation is concerned, provided measures are taken in the educational field on the lines we have suggested in the foregoing, the difficulties in the non-Hindi-speaking regions would be very greatly ameliorated. As a new generation of boys and girls who would have received the necessary minimum of instruction in Hindi in their schools comes up, the hardship would growingly disappear. During the intervening period also steps would have been taken for bringing about a greater *'rapprochement'* amongst the various Indian languages and for their development as adequate instruments for communication in modern societies. We therefore attach as great an importance to the measures which would yield results in the long run as to steps being taken proximately for switching over the business of the country to linguistic media intelligible to the masses.

16. We would like to record that we have witnessed in the course of our investigations and in the depositions of witnesses from all parts of the country a very large measure of objectivity, tolerance and unprejudiced search for the best solutions of the complex issues which formed the subject-matter of our enquiry. We have rejoiced to see that in the Hindi or near-Hindi areas there is a great measure of appreciation by responsible witnesses of the difficulties of the non-Hindi-speaking people of the Union and a lively regard—though not yet backed with an equal knowledge!—for the southern languages and the wealth of literature in them; likewise, in the South and other non-Hindi areas we came up generally on as keen a recognition as anywhere else of the importance of fostering the cultural and political unity of the country through the cementing means of a common

medium of communication. The difficulties of the problem are very real and, by no means, to be discounted and it was very refreshing to see such comprehension amongst different linguistic groups of the difficulties facing other linguistic groups in this regard. As is well known, most of the work of propagation of Hindi in non-Hindi areas has so far been done by non-Hindi workers! It was in the North that, in the course of our taking evidence, we came upon some of the most ardent advocacy for compelling Hindi students to learn another Indian language, and preferably a South Indian one, both as a recompense for the so-called 'burden' of learning Hindi that the non-Hindi population has to bear and for making up the deficiencies in the North of a knowledge of the great cultural patterns, languages and literatures of the South, perhaps essentially more Indian of all. With reference to the place of the English language in the future educational set-up of the country also, we have pleasure in recording that we came upon a very large measure of objective, unbiassed and tolerant opinion. There is no animus against the English language as such merely on account of its having been the language of our erstwhile foreign rulers. The distinction between the use of the English language as the medium of instruction and its use as a 'window' on the rapid advances of knowledge taking place in the outside world is widely recognised and appreciated. The consensus of opinion which emerged from the bulk of evidence tendered before the Commission was to the effect that, while English must be displaced as a medium of instruction in the educational system and of administration and pan-Indian intercourse, it was necessary that a sufficient instruction in the English language should be available to the concerned persons, so that there is no falling off in the standards whether in education or administration. While the views propounded by different witnesses differed widely both as regards the time-schedules of the changes to be brought about and in respect of their content, we have pleasure in recording that the vast majority of witnesses approached the question from an objective and dispassionate point of view. This is an issue on which, in all conscience, there is abundant room for the widest differences of opinion. While we are happy to acknowledge the objectivity and good sense of the large majority of views presented to us, we grant entirely the *bona fides* and sincerity of all views advanced, including those with which we have wholly differed. We ask for the credit of neither less nor more for the view that we have ourselves taken of the matter.

17. The difficulty and complexity of the language problem that the country has to tackle are manifest. We seek to find a medium of expression for the strong elements of identity in the cultural life of the country and as a linguistic counterpart of the political unity which the country has rediscovered after many centuries. In doing so, we seek to replace a working system based on the English language which, albeit foreign to the people, is one of the world's richest and most widely spoken languages and has many general merits to recommend it. The languages we can replace English by are at present insufficiently developed for the multifarious occasions of official and non-official intercourse, that arise in a modern community. Several of these dozen or so languages are however spoken by numbers in excess of many current European languages claiming to be advanced

means of communication and are thus, in point of the number of people who speak them, entitled to a high place in the world's roll of languages. Hindi has been chosen as the Union language on the principal, and we think sufficient, ground that amongst the regional languages it is spoken by the largest number of people in the country. In the U.S.S.R., the Russian language currently enjoys, and has always had historically, such an outstandingly more important place in the national life than any of the other languages of the different regions that the choice of the national *lingua franca* must have been fairly obvious and incontrovertible. The problem cannot be solved as in Switzerland or Belgium or Canada by the easy means of recognising all the competing languages equally for official purposes and carrying on by dint of a widespread multilingualism, inasmuch as such a solution is obviously impracticable when the number of languages is not two or three but more than a dozen. Some of the different elements in the Indian problem have been severally and individually met and tackled successfully elsewhere in the world; but for the successful tackling of a complex situation wherein all these difficulties are compacted, there is no precedent to our knowledge. We believe, however, that a successful solution can be achieved and we feel confident that, given good sense and an appropriate perspective, it would be done.

18. Language is in a sense profoundly important and in another sense of little or no consequence! It is important at the level of instrumentality. It is a loom on which the life of a people is woven. It is, however, of no intrinsic consequence in itself because it is essentially an instrumentality: the loom, not the fabric; only a vehicle of thought and not the thought itself; a receptacle for the traditions, usages and cultural memories of a people, but not their substance. It is not language but education that is aimed at in the schools; it is not language but good government that is aimed at in the field of public administration; it is not language but justice that is sought in the law courts. That which lends itself to the most convenience is the correct solution of the language problem in the various fields. Surely, there does not have to be heat and passion over the issue of Language, ever the instrumentality and not the substance!

B. G. KHER,
*Chairman.*

B. K. BARUA,
*Member.*

*SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI,
*Member.*

**MAGANBHAI DESAI,
*Member.*

---

*I sign subject to a Note which may be taken as a Minority Report.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI.

**I sign subject to my note of explanation.

MAGANBHAI DESAI.

D. C. PAVATE,
*Member.*

P. N. PUSHP,
*Member.*

M. K. RAJA,
*Member.*

***P. SUBBARAYAN,
*Member.*

G. P. NENE,
*Member.*

P. K. PARIJA,
*Member.*

TEJA SINGH,
*Member.*

M. SATYANARAYANA,
*Member.*

BABU RAM SAKSENA,
*Member.*

ABID HUSSAIN,
*Member.*

RAM DHARI SINHA DINKAR,
*Member.*

R. P. TRIPATHI,
*Member.*

BALKRISHNA SHARMA,
*Member.*

MAULI CHANDER SHARMA,
*Member.*

HAZARI PRASAD DWIVEDI,
*Member.*

JAI NARAIN VYAS,
*Member.*

S. G. BARVE,
*Secretary.*

*Srinagar,*
*Dated* 19*th June,* 1956.

---

***Subject to a minute of dissent.
P SUBBARAYAN.

# NOTE

## on the Report of the Official Language Commission as a Minority Report

BY

DR. SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

CHAIRMAN, WEST BENGAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL AND MEMBER, OFFICIAL LANGUAGE COMMISSION

*July* 4, 1956.

sarvajñam tad aham vandē parañ jyōtis tamōpaham,
pravṛttā yan-mukhād dēvī sarva-bhāṣā-sarasvatī.

(Nagavarman of Karnataka, 12th Cen. After Christ.)

"I adore that all-knowing Supreme Light, darkness-dispelling, from whose mouth has issued the Goddess, the sacred stream of All Speech".

## A. REASONS FOR SUBMITTING THIS NOTE AS A MINORITY REPORT

I have affixed my signature to the Report as a participant in the work of the Commission merely as a matter of form, and my signing it has been subject to this Note which may be taken as a Minority Report.

I regret I cannot accept many of the Conclusions and Recommendations as presented in the Report. I feel sad that after so many months of labour I should find myself differing from most of my colleagues in such a vital matter as the Official Language of the Union and its implementation by making such recommendations to the President as will ultimately conduce to the well-being of the Indian Nation. The Chairman and my other colleagues in the Commission have all of them evinced an earnest desire and a sincere concern to do their duty in the best interests of the country. The Commission did an enormous amount of work in getting and sifting evidence and opinion, and I cannot claim to have obtained more facts along the line of enquiry and investigation followed. But in the light of recent happenings and trends of events in India, since the Commission started its work, my point of view has become very different, and consequently my reading of the nature of the linguistic situation and the linguistic problems has unfortunately been profoundly modified in many matters from that finally presented in the Report. I must say that I presented my point of view (along with the points of view presented by other members) before the Commission came to its final conclusions, but my views and suggestions were generally not found acceptable by most of my colleagues, after they had considered them. I would therefore from this basic difference now arrived at prescribe other measures and suggest other recommendations. Those who will have finally to decide the issue should also be informed about the other points of view with regard to the problem and the measures to be followed. This is why I am feeling constrained to present this Note, as a Note of Dissent or as a Minority Report; otherwise I shall be failing in my duty as a Member of the Commission.

I cannot help feeling that the Report is simply trying to suggest certain programmes and lines of procedure from the Centre, without a close consideration either of the general situation in India in the sphere of language or of future reactions and repercussions among large sections of our people. It is also seeking to place as something conclusive before the non-Hindi peoples of India that it will be both an act of patriotic duty and an urgent ~~and~~ necessary reform to replace English by Hindi as quickly as possible, and to take in Hindi to saturation in their judicial and administrative bases, in their educational set up, and consequently even in their most intimate being.

The provisions in the Constitution regarding the use of Hindi as the Official Language of the Union in certain contexts have been

extended in the Report in a manner which will bring about a total revolution in our Education, in the Administration of Law and Justice, in the Central Legislature, and in the Public Services, a revolution which many do not think to be desirable in the best interests of India in her present situation. If the recommendations are sought to be implemented from the Centre, it will bring about immediate chaos in our public life as a whole. It will mean for non-Hindi peoples the starting of a progressive imposition of Hindi in most spheres of life. The Report has been prepared on the assumption (on the basis of the present Constitution, of course) that Hindi has been already voluntarily accepted by the whole of India, that non-Hindi peoples are as much eager for its use in most spheres of our All-India affairs as speakers of Hindi, and that it will be something anti-national not to try to replace English in the entire administrative, legal and political frame of India, and largely in the educational cadre also. The entire outlook is that of the Hindi-speakers in the Indian Union, who alone are to profit immediately, and for a long time to come, if not forever. I fear that in the entire report there is very little evidence of an attempt to understand the feelings and the intellectual approach of the non-Hindi speaking peoples for their own languages, and also for English (as it is sincerely regarded by them to be the most necessary thing for the development of science and letters in India, for the preservation of the Unity of India, and for the maintenance of the pre-eminence of India in the modern world). The attitude is far from democratic—it is just a case of imposition of one kind of mentality over the rest, as the only natural and at the same time politically sound mentality for the whole of India. The fact that India is a polyglot country where people have now become or are becoming aggressively proud of their own languages is ignored. A particular language has been sought to be given priority over everything else in our national life. As it strikes us, Uniformity through Hindi is sought to be brought about as quickly as possible, even at the risk of jeopardising the Unity of India through the English language.

The Recommendations will, in my opinion, bring about the immediate creation, without intending to do so, of Two Classes of Citizens in India—Class I Citizens with Hindi as their language, obtaining an immense amount of special privileges by virtue of their language only, and Class II Citizens who will be suffering from permanent disabilities by reason also of their language. This is bound to be the situation so long as non-Hindi speakers like the Assam, Bengal, Orissa, Andhra, Madras, Maharashtra and other peoples do not acquire a command over Hindi which can compare favorably with that of those persons who have Hindi as their only language of education, either along with or to the exclusion of English. As the Government of Kashmir has said in its Reply to the Commission's *Questionnaire*: "The residents of non-Hindi speaking areas will be at a considerable, even more or less a permanent disadvantage compared to persons from Hindi areas if English is replaced by Hindi as the medium of the Union Public Service Commission Examinations". Elsewhere it says: "It is difficult to foresee how fast non-Hindi speaking peoples can take to Hindi so as to possess equal competitive ability". With English as a neutral language affecting all equally, and as the liaison language not only between India and

the World but also among the various linguistic areas and States within India, it was a question of no special favour for any language at the expense of the rest. Now the Indian public as a whole (from the South, North, West and East) must pay for the development of Hindi, which as yet has no intellectual significance or value for the rest of India. It must pay not only in money but also, as people in non-Hindi areas feel, in a huge waste of time and energy and temper in trying to acquire and master a language not yet distinguished in any way above their own, and a language which is still in the making. Whatever concern or solicitude or good will might be outwardly shown for them, the languages of India other than Hindi will ultimately come, as a result of these far-reaching Recommendations, to have but a secondary position even in their own areas. That is an eventuality which cannot be gladly accepted by their speakers. They will feel that most of the Recommendations, particularly under Education and Public Services Examinations, and the Administration of Justice, consciously or unconsciously will bring about a fastening of the tentacles of Hindi on the public life and culture of the non-Hindi peoples in a manner which will make them helpless for ever.

The Recommendations appear to ignore the consequences which may result from them. The Report evinces a subdued but desperate haste to bring in Hindi for the whole of India: 1965 still remains with the Report a target date, although it ruefully admits that "it has not been possible for us to furnish a regular time-table by dates and stages as to how Hindi should be introduced into the business of the Union so as to accomplish the general change-over within the period fixed by the Constitution". I submit the situation now is hardly ripe for bringing in this revolutionary change-over in Indian affairs, while Hindi is not yet ready on the one hand, and the non-Hindi peoples too are not ready either on their part. As one who has devoted over 40 years of his life to the study and teaching of Indian Linguistics and to the consideration of linguistic problems, I am definitely of opinion that the linguistic question is not at all so very urgent for India, as many persons, ardent patriots most of them, seem to think. I therefore cannot be a party to the Recommendations suggested in the Report; nor can I accept the views and arguments and conclusions set forth in it.

I do not say anything without knowledge and experience and thought. I have been advocating the use of Hindi as one of the official languages of India (side by side with English) for quite a long period. But I have always insisted upon the retention of English in our higher education, and law and administration, pending the time that Hindi and other Indian languages would be able to take over from English. The use of Hindi I have suggested for "decorative purposes", in the first instance, and then, if suitable, for inter-provincial communication; but never to the complete exclusion of the regional languages and English. I wanted people in non-Hindi States *voluntarily* to learn Hindi, just as I have always advocated Hindi-speaking students learning one other language of Modern India. I have been actively occupied in propagating Hindi among Bengali people on a voluntary basis, and for over a decade I have been President of the West Bengal Branch of the *Rashtra-Bhasha Prachar Samiti* of Wardha. For this, I was misunderstood by my

Bengali-speaking friends, and I came in for a good deal of uninformed criticism, even abuse, for supporting, as they thought, Hindi as against Bengali. I remain a confirmed advocate of the Roman script for all Indian languages, and I feel certain that in our own interest sooner or later we shall do what I consider to be a most sensible thing—*viz.*, adopt a modified Roman alphabet for all our Indian languages. I occasionally write in Hindi—I have four books in Hindi, besides a number of articles. I have intimate friends among writers and scholars of Hindi everywhere. One of my books obtained from the U.P. Government one of its highest prizes—this is my *Bharatiya Arya-Bhasha Aur Hindi.* For another book (on the Rajasthani Language) I received from the *Hindi Sahitya Sammelan* the Ratnakar Prize as the best book in Hindi on a liguistic subject for the year of its award. I have been made an Honorary Member of the *Nagari Pracharini Sabha* of Banaras, and the *Hindi Sahitya Sammelan* gave me the title of *Sahitya-Vachaspati* for my services to Hindi. In 1948 at an International Conference of Linguistic Scholars in Paris, as a member of the Permanent International Council of Linguists (CIPL), I had suggested that as the third language of the world in point of numbers speaking or understanding it, and as the representative language of Modern India, Hindi should be recognised as one of the official languages of the United Nations Organisation (UNO), taking its place beside English, French, Spanish, Russian and Chinese. I have a great love for Hindi, not, of course, to the exclusion of Bengali and English and Sanskrit, but as a great and a growing language, which, when voluntarily accepted, will be a most desirable thing for the whole of India. Thus I welcome the way in which Hindi is being given a prominent place in the facade of our All-India national life, side by side with English, and with the regional languages in our non-Hindi States (*e.g.* in public sign-boards and notices as in the railway and the post office, and in the state documents with a foreign context), as this will help people all over the country to familiarise themselves with Hindi and induce them to be drawn favourably to it as a great Symbol and Bond of Union for our United States of India.

With all this background, I feel that the direction that recent events have been taking in India, after the Commission started to function, makes it imperatively necessary, to keep intact our most precious heritage of Indian Unity, to revise our views about the extent to which we should push Hindi and the speed with which we should try to make it the *Rashtra-Bhasha,* or State or Official Language of India, and to reorient our official attitude towards both Hindi and English (particularly in the Centre and the Hindi States, and among Congress circles). I honestly feel that I am seeing an incipient "Hindi Imperialism", which will be all the more anti-national as Hindi has not yet acquired any pre-eminence over the other languages of India except its weight of numbers. The cultured intelligentsia in the Hindi States are of course generally free from it, and some of them have shown the greatest concern over it. But the half-educated and uneducated people are bound to have a different reaction, and it is the common men—the masses—who really count in a matter like this, where a universal attitude of understanding and tolerance is so very vital. The Hindi-speaking people, like all human beings, are not free from Linguism, and their expectations have been

raised very high. This is also my conviction, after careful observation and thinking, that the relegation of English to a secondary place in our education and public life will ultimately not be for the good of the country. Hence I beg to differ from the findings and recommendations of the Commission's Report.

What I consider just and proper I am stating below in my proposals for Recommendations to the President. I am also giving in brief my reasons for making these proposals. They should be before the Governments, the Legislatures and the People, in all the parts of the Country. It is only in this way that more points of view than one may be considered by persons who deal with the destiny of the people.

## B. THE RECOMMENDATIONS

Following the terms of reference indicating "the duty of the Commission to make recommendations to the President" on the five items mentioned in Article 344 of the Constitution of India, while having "due regard to the industrial, cultural and scientific advancement of India and the just claims and interests of persons belonging to non-Hindi speaking areas in regard to public services"—

I beg respectfully to make the following Recommendations to the President:

(a) Considering that the Hindi-speaking people will have a natural and permanent advantage over non-Hindi speakers, if Hindi, which is the regional language and mother-tongue of the former, comes to be used for all the official purposes of the Union; and that as a consequence India will have a privileged class of Hindi-speakers in all the departments of public life and administration;

Considering also the fact that as an immediate consequence the fundamental rights of the non-Hindi speakers in the matter of their language are sure to be profoundly affected both in a pan-Indian setting as well as within their States;

Considering further that the present political situation in the various States of India is at present quite abnormal and full of ferment through the working of linguistic and territorial jealousies and oppositions, and is not in the least propitious for any far-reaching change which may be taken to affect or modify the linguistic and other rights of various sections of the Indian people, particularly when they are outside of the Hindi orbit;

the question of the progressive use of the Hindi language for the official purposes of the Union be kept in abeyance for the time being, as it may otherwise bring in other grave complications unnecessarily within the Union; and the Committee to be appointed under Section (4) of Article 344 of the Constitution be also directed to take cognizance of the situation in the country regarding the progress of education, administrative efficiency and the wishes of the non-Hindi speaking peoples of India in this connexion, while making their recommendations. The President is also respectfully

requested to give due weight to the altered situation in the country in the above matters before issuing any directions in accordance with the Report.

(b) The restrictions on the use of the English language for all or any of the official purposes of the Union, in the interests of Indian Unity and Harmony, Efficiency in Administration, and Advancement of the Indian People in Science and Technology as well as in the Humanities, similarly for the time being be kept in abeyance, and the same procedure be followed in the Committee as under section (4) of Article 344 as for Item (a) above.

The Items (a) and (b) should be considered as two aspects of the same proposition.

(c) For the present, for all the purposes mentioned in Article 348 of the Constitution, the use of the English language be continued as now, and the States be given the fullest liberty to use English, with translations in the regional language as and when necessary—Hindi as an Indian language being optionally used in non-Hindi States as a symbol of Indian Unity, for certain set and formal purposes, with a translation in English and/or the regional language as required.

(d) The international forms of the Indian numerals which have been once accepted for the convenience of the whole of India not only for easy communication but also for scientific purposes, be retained in pan-Indian Hindi. But for Hindi as a regional language, the Hindi forms of the numerals may be continued, subject to the use of international numerals side by side or alternatively.

(e) A language cannot be developed to order, and the preparation of a time-schedule before a language is actually developed will be futile and exasperating because it is impossible of achievement. As Sri K. M. Munshi has pertinently observed: "Unless Hindi becomes in some measure a powerful instrument of expression in the hands of the educated men, it cannot replace English as a language of power". The mind of the people must be first modernised, and sufficiently advanced in both science and culture, before its language can become an adequate vehicle for the expression of the mentality of a modern and progressive people, in politics as much as in other departments of life.

It will finally rest with the different States using their own regional languages to decide, after Hindi has been voluntarily adopted by them and a knowledge of it has spread among their intelligentsia, to what extent Hindi can be used for communication between the Union and the State Governments and between one State Government and another.

I would therefore recommend that for the time being the idea of having a definite time schedule for the above purpose be kept in abeyance (as the Majority Report also has suggested), and that we concentrate now on the spread of Hindi in non-Hindi States largely through voluntary effort on the part of the States themselves, and that Hindi be developed as a suitable medium for acquiring exact

and creative knowledge through the exertions of the Hindi-speaking peoples and the Hindi-using States.

I recommend further in this connexion that with a view to make the whole of India take up the idea of having an Indian language as the symbol of Indian Unity (and we should not forget the overwhelming claims of Sanskrit in this matter), the study of Hindi should be fostered and encouraged by each non-Hindi State, even though its study at present has not much cultural and intellectual value for non-Hindi speakers. In this connexion, making one of the Modern Indian Languages (other than Hindi or Urdu) a compulsory subject of study for Hindi-speaking areas will be a very helpful gesture of voluntary reciprocity which will largely conduce to inter-lingual understanding. This will also strengthen the pan-Indian Unity which already exists through English, and exists also to some extent both through Sanskrit and Bazar Hindustani (the latter mainly among Aryan-speaking urban people in North India).

The reasons and arguments for making the above Recommendations are stated below.

## C. REASONS AND ARGUMENTS

### (i) Some Primary Considerations.

These Recommendations are made, according to my lights, in the best interest of the people of India. In making them, the approach has been realistic and practical and not idealistic and sentimental. It is necessary to go into the question of the difficulties that are cropping up in the way of the establishment of Hindi in all spheres in the place of English, and one has also to consider the rival claims of the various regional languages which are now becoming established for administrative, educational and other purposes in the various non-Hindi States. The circumstances in which Hindi was adopted by the Constituent Assembly, in spite of a nearly 50 per cent opposition to this adoption, are also to be reviewed. The present development of Linguism or Linguistic Intolerance which has become, during the last few years (and particularly during the last few months), such an ugly phenomenon and such a disconcerting problem in Indian public life, striking at the very root of Indian Unity, should also be dispassionately considered.

In a language policy for India, or for any other country where there are current numerous languages, we should have five primary objectives:

(i) Maintenance of National Unity;

(ii) Maintenance of Efficiency of Administration;

(iii) Advancement of Knowledge among all sections of the people;

(iv) Maintenance of Equal Opportunities for all Citizens, without giving special privileges to any particular group; and

(v) Preserving India's Self-respect as an Independent People.

India is a polyglot and multi-religious nation, and the fundamental necessity for India to exist as a nation is the preservation and strengthening of the Unity that underlies her Diversity in Language and Religion. A particular language can have a value in India's corporate life as a whole in so far as it tends to promote and strengthen that Unity.

### (ii) How Hindi came to find a place in the Constitution as the Official Language of India.

Hindi was selected, out of the 14 main languages of the country as enumerated in the 8th schedule of the Constitution, by the Constituent Assembly of India and not by a Parliament consisting of properly elected representatives of the people. People in non-Hindi areas agreed to accept Hindi, some with enthusiasm and others with doubt and misgivings, mainly because they had an uneasy feeling that India lacked that linguistic unity which was thought to be so vital for a free people. It was thought desirable that as a free nation, India should set up an Indian language as a symbol of her national unity and give it the status of an official language. The situation has changed since the passing of the Constitution, specially in West Bengal and in Madras, where large sections of the people would like to keep English as the Official Language of India both because of their love for their own languages which have benefited through English and also for reasons of Indian Unity. The advisability or feasibility of having more than one language (three as in the case of Switzerland, for example) as official languages for a vast country like India was not seriously taken up at the time. We were so very much accustomed to the naturalness and convenience of English as the common speech of higher education and administration in India and as a unifying factor bringing close to each other (first in the consciousness of the intelligentsia and then in that of the people in general) the various linguistic groups of India that we could never think of the inconvenience of a multiplicity of languages in place of English. Then we could not even dream of the possibility of any future linguistic exclusiveness and conflict joining forces with latent regionalism and fissiparous tendencies. Hindi or Hindustani replacing English, we then thought, would be as simple as changing one garment for another. Hindi was chosen also because it was the most widely understood language of North India, which had also penetrated into the South with groups of settlers from the North (though it could not spread among the masses there, except to some extent in Hyderabad, for which there were political reasons). We had just made ourselves free from the British yoke after two generations of intensive struggle, and dislike of foreign rule had in many quarters coloured our attitude towards the foreigner's language. An inherent orthodoxy connected with religion also strengthened this attitude of exclusiveness. Also most patriotic people thought that it was incompatible with the self-respect of the nation to continue the foreigner's language in its administration. The selection of Hindi was further hastened by the fact that its Indian script, the Nagari (which has become the accepted All-India script for Sanskrit during the last 100 years mainly as a result of British influences working through the Universities), and its Sanskrit words, seemed to focus the Indian national sentiments as against the

forces which led to the disruption of India into India and Pakistan. Hindi also became, for many people, the symbol of Hindu religious orthodoxy, both in North India and elsewhere, just as Urdu was associated with an Islamic background. This attitude however was deplored and sought to be counteracted by Mahatma Gandhi himself.

Thus, in an atmosphere of both success and frustration, of elation and apprehension, and of hope and fear, and very largely at the importunacy of the North-Indian Hindi-speaking members of the Congress Party, that Hindi was given the place in the Constitution of India as the *Official Language of the Indian Union,* with English as an alternative which was to be gradually restricted in stages (also envisaged in the Constitution) and ultimately to be eliminated from the public life of India.

### (iii) The Present Position of Hindi with the backgrounds of (a) Indian Political Ideals, and (b) the Rising Tide of Linguism.

The trend of events in India, particularly during the last few years after Independence, has given rise to anxious thoughts for the future in the minds of Indian leaders and statesmen who are alive to the realities of the situation, both at home and abroad, and who have a wide vision which goes beyond the horizon of regionalism and sectarianism. During these 8 years attempts have been made, and are being made to prepare Hindi, from its position as one of the ordinary languages of the Indian Union (although used and understood in its numerous ungrammatical forms by a good percentage of the people of North India) to that of "the first among equals" among the languages of India. It was thought that with the support of the State and the exertions of the people both within and outside the Hindi area, Hindi could easily be transformed into a fit and proper vehicle which will adequately express both the composite culture of India and the requirements of modern life in science and technology, and thought and literature. Attempts have also been made to spread the knowledge of Hindi in the non-Hindi areas. To develop or support the growth of Hindi as an expressive Modern Speech and to diffuse its knowledge, considerable sums of money have been spent and are being spent by the Centre, and also by some of the States.

In the meanwhile, from the press and platform an atmosphere has been created that Hindi is to be regarded as one of the pillars (if not the very pivot) of Indian Nationalism. People of those States where Hindi has already been adopted as the language of education, of public life and of literature have enthusiastically supported this idea. There has been nevertheless persistent objections and protests from most of the non-Hindi areas, and from leaders in the domain of education and public life—protests which are not always audible in the midst of the loud voice of official approval from the Centre and from the Hindi-using States. Many good people, particularly in the Hindi areas, have now persuaded themselves to the belief that promoting the free and unfettered expansion of Hindi all over India is the bounden duty of all Indian citizens, no matter whatever language they may speak; and that any opposition or even expression of opinion to the contrary, suggesting the

advisability of retaining English (even on the part of persons speaking other languages and who have not accepted Hindi) is considered to be tantamount to treason against the State. There has been a rather quick crystallisation of this attitude among some of the intelligentsia in the Hindi-using areas, in spite of some sincere protest against it by a number of liberal-minded educationists, businessmen and industrialists, politicians and political leaders. This attitude, which is manifesting itself of late as a militant linguistic Chauvinism in certain Hindi areas, is creating a considerable amount of misgiving and opposition among speakers of languages other than Hindi—including persons who have been active and ardent supporters of Hindi, and whose strong and reasoned advocacy of Hindi has won the approbation of even the Hindi-speaking people.

But a statement of our conception of an official language and our implementation of it is now being felt to be necessary, particularly from the side of the non-Hindi peoples, for the above-mentioned and various other reasons. The foremost among these reasons as stated before are: Maintaining the Unity of India; Preserving the Efficiency of Administration; Ensuring the Intellectual Advancement of the Indian People; and Ensuring Equal Rights for all citizens in State Services without permitting special privileges to one group; while at the same time Preserving India's Self-respect in the Comity of Nations.

The theoretical acceptance of Hindi in the Constitution in 1948, whether it was enthusiastic or just formal, was thought to be something very simple. Now we are face to face with the stark realities of the situation. After the move in the Centre and in the Hindi-using States to establish Hindi, a move which is becoming more and more insistent, the *Linguistic Problem,* which until now was never one of much practical importance or urgency in our country, has been made to assume (at least in certain quarters) a very great importance. It has taken the form of rivalry between Hindi (as a regional language in Hindi-speaking States) and the Regional Languages of the non-Hindi States; between the Regional Languages and English; and between English and Hindi (Hindi both as a Regional Language and as the proposed Official Language); and the attitude to the last aspect of the problem is different in non-Hindi States from that in Hindi States. Many matters of prime importance which we never thought of in our unthinking though optimistic enthusiasm are now presenting themselves; and these now appear even to jeopardise both the basic unity of India and her intellectual pre-eminence, and are threatening to lower administrative efficiency.

Men are actuated by sentiment and passion rather than by good sense, and the atmosphere in the mind of Indian peoples at the present moment, as in the case of most other peoples in the world, is more propitious to the flight of sentiment rather than the flow of reason. The most disconcerting thing that we can think of for Indian Unity and Solidarity is the emergence of an ardent and passionate Linguism and Linguistic Chauvinism in the different linguistic areas of India, the Hindi area included.

This is the direct result of the move to replace English by Hindi and to give to Hindi a position of privilege in the non-Hindi areas.

In this connexion the observations of Sri K. M. Munshi may be quoted:

"Movements are afoot to eliminate English rapidly from several spheres of life; Hindi cannot take its place with equal speed; the vacuum is being filled by regional languages. By an over-enthusiastic effort at removing English from its place, Hindi has not gained; it has lost. Nationalism is suffering an eclipse. Regional consciousness is growing.

"Though to the ordinary mind the elimination of English appears to be a highly patriotic performance, our greatest danger to-day is militant regional linguism. It fosters the love of one's regional pride and aggressiveness. It creates a psychological barrier between 'my' people who speak 'my' language in a region and the 'other' people who speak the 'other' language. This linguistic Balkanization of India is bringing serious consequences in its wake".

Our leaders in the Congress never anticipated the present situation when for all these years they have fostered and propagated the idea of India being a Federation or Union of a number of decentralised States which were distinct from each other linguistically. The implications from this ideology might have been dimly perceived but were not at all fully anticipated and understood. Occasional warnings and protests were not strong and categorical enough. The concept of Linguistic Minority *Nations* (not Linguistic Minority *Groups* within a Single Nation) which is officially proclaimed in Communist countries has indirectly or directly been strengthening the latent tendencies along this line.

(iv) **Linguistic Intolerance, a New Menace for the Unity of India.**

The people of India, in their history, just as in most of the other parts of the world, were never particularly intolerant or exclusive in their language-consciousness. There was a general and unrestricted acceptance of Sanskrit in ancient and mediaeval India, like Latin being accepted in pre-Reformation Europe, as the language of religion as well as culture. At the end of the first millennium A.D., *i.e.* after 1000 A.D. when the present New or Modern Indo-Aryan languages of North India had taken shape and when the great cultivated Dravidian languages of the South entered into what may be called the second stage of their history and intensified literary life, a legitimate pride in their speech came to be observed in some linguistic areas. But that was never an intransigent or exclusive or intolerant attitude, unlike the form this intolerant attitude is now taking in some quarters of India and for which the English word 'Linguism' is being applied.

Previous happenings in Hyderabad State before our Independence (when Urdu, the language of a mere 11 per cent. of the population, was forced upon the people of the State not only in public life but also in higher education) met with very little protest, as we did

not understand the realities of the situation there. After Independence, provincial rivalries and jealousies were becoming concentrated through language as its chief medium. Happenings in some of the Indian States did not perturb the Central Administration. Already there was manifest some want of sympathy for the languages of the minorities in some of the States, although this was not yet as bad as positive intolerance. But linguistic minorities were not always getting a square deal in the matter of their languages in schools and colleges within particular States. But matters were brought to a head when the principle of Linguistic States was adopted, and then only half-heartedly applied in certain instances. The safeguards recommended for linguistic minorities by the States Reorganisation Commission were not given proper attention. The result has been an outburst of what may be condemned as Linguistic Fanaticism which has become something as anti-national and anti-social as Religious Fanaticism. Quite a number of responsible persons in the Hindi-speaking States, too, are not free from it. This has made our leaders nervous, particularly after certain anti-social happenings took place in many of the States arising directly out of the States Reorganisation Commission's Recommendations. We have raised a Frankenstein, and we are now recoiling in front of it. The *Jinn* has been let out from the jar in which it was imprisoned, and it now refuses to go inside it once again.

Hindi has been proposed as the *Official Language of India,* and its supporters everywhere go much further than that. They describe it as the *National Language of India.* Some wish to rename Hindi as "Bharati", *the Language par excellence of India.* Some even have started a slogan like this: "Hind, Hindu and Hindi, these three are one". Our Prime Minister has again and again reiterated his view that *India has not one but fourteen national languages*—he does not give any special pre-eminence to Hindi as a language over the rest, and rightly too. Now that people in non-Hindi areas are faced with the task of learning Hindi with the idea of making it replace English, and they are being politely asked to help in the development of Hindi as something of a sacred duty, they are naturally getting anxious and nervous, and are reviewing their attitude towards Hindi.

### (v) Hindi (Khariboli) as a Language of Modern India: A Retrospect.

People outside the Hindi orbit feel that Hindi is not yet a fully developed language which can take the place of English. Even the most ardent supporters of Hindi in Hindi areas are alive to its manifold deficiencies as an effective medium of expression. In the matter of its higher vocabulary it has not as yet come to have a consistent policy which is universally supported by all of its speakers. Three or four conflicting tendencies, each with strong supporters, are hampering its development, and most other Indian languages are free from this conflict of ideals. Its development certainly has not been superior to that of the advanced languages of India. Speakers of some of these advanced Modern languages of India who have essayed to learn Hindi have also a feeling that in some cases their own languages are superior to Hindi as a means of expression. We have of course to discount the personal factor in such an attitude, but the feeling is there.

Hindi itself is one of the youngest languages of India—of course *Khariboli Hindi* of prose, which features in the Constitution as the *Official Language* and aspires even to be the National Language of India. The scientific linguistic aspect of the question need not be gone into in detail in the present context. The fact remains that prior to 1850 there was very little of what may be described as *Khariboli Hindi*. This Hindi was still at the cross-roads during the second and third quarters of the last century. During this period, a rather halting means of expression was being created on the basis of Urdu, with a Sanskrit vocabulary (including a number of palpable misuses and solecisms) largely taken over from Bengali. With the development of the Arya Samaj Movement in the Panjab and Uttar Pradesh, and the sentimental as well as political regard for Hindi which had manifested itself in Bengal, Hindi entered into a stage of contest with Urdu. This contest is not yet over, in spite of the creation of Pakistan, for which this was one of the vital issues. *Khariboli Hindi* was gradually established as a fairly expressive vehicle during the fourth quarter of the last century, finally taking its place beside the other languages like Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi, Oriya, Assamese, Tamil and the rest; and some Hindi-knowing scholars from among Gujaratis, Bengalis and Panjabis as well as English-educated people of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar and Rajasthan (generally with an Urdu background) took part in this work.

With the foundation of the *Nagari Pracharini Sabha* at Banaras over 60 years ago, the people of North India—the present-day *Hindi Sansar* or *Hindi World*—became Hindi-conscious. Bengal politicians during the Swadeshi Movement days (first decade of this century) gave it some impetus. And, above all, it was Mahatma Gandhi, from the Non-Cooperation days, who was responsible for bringing Hindi to its present pre-eminence in our political life, particularly in North India. Right up to the twenties of this century, *Khariboli Hindi* was just a straggling camp-follower in the march of Indian literary languages. *Khariboli Hindi* in the meanwhile had affiliated to itself the numerous literatures written in four or five different kinds of speech, which, linguistically considered, are real *languages* and not *dialects*, like Rajasthani, Kosali or Awadhi, and Bhojpuri, and even Maithili, which last has been added to the Hindi orbit during the last two generations. (The question however, is different for Braj-Bhasha and other allied dialects of *Western Hindi*, which naturally found in the *Khariboli* or Standard Speech of Delhi a convenient literary form, first in prose and then in poetry too, suitable for the changing modern times).

As a matter of fact, people in North India, speaking various languages and dialects, had so far cultivated only a little poetry in these, and for practical every-day as well as official purposes when they had need of prose they had from the beginning of the 19th century largely adopted Urdu (barring a little epistolary prose in their own home-speeches). The Middle and High English Schools, teaching Urdu while preparing boys for the administrative services or the legal, engineering and medical professions, have been (after the Courts of Law) the most important factor in making Urdu generally accepted all over the Panjab, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar during the greater part of the last century. When the sentiment for

the Nagari script and the vocabulary of Sanskrit developed, as the immediate result of a Hindu or Indian Nationalism, and the Nagari script also became admitted by the British Government in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, one could think of passing on from Urdu to this rising young speech Hindi. Gradually Hindi journalism came into being. Hindi prose, being in this way ready at hand, therefore supplied a need in the school. The speakers of the various languages and dialects, so long as the new tradition of Khariboli poetry did not develop, were in the peculiar position of using one kind of language (the Khariboli) for prose, while reading or composing poetry in Braj-Bhasha or Awadhi, Rajasthani or Maithili. In this way a very young language, *viz.* Khariboli Hindi, came into being. It took up the mantle of Hindustani or Urdu as a "Palaver Speech", understood in its various ungrammatical "Bazar" forms in the towns of North India as a legacy of the Moguls, and became a sort of a rival common speech for North India, from Panjab to Bihar, being eagerly welcome, as was natural, by the town-dwelling Hindus. Hindustani or Urdu, which had developed in Delhi from 1740 onwards, had previous to that spread already over the greater part of Northern India in the towns. The Muslim aristrocracy and ruling classes and their Kayastha and other Hindu associates had strong cultural and administrative ties with the Delhi Court and the Delhi *élite*, and Urdu had become generally accepted as a standard form of speech. Urdu prepared the ground, and Khariboli Hindi had no difficulty in stepping into its shoes, particularly in Eastern Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Bharat and Madhya Pradesh. With its Indian system of writing the Nagari and its natural leaning towards Sanskrit in which it sought to emulate the earlier Braj, Awadhi and Maithili literatures as well as the growing prose literature of Modern Bengali, Khariboli Hindi met the emotional and cultural needs of North Indian Hindu revivalism. It immediately received the enthusiastic homage of a large percentage of Hindus, not only of those not attuned to the Perso-Arabic script and the Perso-Arabic vocabulary of Urdu, but also of persons who had made Persian and Urdu their own but who wished to come back within the fold of Sanskrit culture. For them both, Sanskritised Hindi in the Nagari script was the most convenient medium which could be set up as a literary language.

The situation was like this: North Indian peoples speaking different languages like Braj-Bhasha, Awadhi, Bhojpuri, Rajasthani, Garhwali, etc. took to Urdu (wherever English Schools began first to function) and then to Khariboli Hindi, as their own speeches had not developed a prose style—they took up what was presented to them by the modern schools in the towns. Now they have persuaded themselves that because they speak and write Khariboli as the language of the school, they are a "Hindi-speaking people" and their home languages are just "dialects of Hindi". Virtually, they are suppressing their home languages, the real mother-tongues, in favour of Hindi, which belongs properly to Western Uttar Pradesh and Eastern Panjab and parts of Madhya Bharat, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. Such people who are really hyphenated in their language, using one language (not always a dialect) at home and another in their school and college, in their literature and in their public life, generally cannot have an idea of the passionate love which speakers

of Bengali, Oriya, Assamese, Gujarati and Marathi, and of the great Dravidian languages, now feel for their mother-tongues. Protests against this attitude are not wanting. Witness the movement (half-hearted and not generally supported) for *Vikendrikarana* or *Decentralisation* started by Rahula Sankrityayana and Banarasidas Chaturvedi and others, to set up the so-called *dialects of Hindi as independent literary languages*, and the movements which have started from within for re-establishing Rajasthani (Marwari), Maithili, and even Bhojpuri and Magahi, Chattisgarhi and Awadhi as literary languages outside of the Khariboli Hindi.

A peculiar thing about Khariboli Hindi is that those who speak or use it as an inheritance, having this language (or dialects closely allied to it) as the language of the home, have for the last 250 years shown a decided preference for Perso-Arabic words, and now do not feel happy over the highly Sanskritised Hindi which is being proposed as the pan-Indian Official Language acceptable to the non-Hindi areas. Those who habitually speak other speeches at home like Rajasthani, Awadhi, Bagheli, Bhojpuri and even Maithili and Central Pahari, are now taking a hand at language-making in Khariboli Hindi, frequently possessing neither the true Hindi (*i.e.* Western Hindi) inheritance nor the Sanskrit tradition. This peculiar situation has strong repercussions on the free and natural development of Hindi: its native speakers go one way, and those who have adopted it go another way. The result is largely a linguistic chaos, which is now being sought to be passed on to the rest of India as a Harmony of Contrasts, and as the Official as well as the National Language of India in the making, to supplant English and possibly also to restrict the free use of the other languages. People who possess as their mother-tongues well-formed languages with a continuous literary history of over a thousand years and more, like Bengali, Assamese, Oriya, Marathi, Gujarati, Telugu, Tamil and Kannada, and even Panjabi and Maithili, feel very diffident about accepting this new creation, particularly when by direct and indirect means it is attempted to be forced upon them.

This is the background of Hindi. Naturally its literary output at the present day cannot be said to be superior to what we find in the other important languages of India. Its modern literature is growing no doubt, and shows as can be expected a modicum of criticism of life in the form of prose fiction and short stories, and also poetry. It must be mentioned, however, that it has got by now some very fine original books in History and Philosophy, Travel and Criticism. There is very little of scientific literature in it, naturally enough. But Hindi, or for the matter of that even Urdu, which, in spite of its high percentage of Persian and Perso-Arabic words, is admittedly racier of the soil so far as Western Uttar Pradesh, its native home, is concerned, has as yet very little cultural or intellectual importance for speakers of Tamil or Gujarati, Bengali or Telugu, Oriya or Kannada. It is different matter with some great religious poems in Old Awadhi, Old Braj or Old Rajasthani, like Tulsidasa's Ramayana, Suradasa's Lyrics, and Mira Bai's Devotional Poems. In front of English, with its vast literature both of information and of power, Hindi cannot claim any precedence. In the intellectual development of an Indian, an acquaintance with

English and its literature will be undoubtedly a much more valuable asset than a knowledge of Hindi.

**(vi) India and the English Language**

One could write quite a volume on the importance of English in the modern world and in India. English is universally acknowledged to be the window through which we can have air and light from outside. In our University life English is to continue for a long, long period as an indispensable language, not merely for just a few years to come. It would be quite idle to set a time-limit in a matter like this as it has been sought to be done, *e.g.*, in the Indian Constitution. Such a move will be quite useless and even retrograde, so long as the present ideal for a single world culture is operating. Through English we can get not only intellectual but also *spiritual* pabulum from the whole of Humanity. It will be the ideal to bring the best to the largest number of people possible, and for that English presents itself before us as the most convenient medium. As the Government of Madras in formulating its language policy in education, making the mother-tongue Tamil and the cultural tongue English compulsory and leaving Hindi as optional, has put it: *English provides, and Hindi cannot provide direct access to creative modern thought.* This is a self-evident truth which neither requires support nor can it be refuted.

English, everybody admits, is not to be compulsorily studied by all the school-going children of India. But those who will be the intellectual leaders and will be directing the development of India must be in possession of this great instrument of modern intellectual life and culture which will help to bring them at par with the rest of the world. Such directing intelligentsia may not form even ½ per cent of the population. But they act as the necessary leaven for modernism and for progress as well as a judicious conservatism. For the masses and the ordinary people, there are the mother-tongues, which in all cases will benefit through their contact with English. This is the feeling which is present in the minds of most of the peoples in the non-Hindi areas, who form a sort of a ring to the East, South, South-West and North-West of the Hindi area.

Besides, we must not forget the tonical value for the mind of the discipline of a language like English, as one of the finest means of expression for all ideas, in any system of education. With the removal of English this will be denied to our students. The widespread intellectual deterioration which has come with the removal or restriction of this discipline is now an alarming fact in present day Indian education, whether at school or in college.

It is generally said that English education tends to bring about a spirit of separatism and aloofness from the masses. This might have been the case with a few misguided enthusiasts at the beginning (*e.g.* the "Young Bengal" students of the forties of the last century), but we shall be wanting in gratitude if we do not pay our homage to the English-knowing intelligentsia who have silently brought about the general intellectual uplift of the people as a whole, and have been the guides and directors of the national upsurge and leaders of the freedom movement. Higher culture always sharply divides

men. Sanskrit scholars had their sense of aloofness and superiority from the masses; and if and when Hindi becomes the language of the *élite* all over India, signs are not wanting that Hindi-knowing people will similarly feel and pose to be superior to the less favoured of their own groups who do not know Hindi. A superiority complex like this can be noted even now within the Hindi area. People who have acquired Khariboli Hindi at school and can speak some sort of it (frequently losing their grip over the language used at home) often take up a superior pose over those of their less fortunate fellow-citizens who cannot rise above the spoken dialect or patois. Blaming education through or in English for this kind of thing is hardly justified by facts, and is the result only of prejudice.

English is our Most Valuable Vehicle of Knowledge, and it is a great legacy we have received from Europe. Like the railway, the motor car, the telegraph, the television and other amenities of Modern Civilisation, the English language has been a powerful means of communication which helped to bring about the political (and even cultural) Unity of India as well as her recent pre-eminence in Science. As it has been said, if English rule was the cloud which had placed India under a shadow, the English language was the silver lining to this cloud. It helped to develop the latent qualities of our modern languages, by our best writers in the present age being generally also well-acquainted with English. I can speak particularly for Bengali; and I think it is similarly true of most of our other Modern Indian languages.

Some people in a spirit of exclusiveness say that English is poison. But most people in India, barring the ultra-orthodox, consider it to be a most wholesome and life-bringing food.

The English tradition in education and public life is a well-established thing, and it is an inheritance of the last 100 years which has done an immense good to India. Hindi has as yet to develop a tradition for the rest of India, and its own span of life is hardly 150 years old.

English has now almost become *the* common language of a World Civilisation. Now that India is free, and has greater and still greater contact with the outside world, the Indian people, particularly those who would be its leaders in public life, in education, in politics, in commerce and other matters, have much greater need for the English language. It is no longer the Englishman's property alone. It is not even merely the Anglo-American tongue. It is a language which is gradually becoming accepted everywhere as the most important vehicle for expression, understanding and intercommunication of thought among peoples. It is becoming the great highway for the transmission of ideas and methods. In Russia English is the first foreign language which is taught. In Indonesia, during the Dutch rule, the official languages were (1) Malay, and then (2) Dutch; now it is Malay, which has been raised to the position of the national language of Indonesia (as *Bahasa Indonesia*). But at the same time English is being taught compulsorily in high schools in Indonesia. In Japan it is more English than any other foreign language. In China, although Russian is being encouraged by the organisers of the Peoples' Republic of China, it is still English

which forms the most effective means of communication between the Chinese intelligentsia and the outside world, and still among Chinese of different and distant areas. The greater part of Black or African Africa (*i.e.* Africa South of the Sahara) is within the English orbit. In Egypt and Libya it is now more English than French. The whole of Latin America is also leaning towards English through the predominant influence of America in business and politics and culture. English is now very rapidly spreading on the Continent in Europe.

We shall have to retain English as the most effective means of acquiring knowledge. The access to this language should be kept open to all and sundry at a certain stage in our education. At the same time we shall go on developing our own languages—not Hindi alone—and using them wherever it will be necessary, whether in bringing education to the largest section of our people or in approaching the masses. What Rabindranath Tagore had suggested long ago, I am glad to find that that ideal is getting some support from the Report: *viz. Bifurcation of Education*—one course being meant for those who would not go in for higher studies and their education would be virtually confined to the mother-tongue (we fail to see the value of Hindi for such people who would mostly stay in their home States), while there will be another course with compulsory English beside the mother-tongue.

We want English, particularly people in the non-Hindi areas, because we love our own languages; and we want our languages to benefit to the fullest by the best minds of the peoples speaking them being provided with an easy access to the original sources of knowledge through English. Our initiation into Europeanism or Modernism through the English language has also been of the greatest help to us in making us firmly established in our National Heritage of Indianism. The English language has helped India to give to the world personalities like Ram Mohun Roy, Swami Vivekananda, Rabindranath Tagore, M. G. Ranade, Mahatma Gandhi, C. Rajagopalachariar, Bhagavan Das, Jawaharlal Nehru and S. Radhakrishnan as exponents of Indian culture and the Indian attitude to the world, in the background of a Universal Humanity. This has been also of the greatest service to us Indians as well. India's achievements in science after scientific studies were taken up by the Indian Universities were due fundamentally to our study of it through English, and because of this India has been enabled to have a galaxy of scientists with world-distinction like J. C. Bose, P. C. Ray, S. Ramanujan, Meghnad Saha, C. V. Raman, K. S. Krishnan, Birbal Sahni and others. In our national struggle for Independence, against English Imperialism, the Englishman's language, English, has been of supreme help to us and has furnished us with both the will to be free and the methods and means to achieve freedom. So long as we are using our own languages also, we need not feel ashamed to use English as a vehicle of knowledge and inter-communication, even though we are a free people.

As the English poet has said it:

"I could not love thee, dear, so much
Loved I not honour more,"

We could not love English and Sanskrit so much if we did not love our Bengali or Tamil or Marathi or Assamese more.

It is just a kind of narrow nationalism or patriotism in blinkers that would consider English as anti-Indian or anti-national. We have been, and shall continue to be, most intensely national and patriotic with English. English will enable us to be even more truly Indian, understanding and appreciating the bearings of our civilisation, than we would be able to become without this great vehicle of intellectualism—for that is what English has become for us: not only for us, but for quite a large part of Humanity.

It has to be noted here that an English Heritage and a tradition of Intellectualism through the medium of English, which still continue to be among the most precious possessions of India, was the creation very largely of the Indians themselves, beginning with a personality like Ram Mohun Roy, "the Father of Modern India". The English language was never imposed or forced upon the people of India. It was the Indians themselves who realised the value of English in the present age for themselves, and almost everywhere the desire to learn English came from the intellectual leaders of the people. Of course, the question of respectable jobs in the Government and in private service, and of independent lucrative and honourable lives in the professions, was there as an important incentive. But with the Indian pioneers of English education, the liberalising influence of English studies was a goal in itself. This gave the tone to the culture and mentality of Modern India, which aimed at the synthesis of the best and abiding elements in the heritages of both India and Europe.

A language becomes his who can acquire it and use it for his own benefit and that of his fellows. A great percentage of the present-day intelligentsia of India has made this fine vehicle of thought and science their own. Instead of throwing it away, we should cultivate it and make it more useful in our national well-being. There are hundreds of thousands of Indians who do not think that the use of English as a common language in the present age, with the historical circumstances and historical necessity in the background of India, will in any way be derogatory to the self-respect of India: and a great many of our foremost thought-leaders are of that opinion.

**(vii) Our English Heritage in India—its all-embracing Character.**

There is one point which most of our politicians and ardent linguistic nationalists clamouring for the removal of English fail to understand. The Indian intellectual, whether in North India or Bengal or Maharashtra or Tamil Nad, who wants to retain English in our education and in certain higher levels of our public life, does not do so out of a spirit of perversity, of "cussedness", or of denationalisation, or to perpetuate a class domination, or again out of a failure to appreciate his own national culture. He is on the other hand consciously or unconsciously, actuated by a very deep intellectual and humanistic idealism which sees in English the means to improve his inner being by finding easy access to the best and noblest thought and aesthetic expression of the entire world of Man, apart from the largest amount of positive scientific knowledge. There is behind this attitude a high sense of spiritual values which does

not conflict with the best that his own history or environment in India has given him, through, for example, Sanskrit, and the Mediaeval and Modern Indian Languages. This sense of intellectual-spiritual values is not the same as his emotional satisfaction which one can get through his mother-tongue, the language of his childhood. It can be described in one word as all-inclusive "Intellectual Hunger" of a new type, which has been engendered in the Indian mind through its contact with English; and this is the basis of the Indian Renaissance of the 19th and 20th centuries. Both *Yoga* and *Kshema* in our national culture—the addition of new things which are of value which is *Yoga*, and the preservation of things of abiding worth which is *Kshema*—our progressive as well as preservative mentality, have been fostered by this "Intellectual Hunger", which English has brought to us. The fact remains that Hindi or any other Indian Language cannot act as a substitute for English in meeting this "Intellectual Hunger", this urge of intellectual idealism and of a broader humanism, this craving of a basic spiritual exaltation which in a way makes more broad-based the universal truths that are in inherited religion. This is certainly one of the mainsprings from which the plea for the retention of English is being made by most of our top-ranking scientists (and there is never a true scientist who is devoid of idealism) and our great humanists as well as political leaders with vision, in our present-day India. These are our seers and sages, and we should pay respectful attention to their advice. The men of action must be guided by the men of thought and vision; then alone prosperity and success and happiness and an abiding policy, can be assured—as the *Gita* says:—

yatra yógéśvarah: Krcśnó, yatra Párthó dhanur-dharah:,
tatra śrír vijayó bhútir dhruvá nítir matir mama.

After the Commission concluded its work of taking evidence at Srinagar in Kashmir, it dawned upon some of us that perhaps we should have taken the evidence of some of the brilliant and better types of senior students from the various universities. The average rank and file among students, as far as I can see from my experience, would be quite passive about the medium of teaching and of examination and about compulsory English. The less clever and less serious students would vote for the mother-tongue. Laziness and incompetence would sometimes seek support from patriotism. But the better class of students, the intellectual type, those who want really to acquire knowledge and not merely obtain their degrees, in the present situation in the Universities and in the Country, will definitely, as I venture to think, vote for the retention of English, supplemented, it may be, by the mother-tongue. It is this better class of students who manifest this Intellectual Hunger, and they are our greatest assets for the future of the country.

I am glad to see that the Majority Report, in spite of its anxiety to replace English by Hindi in our Union affairs as quickly as possible, is nevertheless quite alive to the value and necessity of English in at least higher education in India, and in law and some other aspects of our administration for quite a long time to come.

The desire to eliminate English from the Indian setting is based on two mental attitudes: (1) there is the inferiority complex that if we use English, which is not an Indian language, we shall lose face before other nations; and (2) we are deliberately shutting our eyes to the fact that India is a multi-lingual state which does not have a common modern language which can claim the willing homage of all and sundry. There is also a third attitude, fairly wide-spread, which is that of Hindu or Muslim orthodoxy. This attitude refuses to see anything good in the civilisation of Europe, and will not admit the Hindudom (or Islam) has anything to learn or borrow from Europe. It would advocate isolation for India in the matter of expansion of her culture and its strengthening with new elements from the outside; it would like to avoid contamination from the outside world. But as it finds itself a little uncomfortably out of place and out of date in the modern and progressive set up of a free India, we shall ignore this third attitude. It was of course a different matter for Sanskrit, and to a limited extent for Persian. As a polyglot country, if we use English in certain domains where we do not have a common language and where our languages have not as yet come up to the mark, we need not break our heart over it. Every State in India with its own language has placed before it the ideal that it is to use its own languages for all purposes, and English is to remain in the distant future largely as ancillary. Just as we have taken over modern experimental science in its entirety from Europe, with its laboratory and the terms used in the laboratory, so we have taken over from English our entire system of law and judiciary and of public administration; and the language naturally has come with these. So long as we cannot throw away what may be described as our English Heritage in science and in the administration of law and justice and in the various services, for efficient conduct of business which has been established in India (we need not hurt our national feelings if we look at the true situation and be thankful to the ideals of English administration for this—remembering the ideal of our national motto, *Satyam eva jayate* "Truth alone triumphs"), we shall not become less patriotic or less nationalistic for that. The European pattern of life is being accepted everywhere. Our dress, our ordinary habits of life, our social atmosphere, our cultural universalism—while maintaining the basic things in our Indian national life—all these are there. Thus, in spite of everything, the diversity of Indian eras and calendars in different parts of India has established the European calendar for all practical purposes in Indian life. Using English, where it is really of service to us, should not be looked upon and cannot be looked upon as anti-national.

This is a question of mental make-up and attitude. Of course, by training our present young generation along lines which will completely eschew English, the mentality might be changed. But what are we going to substitute in its place? Are we very happy now with the results? Everybody is admitting that at present in Indian education the restriction or omission of English has brought in a serious deterioration in standards. A progressive limitation of the intellectual horizon, where it should expand more and more in a free India, is to be noted among our high school and college students to an alarming extent. There is an increasing lack of

interest in all-India happenings and in world events (except in some limited spheres among a small number of students), and regionalism and even parochialism are encroaching upon the domains of a broad and enlightened nationalism and a cultured internationalism, with slogans of all sorts stifling the sense of actualities. With English properly taught, there is a mental alertness, an attitude of intelligent interest in all things and a generally higher level of efficiency which belie the accusations made against English. A judicious combination of the mother-tongue and English gives the best results. In a free India, the free and unfettered advance in intellectual equipment, *no matter whatever is the medium,* should not be made subservient to the fetish of an Indian language. If we do this, being over-sentimental or over-sensitive in favour of an Indian language, abandoning or restricting the finest medium for the acquisition of knowledge which India now has, we shall do so at our peril. The following observations of the Kashmir Government in its Reply to the Commission's *Questionnaire* are quite *à propos*: "The continuance of English as a compulsory subject in Secondary and University stage is likely to broaden the outlook of the educated class and thus to exercise a healthy influence on the advancement of national culture through the media of India's national languages". We are promising ourselves big things in the future, when, with the mind very largely cut off from the atmosphere of the entire civilised world which we can breathe only through English into our own languages, Hindi is intended to be established as the language of the Universities and of the higher branches of administration to oust English in all fields of Indian intellectual life: a well-established intellectual tradition is sought to be replaced by something which has as yet no existence (and that too as quickly as possible, as some people want it). In other parts of India we do not feel at all optimistic about it.

**(viii) The Absence of a Hindi Tradition (even in the Hindi Areas) in the Intellectual and Political Life of India.**

As yet there is no intellectual tradition of any significance which we can associate with Hindi, and neither the Hindi language has any cultural or political pre-eminence. The development of a particular language by endowing it with expressiveness and literary excellence is the business of those who speak it, and not of those who acquire it for obtaining bread-winning jobs. Quite a lot of sentimental gush we hear in connexion with the development of Hindi through the co-operation of non-Hindi peoples acquiring Hindi. How can compulsory Hindi for non-Hindi speakers help it? Of course, there were and are still, some non-Hindi writers, Bengalis, Gujaratis, Maharashtrians and Panjabis, who made noteworthy contributions to Hindi. So, many foreigners, too, did that for Hindi, and for Tamil and Bengali and Oriya and Marathi. The onus of developing Hindi is thus sometimes laid upon non-Hindi speakers as a generous gesture, to persuade them to take up the additional burden of learning the language and giving it the prominent place which is intended for it. But modernising and liberalising Hindi, to make it the adequate vehicle of modern science and humanities, expressive, full of verve, and aesthetically, emotionally and intellectually satisfying, is primarily the work of those who speak the language and understand through inheritance or through

very close application its subtleties and nuances and nervous qualities as a means of expression. A Heritage of Intellectual Pre-eminence in Hindi still lies in the womb of the Future, and until and unless this Heritage is created and acquires a meaning not only for Hindi-using peoples but also for the Indian Man everywhere, it will be absolutely futile to seek to replace English by Hindi. The Hindi speakers must be also leaders in thought and culture and science in India if they are to make their language suitable for expressing the thought and culture and science of Modern India. Exclusiveness will be baneful for it, and Modernism is nothing if it is not based on an Intellectual Approach to Things, on Universalism or a desire and an ability to make one's very own all the great and good things thought and said and done by Man at any time and in any age, and on an Imaginativeness which can enable us to put ourselves in others' place, to understand their point of view. The Hindi-speaking people aiming to make Hindi great among the world's languages will have to cultivate (as much as other peoples in India, and, for the matter of that, people anywhere in the world) these modern virtues of Intellectualism, Universalism and Imagination in all spheres of life. It is a great responsibility for Hindi speakers who want to make Hindi replace English in the Indian scene. I can only bring to their notice the great prayer of Rabindranath Tagore:

> Tomār patākā jārē dāo,
>
> tārē bahibārē dāo śakati:
>
> "Vouchsafe to those to whom You entrust Your banner also the strength (*sakti*) to carry it".

The situation, as we are now realising it, is a very peculiar one indeed. Here is a language which is in no way superior to the other languages of India. Everybody, including its own speakers and its most ardent supporters, ruefully admits that it is not yet ready or up-to-the-mark for the role it will have to play. We must all take a plunge into it, leaving something which was quite clear and definite and helpful. Present-day Hindi as a medium of expression is not yet precise and well-developed enough, so that it could become in the immediate future a real vehicle for the whole of India in both the Humanities and the Sciences. There are, for instance, some three or four conflicting ideologies regarding its essential vocabulary of science and culture, and even of common parlance. We should take lesson from the tragedy of Urdu in Hyderabad State during the last years of the Nizam Shahi regime. As it has been said by Sri K. M. Munshi: "It is important that the pressure of propaganda as regards the time-limit should be relaxed in the interest of Hindi itself as well as the Unity of India. At the same time, it must not be forgotten that *if India has to stand competition with the world in intellectual equipment, it cannot do only with a second-class linguistic instrument which is yet in the process of making.*"

**(ix) The Jekyll and Hyde Character of Hindi both as a Regional Language and as the proposed Official Language of India, is directly responsible for Linguism in the Country.**

The alacrity with which the political and other leaders in the Hindi States have been supplanting English by Hindi has nothing

of a real pan-Indian nationalism about it. Non-Hindi speaking peoples, not at all enthusiastic for Hindi, will be pardoned if they think that it is primarily for their own advantage that Hindi-speakers are eager to have their own language as the language of the Indian Union. They may not fully understand it—they may vaguely sense it, but they would not like to be told about it, and naturally would protest most virtuously, if this is rubbed in. But they need not feel very virtuous over it by thinking that they are bringing about the unity of India by driving out English by Hindi. It becomes very comforting for our conscience when some unmistakable advantages in the material world can be combined with some high ideal—when what is just our own cause becomes also God's cause. Considering the advantages, immediate and long term, which everybody can envisage for them, the impatience, of a large section of the Hindi-speaking people with the non-Hindi peoples for not showing the same fervour for Hindi is a very sad commentary on the utter incapacity on the part of the former to understand the point of view of large masses of their own fellow countrymen. We must however admit that a number of supporters of Hindi are to be found among non-Hindi people also—people who are against English, but such persons will always give the first preference to their own language, so far as education and public affairs in their own States are concerned.

The example which the Hindi people have set before India is admirable: "Our own language before any other". Advocates of Hindi should not feel distressed or sorry or angry if the example as set by the Hindi States is sought to be scrupulously followed and emulated by the people of the non-Hindi States in demanding a similar position for their own languages. The logical consequences of the example which has been first shown to the rest of India by the Hindi States in switching on to their mother-tongue cannot be stopped in non-Hindi States. There, naturally by the same arguments—and particularly the argument that we must meet the masses of the people, our new masters, through their own mother-tongues—the various regional languages will be used as the most natural thing as official languages of their respective States, and in all possible contexts. They will not be in a mood to take to Hindi as a substitute for English because of the very nature of the two languages, one as a still undeveloped one and the other as the source of all modern knowledge. The argument that we must adopt Hindi because it is an Indian language and banish English because it is foreign in origin will leave them cold. The intransigent use of Hindi in the Hindi States will split up India into a series of independent linguistic States. If we seek to do away with English at this stage in our public life and our education within 10, 15 or 20 years, regarding the proposed time-limit as something sacrosanct, and considering also the Constitution as sacrosanct in this matter, the Unity of India, in which this country rejoices at the present day in spite of diversity of language, will be seriously hampered and perhaps destroyed.

What the future pattern for or relationship among the Indian Regional languages, Hindi and English will be cannot be chalked

out or underlined with certainty or assurance just at the present moment, when we take note of the present disturbed situation. Ultimately it may be that as a language Hindi will become a great instrument of science and thought and will then be in a position to obtain the willing homage of people all over India, and then it will be in a position to replace English. This will be a consummation devoutly to be wished. But it may be both English and Hindi, each in its own sphere; or we may find it practical and necessary to continue English only, in the fields of higher administration, education, etc. Whatever may be the ultimate pattern, let us for the present have slow and certain Evolution, and not quick and uncertain Revolution, as our policy. Let us proceed along the line of least resistance, continue English, and avoid inter-linguistic controversy which is bound to come up through the dual position of Hindi as both a Regional Language, effective only in its own area, and as the All-India Official Language which must have a superior position. Let us go on developing all our languages, and propagate Hindi on a voluntary basis all over India.

**(x). English and Hindi in the Administration of Law and Justice.**

In the Administration of Law and Justice it has been generally the considered opinion of people who have the authority to speak on the subject that immediately it will not be possible for Hindi to take up the place of English. Indeed, it will not be possible for a long, long time to come. The amount of work that has to be done is enormous. First, a proper technical vocabulary has to be built up, and what has been acquired by English through generations of use, *viz.* precise meanings of particular technical terms, cannot be imprinted into a selected Hindi word overnight. No one has ventured to give seriously a time-limit for this, and everybody admitted the necessity of keeping on English until all the laws and acts are translated into Hindi and the law journals have begun to be compiled and translated and then published in Hindi. What the result will be no one knows, but of course everyone will admit that it is worth trying. But let the trial begin not in the Hindi States alone, but elsewhere also. For the non-Hindi States, similarly, to make the law "accessible to the masses", the same thing has to be done in regional languages. It has been accepted generally that in the Supreme Court and High Court levels, English has perforce to remain, until such time when Hindi (along with regional languages) can equip itself for the precise work necessary for these two higher offices of justice.

The present position with English is much simpler, and it is working most smoothly. It is more convenient to cover an individual's feet in leather shoes to prevent them from being soiled while walking on bare earth, rather than to try to cover the whole earth with skins. Teach English to the required number of specialists in law and other professions, rather than seek to translate the entire mass of necessary English legal and judicial literature on the Law as administered in India into Hindi and the other Indian languages. If our legal system and legal thought had nothing to do with English, then it would have been a different matter. English will necessarily have to be the basis and background for many years to come in our

legal set up. We recoil when we think of the appalling expense in crores of rupees which will be involved in what we would consider to be a useless waste. Let us seriously think of the present economic situation in India and not give this unnecessary and unbalanced priority to a language which is not yet *in esse* but only *in posse*.

But we can of course make a cautious beginning, and start by first seeking to translate all future bills and acts (as drafted in English for the sake of precision) both into Hindi and into the regional languages.

"The best laid schemes of mice and men
oft gang agley"—

I cannot help feeling that instead of letting things take their chance as Necessity and Inevitability would modify them, in matters which are beyond the control of any Government, instead of following the sane policy of *laissez faire* when the psychological factor is so very powerful, the State should not try to whip up the pace with a people as yet unprepared, and not yet free from latent jealousies and narrownesses and parochial patriotisms. The elaborate prescriptions regarding the change-over by graded stages within 5, 10, 15 or 20 years, and the carefully thought out steps proposed to bring this about as quickly as possible, all become unmeaning when we consider the mental background and the spiritual bases which must determine the line along which things will move.

**(xi) General Administration, Industry and Trade.**

In our General Administration, in certain vital services like Accounts and Audit, responsible officers have always expressed their doubt, and they never seemed to be happy over it,—including even some Hindi-speaking officers. Officers speaking non-Hindi languages generally did not care to give their personal views unless pressed for it. This move for having Hindi in the Centre has unquestionably put a certain amount of fear and diffidence in the minds of our top-ranking officers who speak other languages than Hindi. For obvious reasons they do not care to or venture to speak out their minds. The Report has suggested ways and means to remove difficulties in the way of establishing Hindi. The cost in the loss of efficiency and in general set-back in the administration, apart from the waste of money, are factors which should make us think twice in the matter.

In Industry and Trade, with both the national and the private sectors operating side by side in all the States of India using the various languages, and with foreign participants continuing to co-operate both with the State and with private capitalists, the retention of English will be very vital. The views of the different Chambers of Commerce in the country in this matter are in favour of English being continued, side by side with Hindi as necessity arises.

**(xii) Medium for Examinations for All-India Services—English, Hindi, the Regional Languages.**

It has been suggested that ultimately Hindi is to be the sole language for All-India Civil and other Service Examinations.

Speakers and users of Hindi will also be given precedence over speakers of the other regional languages, in being given the legal right to sit also for the local Public Services Examinations in non-Hindi States. So long as the speakers of non-Hindi languages will not be able to make Hindi virtually their own language, they will certainly continue to be at a definite disadvantage before those who speak Hindi. Imagine what will happen if this Recommendation is implemented from the Centre. Hindi-speakers from Panjab to Bihar and from Sub-Himalayan tracts to the Deccan will have the right to sit for the States Public Service Examinations in West Bengal, Assam, Orissa, Andhra, Madras, Kerala, Karnataka, Maharashtra and Gujarat. Thereby they will have the whole of India as their terrain. But speakers of other languages will helplessly look on. They will not usually be able to exercise their theoretical right to sit for the States Services Examinations in other States as it would be too tall an order for them to qualify adequately in Hindi, giving the go by to their mother-tongue and to English, for this purpose. The immediate result of this in the non-Hindi States is bound to take the form of drastic regulations in self-defence, seeking to exclude Indian nationals from other States from any chance of joining their relevant State services on the grounds of both language and domicile, as it operates already in some of our States (Hindi-speaking States included). This kind of mutual exclusiveness and intolerance will thus be fostered by the unthinking desire to impose Hindi everywhere, and will be a bad thing for the Unity of India as a whole.

This will be a great injustice to all the peoples in India whose mother-tongue is not Hindi. The use of all the 14 languages of the Union for All-India Civil Service and other examinations will destroy the Unity of India that has been achieved through the higher cadres in the Administration, as it will be impossible to maintain any form of standard for the examination itself. So also the idea of fixing quotas for the various linguistic areas will bring about irreparable deterioration. To meet the linguistic disabilities of the non-Hindi candidates, special grace marks to help them when Hindi becomes the language of the Examinations is a ridiculous proposition.

Administrative Efficiency and Unity of India should not be sacrificed in this way before the altar of Hindi. But if in spite of everything Hindi speakers are given the privilege of having their language admitted as a medium for All-India Services Examinations beside English, it will be difficult to prevent speakers of the various regional languages from demanding the same privilege. They will also take their stand on the formal declaration of policy by the Congress in favour of this proposition which was announced a short while ago. And this will destroy the Administrative Unity of India.

I am definitely of opinion that for at least a long number of years, English should continue to be *the sole language* for our All-India Services Examinations, and no other language of the Union, Hindi included. There should of course be compulsory papers in Hindi for non-Hindi candidates, and a compulsory paper in a Modern Indian Language as in Schedule VIII of the Constitution (excepting Urdu) for Hindi-speaking candidates. Those Universities which have restricted or are restricting the study of English and are switching

on to Hindi, Gujarati, Oriya, Telugu or other regional languages, must make provision for English for preparing their students for these All-India Services Examinations. This is the only way to maintain Unity of India through the Services.

Speakers of Hindi, with the establishment of Hindi in the manner which is contemplated in the Report, will—(1) have the option to have their education as well as examinations for All-India Services entirely in their own language; (2) they will not, as the Report contemplates, be required to learn any other Indian language by way of balancing the advantages they receive. While non-Hindi speakers will be saddled with another language which has no intellectual value or use for them, Hindi-speakers will be free to use that vacuum in learning some other subject or subjects, and in this they would be placed intellectually and culturally at a place of advantage over the non-Hindi peoples. It has been suggested that in lieu of some other Indian language, a generous gesture will be made to meet the objections of the non-Hindi speakers by making Sanskrit or some European language obligatory for Hindi speakers. They will also have occasion to study some cultural subject, if they so choose, instead of a language, for their examinations for public services, in place of Compulsory Hindi for non-Hindi students and candidates. A most beautiful arrangement, which will thus give an unquestioned intellectual pre-eminence in a cultural subject to Hindi speakers, and bring manifold disabilities on non-Hindi speakers already saddled with an unnecessary burden. The contrast with non-Hindi speaking people will be immense: (i) non-Hindi speakers will have to study through Hindi as Hindi will be the medium of examination, and they will have to answer questions in Hindi. This will certainly place them at a permanent disadvantage; (ii) with the additional and intellectually useless burden of Hindi they will not be able to obtain any facility to study some other subject or English in the same way that Hindi-speaking students will be allowed to.

This is a situation which non-Hindi speakers cannot contemplate with equanimity. A regional language cannot claim any intellectual or cultural pre-eminence but which can merely claim to be spoken or understood by a large number, is made arbitrarily the language of the Federation, and it is also attempted to lift it up to the position of a language of culture and a language of power long before it is ready for that role, with money supplied by the Union as a whole. You will have to pay a tax to keep yourself, your language and culture and your material advantages, permanently under the subjection of another language, and, naturally, also of the people who speak it. That will be the immediate reaction of non-Hindi peoples. The adoption of Hindi as a substitute for either English or the mother-tongue (or regional language) in non-Hindi States is not within the range of possibilities, now or even at a distant future. This aspect unfortunately is wholly ignored in the Report, which is quite self-satisfied that Hindi must be made the dominant language, even if it cannot take the place of the Unique National Language immediately or in the future.

### (xiii) The Language of the Central Legislature: Difficulties and Disabilities of non-Hindi Peoples.

It has also been seriously proposed by almost all Hindi-speaking witnesses and by a few others that Hindi should be the language of the Central Parliament, although it has been graciously conceded by them that the regional languages may be largely used in legislatures of the different States. Speeches in the regional languages and in English will however be allowed to be made in the Central Legislatures, after Hindi has replaced English, at the discretion of the Presiding Officer. Unless a costly and vexatious translation service with provision for the 14 languages of the Union is maintained, this will lead to a perfectly useless Babel which will retard the work of the house at every step. Even this translation service is not a practical proposition with so many languages: the Indian Parliament and House of States will have to function in its sessions like the polyglot UNO. Until and unless the intelligentsia in non-Hindi India are sufficiently familiar with Hindi so as to be able intelligently to take part in parliamentary discussions conducted through Hindi, it will be something frankly anti-national to conduct the affairs of the Nation through a language which the greater part of the peoples' representatives in India cannot follow or effectively handle. Until and unless at least 80 per cent. of the non-Hindi speaking members of the Central Legislative Bodies voluntarily elect to speak in Hindi, it will be suicidal for the Unity of India to try to use Hindi, and Hindi alone, in the Parliament.

The people of non-Hindi areas are very frequently painfully reminded of their impending permanent inferior position in the affairs of the State when speakers who can speak English will deliberately speak in Hindi, making it impossible for a non-Hindi speaker to understand what is going on. Those who cannot follow the speeches in Hindi and declare their inability to do so are sometimes given broad hints that it is their duty to learn Hindi before they come to Parliament or to the gathering. This attitude is not conducive to bring about the Unity of India through Hindi. Sometimes it is done in a thoughtless way, and sometimes it is done deliberately. But the effect of either is the same.

The non-Hindi speaking peoples have thus got another great apprehension which does not appear to have any chance to be allayed in any manner in the Recommendations, and when Hindi is finally adopted. Already in some public conferences and other meetings, speakers of Hindi have begun to take up the attitude of the dominant ruling people of India. If a man from Southern or Eastern India cannot follow a Hindi speech, there is an impatient shrug, and the unfortunate person is reminded that it is his business to learn Hindi since it has become the "National Language". We still see in North India speakers being prevented from giving their speeches in a language other than Hindi. A timely rebuke from a considerate and a far-seeing leader or chairman sometimes brings in some kind of tolerant attitude for a speech in a non-Hindi language.

Wise and just and far-sighted statesmen must take note of these things which are symptomatic, and which show which way the

thought process is working. We should be careful from the very beginning. Sometimes it is mere thoughtlessness or want of vision, but it creates mischief nevertheless, and leads to misunderstanding, to say the least. The use of Hindi legal terminology can be brought to perfection only if the State High Courts, in addition to the Central Supreme Court, have all their proceedings in Hindi: this was put forward as one of the reasons for making Hindi the language of Provincial High Courts, where people did not understand Hindi as yet; and the persons who made this proposal never thought that that prospect—developing Hindi at the expense of the regional language—could not be received with pleasure by non-Hindi speakers.

**(xiv) The Two Pictures: A Statement of Contrasts.**

In the matter of setting up a Modern Indian language as the official language of India, it is clear that two sharply contrasted and mutually opposing sets of ideas are moving the minds of people in India. There is one certain fundamental agreement among the two, namely, that the Mother-tongue or the Regional Language should be given the precedence in a State in the Indian Union. These ideas may be set forth in two contrasted groups as follows:—

| *Hindi-speaking States* | *States with Other Regional Languages than Hindi* |
|---|---|
| 1. Use Hindi as the Mother-tongue or Regional Language for the affairs of the State as much as possible. This will make a truly democratic State. | 1. Use Tamil or Bengali or Oriya or Gujarati as the Regional Language for the affairs of the State as much as possible. This will make a truly democratic State. |
| 2. Make all Linguistic Minorities in the State learn Hindi, as Hindi has become the language of administration and education. | 2. With English as the language of administration and higher education, the attitude has been more liberal. Now following the lead of the Hindi States this liberal attitude is changing, and Minorities will be possibly forced to learn the Regional Language. |
| 3. Remove English from the Hindi-using States, and also from the non-Hindi States, which, to bring about linguistic union, should accept Hindi gladly and thankfully. | 3. Making a Regional Language like Hindi the pan-Indian speech to take the place of English is frought with latent danger in many directions, and will not be a practical proposition. Hindi as yet has no intellectual or cultural significance—for non-Hindi peoples. |

| Hindi-speaking States | States with Other Regional Languages than Hindi |
|---|---|
| 4. Hindi will not affect the just claims and interests of the non-Hindi States in any way, and their grievances if Hindi is established and becomes operative as the Official Language of the Union, are mostly imaginary. They can master Hindi much quicker than English. | 4. Hindi as the pan-Indian language as envisaged in the *Questionnaire* and the Recommendations will profoundly act as an adverse force in the development of the other languages of India. For the South, in spite of the Sanskrit words, Hindi is almost as foreign as English. The situation is slightly better in Bengal, and possibly also in Orissa, Assam and Maharashtra. People will gladly continue to learn English, and not Hindi, because of the intellectual wealth that will be opened up to them by English. Besides, the use of Hindi will for ever make non-Hindi speakers Second Class Citizens in the Republic, and that only because of their language. |
| 5. Hindi should be taught compulsorily to all non-Hindi peoples, preferably from the primary stage, and most certainly from the secondary stage. But Hindi people need not learn some other Modern Indian Language. As " the people of the Language ", they should be exempt from this unnecessary burden, and they may more fruitfully spend the time in learning some more useful subject like Sanskrit or Linguistics, and English or Russian. | 5. If Hindi is taught at all in non-Hindi States, it should be taught optionally, and at a higher stage, preferably the high school or college. Each State is to find out what would be good for its people. The problem for West Bengal or Assam is not the same for Gujarat, for Maharashtra is not the same for Madras or Kerala. Negativing the proposal to make a non-Hindi Language compulsory from the secondary stage for Hindi-speaking students implies, to say the least, a misunderstanding of the value of non-Hindi languages. This shows want of a spirit of " Give and Take ". There should be *quid pro quo*, and the balance should be held even. Hindi cannot compensate for the lack of Sanskrit or Linguistics or English or Russian in non-Hindi areas. |
| 6. Time, money, energy all should be freely given by the | 6. The non-Hindi States are not convinced that it will be any |

| *Hindi-speaking States* | *States with Other Regional Languages than Hindi* |
|---|---|
| non-Hindi peoples to acquire Hindi in place of English, and to develop it and make it a great language. | use. In fact most non-Hindi peoples consider it a waste of time and energy to learn Hindi instead of English. |
| 7. Hindi must be the dominant language in every sphere of public (and if suitable also, social) life in India. | 7. In lieu of Sanskrit, Sanskritic Hindi may be accepted as a symbol of Indian Unity just for formal and decorative purposes, in pan-Indian state or ceremonial occasions, always accompanied by translations in English and/or Regional Languages. |
| 8. The Nagari script should become the pan-Indian script for all languages. The Roman is to be eschewed. | 8. The matter cannot be disposed of so summarily. There are weighty reasons for the retention of the local regional scripts, and there can be only a voluntary acceptance of the Nagari as an optional or additional script, as the Report itself has suggested.<br><br>Many people in non-Hindi areas, and some in Hindi areas too, think that the simpler Roman script will be a better proposition for Indian languages rather than the complicated Nagari, bringing immediately to all Indian languages all the modern advantages of the Roman. |
| 9. Hindi is the natural heir to the native culture of India, and will foster that culture everywhere : all languages could most easily come under the umbrage of a pan-Indian culture of which Hindi must be the main vehicle. | 9. The non-Hindi peoples have their gravest doubts. This is a Hindi mentality, and an Urdu mentality, as well as a Hindustani mentality. There is also a Bengali mentality, an Oriya, Assamese, Marathi, Tamil or Telugu mentality, each with its special character now associated with the language and its literature, and we believe in a federation of all these mentalities within a pan-Indian mentality, not in their being dominated by one type only. All the various petals when intact contribute to the existence and |

| Hindi-speaking States | States with Other Regional Languages than Hindi |
|---|---|
| | the beauty of the flower as a single entity; and you cannot cover up the beauty of a grassy meadow carpeted with flowers of many hues by daubing the whole place with sacred cowdung : to quote Rabindranath Tagore's similes. |
| 10. You can't escape the Constitution which has made provision for Hindi as the Official Language of India and for its propagation, as well as development. It will be a sacrilege to touch the Constitution, so accept the inevitable. | 10. We know under what circumstances Hindi got its place in the Constitution. Hindi was not adopted by an elected Parliament, and if we are truly democratic about it, the question of Hindi should be a plank at the next General Elections with the Congress candidates being permitted to use their own judgment or that of their supporters in this matter. If the trend of events now discloses a situation not favourable for Hindi among non-Hindi peoples, the Constitution should be amended (as it has already been done on several occasions) and the question of an Official or State Language for India should be shelved for the time being. |

**(xv) How we should proceed—The Immediate Task in Hand.**

What is sauce for the goose must be sauce for the gander also. The joy and elation of the Hindi-speaking peoples in having their own language accepted without any rival language in their own State is a situation which will be sought to be faithfully followed by non-Hindi States. Under present conditions all that the people of non-Hindi areas would suggest is that the matter must not be hastened, and no time-limit can profitably be placed in this business. As the Hindustani (Urdu or Hindi) proverb says: Jaldí-ká kám Saintán-ká "A hasty deed is from Satan", *i.e.* "Haste is Waste", as they say it in English. Let us keep as a great ideal before us that at a not very distant future, perhaps Hindi may become the language most widely understood in India, being accepted voluntarily; and then when through the eminence of the Hindi-speaking peoples in the arts and sciences, which they may have acquired by then, Hindi will become a great language to be a rival of English; and then the rest of India may gladly accept it. Now it is like putting the cart

before the horse. We could now go on only along the lines of the least resistance. The States Reorganisation Commission Recommendations have brought in so much rancour and internecine strife, and this certainly is a cause for alarm. Many of our statesmen have suggested that as matters of secondary importance the Reorganisation of the States and the Replacement of English by Hindi at the Centre should be shelved for some time. In any case, nothing should be done by the Centre without obtaining from the Legislatures of the non-Hindi States an indication of the wishes of the speakers of the various regional languages in this matter—through their properly elected representatives, the members of the State Legislative Bodies.

The Recommendations that I would like to make to the President I have mentioned before. This would upset the apple-cart of those who are banking upon the removal of English by Hindi in the Centre, and possibly also in the non-Hindi States, not to speak of the Hindi States. The Government has started a vigorous campaign for development of Hindi and the teaching of Hindi. The results achieved for the development of Hindi are of a meagre quantity and of a doubtful quality. This is not the fault of the Government—the fault is elsewhere. It is largely due to want of interest, the result of intellectual apathy and incompetence. Besides, you cannot modernise a language by sitting down at dictionary making, preparing academically the equivalents of modern terms and expressions which do not have much place in life.

The public services of an All-India character, with newly-started and unnecessary emphasis on the present personnel becoming adepts in Hindi within the shortest period of time, is sure to result in inefficiency in the various departments. At the present moment, non-Hindi speaking personnel in All-India Services are to be allowed one hour off from their daily duties several times a week for learning Hindi. Sometimes the Hindi classes are held in a different building, and that means that not one hour but an hour and a half and sometimes two hours are taken in both transit and class-work. An increasing number of teachers are being appointed at high salaries to train up the non-Hindi personnel in Hindi. Thus Hindi-speaking teachers naturally are being benefited, in the first instance. For running these schools there are other expenses. The sum total of it all in money, time and energy should be considered—and the result can be like that of the proverbial mountain in labour. It is the fear of the penalty dangling in front of them—penalty of having their confirmation or promotion stopped or delayed—that is sending most non-Hindi speaking employees of the Government to these "Voluntary" Hindi classes. There is no inner urge, such as we can find in the case of English, for intelligent persons appreciate the intellectual value of English. It seems as if no price is thought to be too high for getting a particular language (and inevitably also those who speak it or have made it their language of literature and culture) established in a position of pre-eminence.

The wisest attitude in my opinion should be, considering the wide prevalence of Hindi and the ultimate possibility of a much

wider group of people becoming acquainted with Hindi, that it would be worth while to propagate it and to persuade non-Hindi speaking peoples to acquire it. But as said before, Hindi speaking peoples should also as a gesture of friendliness and a real desire to make some sacrifice themselves for the Unity of India—if taking up the burden of learning one of the great languages of the country can be described as a "sacrifice"—take upon themselves voluntarily the study of some one or the other of the Modern non-Hindi languages (excepting Urdu). Many people in Northern India, in the Hindi domains, think it to be a useless burden, and this view (with its implication of impatience and contempt) has been very strongly expressed by some. The Report unfortunately has subscribed to it. If that is the attitude, a reply in similar terms may be given by non-Hindi speakers. On the other hand, speakers of Hindi at the Centre and in the Hindi States, coming to know in this manner the various languages of the Indian Union, will be in a better position to develop their language, which is according to them their ideal. The implementation of this is provided for in Article 351 of the Constitution which suggests a new type of Hindi (at least in its vocabulary) for the All-India language of the future. Through translations into Hindi from the vast mass of literature in the other languages of India made by Hindi-speakers knowing these languages, Hindi itself will be enriched. To ensure a proper translating cadre, a widespread and compulsory study of the non-Hindi languages by Hindi-speakers should be a part of this scheme for making stronger the unity of India through Hindi and her other languages. A good many educationists and thought-leaders in the Hindi area have agreed most gladly to this. Some, like the late Acharya Narendra Deva, insisted that this compulsory non-Hindi langugae for Hindi students should be one of the four great languages of the South. But that will be to expect too much of Hindi-speakers. We shall be thankful if they take up the lighter burden of a North Indian language.

The Constitution should not stand in the way. No Constitution is immutable in its scope. We have already altered the Constitution several times without any compunction. In a very vital matter like the Official Language of India, and the intensive campaign to spread Hindi, if that in any way tends to weaken the bonds that have linked us up (the bonds which were independent of our Modern Indian Languages), then, if necessary, the Constitution may be amended. As Dr. Harekrushna Mahatab has suggested: "More attention should be given to development and popularisation of Hindi than the negative work of replacing English". The Kashmir Government has similarly said: "The emphasis should be on extending the use of Hindi rather than placing restrictions on the use of English". At the present day, without any disturbance, let us maintain the *status quo*, and let us watch what reactions take place in the Hindi areas and also in the non-Hindi areas. There are always zealots and fanatics who have one particular idea in their brain, and they would seek to whip up the pace and force the hands of other people. We should be careful not to be led by these zealots and fanatics. Looking at the matter dispassionately, it is this Hindi business which has become the immediate source of the growing fissiparous tendency of Linguism. May we have the good sense to understand things

from a broad vision and not look upon nationalism and patriotism as being dependent upon the removal of a useful means of communication which might not have originated in India but which has now been accepted by the larger part of Humanity.

English has virtually become one of the languages of India, as it is the home language of an influential and advanced minority group, the Anglo-Indians and some Indian Christians of both Indian and Foreign Origin, and Indian Jews in many cases; and (what is still more important) it is still serving us as a modernising and unifying leaven for the whole of India. Let Hindi develop with the other languages of the Union. Let there be a Central Board for Technical Terms which should seek to embrace all Indian languages. But let not the present educational, administrative, legal, judicial and legislative set up for the whole of India be disturbed and possibly destroyed, and our national, political and cultural Unity seriously affected.

**(xvi) Some Definite Suggestions.**

As a sequel to the suggestions for our Recommendations to the President on the points quoted from the Constitution in the terms of reference for the Commission (Section B above), I would most emphatically draw the attention of the Parliament of India and of the People of India (particularly in non-Hindi areas, and also of reasonable persons who are found in sufficiently large numbers in the Hindi areas too) to the following fundamental matters:

(1) The choice of Hindi as a language to replace English in our pan-Indian affairs has been hasty—it has meant undue preference to a language not in any way more highly developed or advanced than the other great languages of the Indian Union, and which cannot now meet the needs which English fulfils. Now, public funds from the whole of India are being diverted towards the development and propagation of Hindi, and this cannot but be resented in non-Hindi States.

This is giving rise to a growing Linguistic Chauvinism and ("Hindi Imperialism" as it has been called) on the one hand, and to passionate and jealous Linguism on the other hand in non-Hindi States. This is a menace to Indian Unity. We must try to rectify this by any means.

(2) The retention of English will not be against the best interests of a free Indian People. As English, as an international language of civilisation, will be of help to develop our own languages, for some time to come, it will not be anti-national or unpatriotic to continue English where our own languages are not ready. English, side by side with the Indian languages, great and small—this is the only solution for a polyglot state which strives to retain its basic unity while developing its own modern languages without special favour for any one of them in particular.

(3) Hindi (side by side with Sanskrit) may be used for decorative purposes and for ceremonial occasions as a symbol of Indian Unity, and its study should be made optional in non-Hindi areas after boys

and girls in the high school or college stages have acquired some control over their mother-tongue and English. Each State will have its own policy in this matter. Compulsory Hindi in non-Hindi states, if it is thought necessary to introduce it, must go hand in hand with compulsory some other Modern Indian Language (excepting Urdu) for Hindi States. Allowing Hindi-speaking students to take up Urdu will be just helping them to bypass the intention of the proposal. The case of students speaking Urdu is similar, but to avoid hardship for them, considering their peculiar circumstances, some just and proper device will have to be thought out. The study of Hindi as a symbol of the Indian Union may be *encouraged* in non-Hindi States.

(4) English must remain the language of General Administration (retaining it as medium for All-India Services Examination, of the Supreme Court and the High Courts, and of the Central Legislature, as at present), so long as non-Hindi peoples do not voluntarily take to Hindi, and so long as Hindi itself does not come up to the standard. For special higher Technical Education on a pan-Indian basis, it must also be English. The various States will determine the relative places of English and the regional languages. In higher education for the States, there must be bilingualism (English and regional language) with special stress on English in both Arts (Economics, Politics, Philosophy, Linguistics, Sociology, History, Law etc.) and Science (General, Engineering, Military, Aeronautic etc.).

I am very strongly of the opinion that in order to maintain the All-India character of our University education as well as certain unimpeachably high standards which are so vital for intellectual advancement of our young men and women, the place of English as the medium of instruction, supplemented by the mother-tongue as required, should be restored and strengthened all over the country. Otherwise what has been so laboriously built up through the devotion and self-abnegation of teachers and professors in India for six generations will be destroyed, and nothing stable or intellectually and academically efficient will be found in its place for a long time to come. At this critical juncture in our national life we cannot afford to make experiments which do not seem to lead to good results.

For a language like English there must be in my opinion at least 10 years of study, 6 before the college stage and 4 during under-graduate stage. The mother-tongue will of course be the first language, English the second, and I would suggest in addition a classical language for those who would study the Humanities at college. Hindi for non-Hindi students—and some other Modern Indian language for Hindi-speaking students—should be an optional language which Secondary and College students should be *encouraged* to study.

(5) After consulting the non-Hindi States, the Constitution of India is to be amended in its section on the Official Language of the Indian Union, if necessary

But it may not be necessary to amend the Constitution at this stage, if fullest latitude is given to retain English, and if Hindi is introduced slowly and gradually and optionally as suggested above.

(6) English should be given a place in the 8th Schedule as the language of an important community in India. This will be an act of belated justice to a small but advanced community of Indian citizens; and English has besides a special claim for being regarded as one of the Languages of Modern India, in spite of its foreign origin, because of its great implications and its services in helping to maintain the Unity of India, politically, intellectually, and culturally.

(7) Other Indian languages are to be added in this Schedule, following the wishes of their speakers, and their importance: *e.g.* Sindhi, and Nepali (Gorkhali or Khaskura or Parbatiya); possibly also Maithili and Rajasthani (Marwari); and may be, ultimately, Bhojpuri, Magahi and Chattisgarhi. A few languages other than Aryan may also have ultimately to be included in the future, like Manipuri and Newari (Tibeto-Chinese), Khasi, Santali and Mundari (Austric—Mon-Khmer and Kol or Munda), and Tulu, Gondi and Oraon (Dravidian). *Cf.* in this connexion the view expressed by the Prime Minister of India, quoted at the end of this *Note* as its last para.

(8) Pan-Indian Official Language Hindi should also be permitted to be written and printed in the Roman script. The Roman script (with a few signs added to give a number of new letters required for Hindi and other Indian languages) arranged in the order of the letters in the Indian system of writing (and this order of the letters in the alphabet is the only scientific thing about it), would give to India perhaps the most perfect alphabet in the world. Such an alphabet will be scientifically conceived, simple in the shapes of its letters and easy to learn to read and write. It will be full and accurate, and will link up India with the largest number of peoples, advanced or backward, in the world. The Hindi-Urdu controversy, which is not yet dead and which appears to be coming to the forefront again, can only be solved by having a neutral script like the Roman for both, at least as an optional and permissible third script. With the single Roman as against the Nagari and the Perso-Arabic, writers will evolve a common medium, Hindi-Hindustani-Urdu, taking note of the intelligibility and appeal for the widest public in the Hindi-Hindustani-Urdu area. I propose most strongly the optional adoption of the Roman script as an additional factor of Unity for all Indian languages, starting with pan-Indian Hindi (in the Army and elsewhere) in the first instance.

**(xvii) Need for a Liberal Nationalism, which can be helped by English.**

Another point may be put forward. Nationalism has been a great force in developing the desire for independence, particularly among the peoples of India who were suffering from colonialism and imperialism. Nationalism now-a-days in most countries has lost or is losing its liberal atmosphere, its tolerance and spirit of peace and good-will for all. It is now becoming exclusive and intolerant and totalitarian. In India we are not free from this danger, and we

apprehend that India is standing the risk of being split up into a number of totalitarian small nationalities of this type. To fight this, we must slacken our insistence upon one regional language being given undue prominence over the rest, in the name of National Unity. And our great ideal of *Pancha-Shila* (as formulated for the individual by Buddha over 2500 years ago, for a nation by President Sukarno of Indonesia in 1945, and for international peace and well-being by our Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru in 1954) will help us to maintain a liberal attitude. The insistence upon a linguistic unity to be brought about by any means and at any price, when such a linguistic unity does not exist, will not serve the cause of a liberal nationalism in India. The Indian spirit found a congenial atmosphere in the liberal spirit of the English language as bringing to us the best that Europe had to give to us. There were certain undesirable things, too, that came with it. But we have the power to reject what will not be helpful for us in the development of our national, intellectual and spiritual well-being, for we have done this in the past. Thus the democratic bases of our parliamentary procedure have been brought to us through English, and it is through the English language, linking us up with the Mother of Parliaments, that a liberal and progressive Parliamentary Tradition is being built up in India, both in the Centre and in the States. The liberalising side of our Indo-English contacts through language, literature and culture, if it has been good for us, should be maintained. An all-inclusive pan-Indian and liberal attitude through English can still be a force to bind us together in our provincial or regional diversities. The thread of our common Indian culture which is a historic thing and which is expressed through Sanskrit, to hold the peoples of India together as one nation, can be strengthened (and this as a matter of fact has been strengthened) by the liberalising force of English thought and culture in the present age through the international English language.

(xviii) **Peroration: the Views of the Prime Minister of India.**

As a suitable Peroration to this *Note*, I can only quote what our Prime Minister Sri Jawaharlal Nehru is reported to have said a short while ago at a meeting in New Delhi (April 29, 1956, at Sapru House, while inaugurating the Radio Library Forum: see the Calcutta *Amrita Bazar Patrika* for April 30, 1956):

The Prime Minister began by making a reference to the English language and said that it was obviously not their business to put English on the same level as other Indian languages. But nevertheless, English was used in Parliament and elsewhere. Some people did not like it, and yet, because of the compulsion of events, they had to resort to English. "I do not see why we should be afraid of using English provided we are clear about our objective, where we are going".

Sri Nehru said that the question of languages must be kept out of the domain of politics. The languages should be considered on their own merits. "We have therefore to recognise the importance of English to us, for at least two reasons.

"One is that even now it does help in our understanding each other, more especially the people from the North and the South and other parts of India. We should keep this link.

"The other reason is that it provides a link between us in India and the outside world, and it is of the utmost importance that we should maintain that link with the outside world and not try to cut off ourselves from it and isolate ourselves."

Sri Nehru said that the world was changing fast and it was necessary for the people of India to understand the changing world. In the scientific and technological sphere, the change was so rapid that a book on technology became almost out of date by the time it came out in print. A scientist had to read today hundreds of periodicals to keep abreast of these rapid changes. It had become imperative therefore for a scientist to know many languages, at least have enough knowledge to read them.

"We live in a very rapidly changing world, and it is of the utmost importance to keep in touch with each other's ideas and the ideas of the changing world. In fact, our own ideas in science or in other branches have also affected the change in the world; and if we have created enough, no doubt others will come and learn our languages in order to read those ideas that are expressed in our language".

Sri Nehru added: "It has therefore become of great importance that we should know and know adequately foreign languages if we want any place in the world; and obviously, it is easier for us to continue to know the English language. I hope, other languages like French, Russian, German and Chinese will also be learnt. Therefore, let us not have any sense of hostility to English. Let us not think that the English language is coming or will come in the way of the development of our own language, which is vital for us".

The Prime Minister then referred to the development of Indian languages and said that not only the thirteen languages listed in the Constitution had to be developed but also other minor languages in India so that contact between them might grow.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI.

*July 4, 1956.*

## MINUTE OF DISSENT

BY

## DR. P. SUBBARAYAN

**Introduction.**

I regret I cannot accept the recommendations as presented in the Report. When I was invited to serve on the Official Language Commission I thought that it would be possible for us to submit an unanimous report in the interest of the country after considering the different points of view within the country. I feel sorry that after having worked together for many months for the common purpose of making such recommendations to the President as will ultimately conduce to the well-being of the nation, I should find myself at variance with many of my colleagues. The Commission did a tremendous amount of work in securing and sifting evidence and opinion under the able and patient guidance of our distinguished Chairman, Shri B. G. Kher. Unfortunately unanimity has not been possible as the majority of members having considered the opinions expressed by witnesses from non-Hindi-speaking States, particularly from Bengal, Madras and Mysore which are of no mean importance with regard to history, area, population and general advancement, were not able to accept what was suggested. My point of view, which I expressed clearly during the deliberations of the Commission, I found basically differed from those of most of my colleagues. I found no reason to change this point of view and on the contrary, the evidence gathered during the inquiry particularly in Bengal, Madras and Mysore and of many distinguished persons of learning and experience in public life from other States supported this view and I cannot help feeling disappointed that my colleagues were not able to accept these opinions in arriving at their conclusions. I am glad however that I found that Dr. S. K. Chatterji and I looked at the problem and evaluated the evidence with the same sympathy and understanding and that therefore there was much common ground in our views and agreement on essential points.

I cannot also help feeling that more evidence should have been secured and more thought bestowed on the solution of the problem of such great importance as to what should be the official language for our country and the measures necessary and the time required for the progressive introduction of this language for all official purposes and for higher education. For instance students in the universities should have been examined in every State as they will be seriously affected by these decisions. They will find it difficult to study scientific, technical and technological subjects in a language which has not yet developed sufficiently to be a satisfactory vehicle for such study.

In the light of recent happenings and trends of events in India, my views have become strengthened and consequently my reading

of the nature of the linguistic situation and the linguistic problem has been different on many matters from that finally presented in the Report. I would, because of this difference, prescribe other measures and suggest other recommendations. I feel that those who will have to take final decisions on this question of language should also give full and serious consideration to all aspects of this problem. **For this reason,** they should be fully aware about the views held by me. I, therefore, feel obliged to append this minute of dissent as otherwise I shall be failing in my duty as a member of the Commission. I am appending my signature to the Report subject to this minute of dissent.

**The Report.**

2. The Report in my opinion is trying to prescribe certain programmes, rules and regulations from the centre, without much reference either to the actual situation in the sphere of language in India or to future reactions and repercussions among large sections of our people. It is also seeking to place as something conclusive before the non-Hindi peoples of India, that it will be both an act of patriotic duty and an urgent and necessary reform to replace English by Hindi as quickly as possible, and to take in Hindi to saturation in their judicial and administrative spheres, in their educational set-up, and consequently in every aspect of their life. Many of my colleagues are of the opinion that if India is to be completely independent it must give up the use of the English language as early as possible. I regret I cannot agree with this point of view as in my opinion the official language which we are to adopt eventually for the country must be a language which has been fully developed and till such time we must perforce continue to use English. Much more important is the economic and industrial development of the country if it is to maintain its independence and progressively develop and any steps we may take to introduce an official language other than English must take into account whether its immediate introduction will hamper economic and industrial progress.

**Importance of fundamental and vital issues.**

3. I feel that certain fundamental and vital issues have been totally ignored in the report. The provisions in the Constitution regarding the use of Hindi as the official language of the Union in certain contexts have been extended in the Report in a manner which will bring about an abrupt and a total revolution in our education, in the administration of Law and Justice, in the Central Legislature and in the Public Services. In my opinion the recommendations made in the Report go far beyond the terms of reference. If those recommendations are sought to be implemented by the Union Government it will result in the immediate imposition of Hindi on non-Hindi speaking people which will lead to confusion and even chaos in our public life as a whole. The Report has been prepared on the assumption that under the present Constitution Hindi has been already voluntarily accepted by the whole of India, that non-Hindi-speaking peoples are as eager for it as speakers of Hindi, and that it will be something anti-national not to try to replace English by Hindi. It might appear to some people that the

report represents the view of the Hindi speakers, who alone benefit immediately, and for a long time to come, if not for ever. I fear that in the entire report there is very little evidence of understanding, imagination and sympathy for the non-Hindi-speaking peoples of India. There is hardly any serious consideration of the fact that great languages more ancient and more developed in every way than Hindi do exist and do flourish vigorously in the country, claiming the passionate homage of their speakers. There is hardly any attempt to understand the feelings and the intellectual appreciation of the non-Hindi-speaking peoples wanting to retain English till such time as Hindi is fully developed as a vehicle of expression and that it is sincerely regarded by them to be the most necessary thing for the development of science and letters in India and for the maintenance of the pre-eminence of India in the modern world under present-day conditions.

It must be admitted that Hindi is not as old and as well-advanced as some other Indian Languages, particularly Bengali and Tamil. I can point out with regard to Tamil that as far as the Tamil people are concerned, Hindi to them is as foreign as is Tamil to the Hindi-speaking people. There is even a feeling among some of the Tamil People that English is easier for them to understand and learn than Hindi. It has already been evident that the Tamil people resent the imposition of Hindi on them and resent much more the undue haste with which it is sought to be imposed, and in preference to English which is a world language and which they have already learnt to good advantage in all spheres of knowledge. They naturally feel that there is no reason why they should give up a first class language which they have ready in their hands in preference to an ill-developed second-class instrument. I think that our President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, and our Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, are aware of these feelings in Madras State as they have in several of their speeches assured the people there that there would be no imposition of Hindi on them against their will. The attitude in the main report is far from democratic—it is just a case of imposition of one point of view over everybody no matter what differences of opinion might exist among the people. The fact that India is a polyglot country where people have now become passionately proud of their own language is ignored. A particular language has been sought to be given priority over others in our national life. As it strikes me, uniformity through Hindi in the matter of language is sought to be brought about as quickly as possible, even at the risk of jeopardising the cause of unity of India.

**Evolution preferable to revolution.**

4. The recommendations in the Report appear to ignore the consequences which may result from the implementation of them. The Report evinces a desperate haste to bring in Hindi for the whole of India. 1965 still remains a target date in the Report. After having heard the evidence in both Hindi and non-Hindi-speaking States, I am convinced that nine years from now will certainly not be enough for non-Hindi-speaking States to get prepared for this eventuality. This is a very vital question which the Report has

ignored. I submit that the situation now is hardly ripe for bringing in this revolution in Indian affairs, while Hindi is not yet ready on the one hand and the non-Hindi-speaking people too are not ready either on their part. I believe in evolution rather than revolution.

**Unity of India.**

5. The recent events in many parts of India have brought home to me the imperative necessity to keep intact our most precious treasure of Indian unity. It is, therefore, important to consider seriously about the extent to which we should push Hindi and the speed with which we should try to make it the official language of India. Many honestly feel that there are already signs of the danger of an incipient "Hindi Imperialism" which will be all the more anti-national as Hindi has not yet acquired any pre-eminence over the other languages of India except its weight of numbers. The Hindi-speaking people, like all human beings, are not free from linguism and their expectations have been raised very high. It is also my conviction, after careful observation and thinking, that the relegation of English to a secondary place in our education and public life will certainly not be for the good of the country. Hence I venture to differ from the findings and recommendations of the majority of the Commission and present my specific proposals.

**Basis for my recommendations.**

6. My recommendations are made with the view to serve the best interests of the people of India and in making them the approach has been realistic and practical and not idealistic and sentimental. It is necessary to go into the question of the difficulties that are cropping up in the way of the establishment of Hindi now in all spheres in the place of English and one has also to consider the claims of the various regional languages which are now becoming established for administrative, educational and other purposes in the various non-Hindi States. The present linguism or linguistic intolerance which has become, during the last few years, and particularly during the last few months, such an ugly phenomenon and such a disconcerting problem in Indian public life, striking at the very root of Indian unity, should also be dispassionately considered. I shall here briefly deal with these points.

**Primary objectives of Official Language.**

7. With regard to an official language for India, or for any other country where there are numerous literary languages we should have four primary objectives:

(i) Maintenance of National Unity;

(ii) Maintenance of Efficiency of Administration;

(iii) Advancement of knowledge among all sections of the people;

(iv) The availability of equal opportunities for all citizens from all parts of the country.

India is a polyglot nation and the fundamental necessity for India to exist as a nation is the preservation and strengthening of the unity that underlies her diversity in language. A particular language can have a value in India's corporate life as a whole in so far as it tends to promote and strengthen that unity.

**How Hindi was selected by the Constituent Assembly.**

8. It must be remembered that Hindi was selected, out of the 14 main languages of the country as enumerated in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution, by the Constituent Assembly of India and not by a Parliament consisting of directly elected representatives of the people. It was believed by its supporters in the Constituent Assembly (mostly Hindi speaking people) that it alone would be able to help us as a further unifying factor. People in non-Hindi areas agreed to accept Hindi, the majority of them with reservation, mainly because of the reactions of the success of a long struggle for political freedom which gave them an uneasy feeling that India lacked the natural linguistic unity which was thought to be so vital for a free people. It was then pointed out that as a free nation India should set up an Indian Language as a symbol of her nationhood and give it the status of an official language. The advisability or feasibility of having more than one language, for example, three as in the case of Switzerland, and two in Belgium and Canada, as official languages for a vast country like India was not seriously taken up at that time.

Thus in an atmosphere of both success and frustration, elation and apprehension and of hope and fear, and very largely at the importunity of the Hindi-speaking members of the Constituent Assembly that Hindi was given the place in the Constitution of India as the official language of the Indian Union, with English as an alternative which was due to be gradually restricted in stages (also envisaged in the Constitution) and ultimately to be eliminated from the public life of India.

**Trend of events since Independence**

9. The trend of events in India, particularly during the last few years after independence, has given rise to anxious thoughts about the future among our people who are alive to the realities of the situation, both at home and abroad, and who have a wide vision which goes beyond the horizon of regionalism and sectarianism. During these eight years, attempts have been made and are being made to prepare Hindi, from its position as one of the languages of the country (although used and understood in its numerous ungrammatical forms by a good percentage of the people of North India) to that of "the first among equals" among the languages of India. It was thought that with the support of the State and the exertions of the people, both within and outside the Hindi areas, Hindi could easily be transformed into a fit and proper vehicle which will adequately express both the composite culture of India and the requirements of modern life in Science and Technology, and thought and literature. Attempts have also been made to spread the knowledge of Hindi in the non-Hindi areas. To develop or support the growth of Hindi as an expressive modern language and to diffuse its

knowledge, considerable sums of money have been spent and are being spent by the Centre, and also by some of the States, but the result has been far from commensurate.

**Propaganda for Hindi.**

10. In the meanwhile, from the Press and platform an atmosphere has been created that Hindi is to be regarded as the very pivot of Indian nationalism. People of those States where Hindi has already been adopted as the language of education, of public life and of literature have enthusiastically supported this idea. Nevertheless there have been persistent objections and protests from most of the non-Hindi areas, and from distinguished persons in the domain of education and public life—protests which are not always audible in the midst of the loud voice of official approval from the Hindi-using States. Many good people, particularly in the Hindi areas, have now persuaded themselves to the belief that promoting the free and unfettered expansion of Hindi all over India is the bounden duty of all Indian citizens, no matter what language they may speak; and that any opposition or even expression of opinion to the contrary, suggesting the advisability of retaining English (even on the part of persons speaking other languages and who have not accepted Hindi) is considered to be tantamount to treason against the country. A singular lack of knowledge and realism as well as imagination is most painfully apparent in this attitude. This attitude, which is manifesting itself of late as a militant Chauvinism in certain Hindi areas and is creating a considerable amount of misgiving and opposition among speakers of languages other than Hindi— including persons who had been active and ardent supporters of Hindi like Shri C. Rajagopalachari and whose strong and reasoned advocacy of Hindi had won the warm approbation of even the Hindi-speaking people.

**Adoption of Hindi at the present time not an easy proposition.**

11. I have already pointed out that the acceptance of Hindi in the Constitution was done in an atmosphere of certain hasty beliefs and impressions and was thought to be a very simple matter by its enthusiastic supporters. Now we are face to face with the stark realities of the situation. After the move at the Centre and in the Hindi-using States to establish Hindi, a move which is becoming more and more insistent, the linguistic problem, which until now was never one of much practical importance or urgency in our country, has been made to assume (at least in certain quarters) a very great importance. It has taken the form of rivalry between Hindi (as a regional language in Hindi speaking States) and the regional languages of the non-Hindi States; between the regional languages and English; and between English and Hindi (Hindi both as a regional language and as the proposed official language); and the attitude to the last aspect of the problem is different in non-Hindi States from that in Hindi States. Many matters of prime importance which we never thought of, in our haste through optimistic enthusiasm, are now presenting themselves; and these now appear even to jeopardise both the basic unity of India and her intellectual pre-eminence, and already show signs of lowering administrative efficiency.

**Sentiment and passion often override reason.**

12. Human beings are quite often actuated by sentiments and passion rather than by good sense and reason, and the atmosphere in the mind of Indian peoples at the present moment, as in the case of most peoples in the world, is more propitious to the flight of sentiment rather than to the flow of reason. The most disconcerting thing that we can think of for Indian unity and solidarity is the emergence of an ardent and passionate linguism and linguistic chauvinism in the different linguistic areas of India, the Hindi area included.

I would like to refer in this connection to the remarks in the memorandum to the Commission by Shri K. M. Munshi who has had much experience at the Bar and in public life and who is familiar with both Hindi and English:—

> "Movements are afoot to eliminate English rapidly from several spheres of life; Hindi cannot take its place with equal speed; the vacuum is being filled by regional languages. By an over-enthusiastic effort at removing English from its place, Hindi has not gained; it has lost. Nationalism is suffering an eclipse. Regional consciousness is growing. Though to the ordinary mind the elimination of English appears to be a highly patriotic performance, our greatest danger today is militant regional linguism. It fosters the love of one's regional pride and aggressiveness. It creates a psychological barrier between "my" people who speak "my" language in a region and the "other" people who speak the "other" language. This linguistic Balkanization of India is bringing serious consequences in its wake."

I think that this statement concisely and accurately describes the present situation in the country.

**Indian people have never been intolerant about language or religion.**

13. The people of India, in their history, were never intolerant or exclusive in their language-consciousness. But since independence, provincial rivalries and jealousies are becoming concentrated through language as its chief medium. Already there are signs of want of sympathy for the languages of the minorities in some of the States, although this is not yet as bad as positive intolerance. The evidence heard by us showed that linguistic minorities are not always getting a square deal in the matter of their languages in schools and colleges within particular States. Matters were brought to a head when the principle of linguistic States was adopted, and then only half-heartedly applied in certain instances. The result has been an outburst of what may be condemned as linguistic fanaticism which has become something as anti-national and anti-social as religious fanaticism. Quite a number of responsible persons in the Hindi-speaking States too are not free from it. This has made our thinking people nervous particularly after certain anti-social happenings took place in many of the States arising directly out of the States Reorganisation Commission's Recommendations. I feel

that the recommendations made in the main Report might create a position with new difficulties for the Government. They have already had one serious problem to face and I am most anxious that proposals for the solution of the official language should not give any chance for a recurrence of what happened following the move for the reorganisation of States. One Jinn has been let out from the jar in which it was imprisoned and it now refuses to go inside of it once again. Let us not release another such Jinn which will cause immense harm to the country.

**Hindi as an Official Language.**

14. Hindi has been proposed only as the official language of India, but its enthusiastic supporters everywhere go much farther than that. They describe it as the National Language of India and give the impression that it is far superior to other languages and more worthy of being the official language. Our Prime Minister has pointed out that India has not one but fourteen National languages—he does not give any special pre-eminence to Hindi, and rightly so. Now that people in non-Hindi areas are faced with the task of learning Hindi with the idea of making it replace English, and they are being asked to help in the development of Hindi as something of a sacred duty, they are naturally getting anxious and nervous and are reviewing their attitude towards Hindi.

**Hindi not a developed language.**

15. People outside the Hindi orbit feel that Hindi is not yet a fully developed language which can take the place of English. Even the most ardent supporters of Hindi in Hindi areas are alive to its manifold deficiencies as an effective medium of expression. In the matter of its higher vocabulary, it has not as yet come to have a consistent policy which is universally supported by all of its speakers. Three or four conflicting tendencies, each with strong supporters, are hampering its development, whereas most other Indian languages are free from this conflict of ideals. Its development certainly has not been superior to that of the advanced languages of India. Speakers of some of these advanced modern languages of India who also have a knowledge of Hindi have a feeling that in some cases their own language is superior to Hindi as a means of expression. One must of course discount the personal factor in such an attitude, but the feeling is there.

People who possess as their mother tongues well-formed languages with a continous literary history of over a thousand years and more, like Bengali, Assamese, Oriya, Marathi, Gujarati, Telugu, Tamil, Kannada and Punjabi feel very diffident about accepting this new policy about official language particularly when by direct and indirect means it is attempted to be forced upon them.

**Language in the University.**

16. In our University life, English should continue for a long, long period as an indispensable language and not merely for a few years to come. As Shri C. Rajagopalachari has pointed out, English

has been to us a window to all knowledge. It would be quite idle to set a time limit in the matter of retention of English as it has been sought to be done. Such a move will be futile and even retrograde so long as the present ideal for a single and harmonious world culture is accepted. For bringing the best to the largest number of people possible, English presents itself as the most convenient medium. The Government of Madras in formulating its language policy in education, making the mother tongue and English compulsory and leaving Hindi as optional, points out: "English provides, and Hindi cannot provide, direct access to creative modern thought". I am definitely of the opinion that English should be the medium of instruction in all Universities till such time as Hindi is equipped enough to replace English and that there should be no change over to the media of regional languages either as an intermediary or as an ultimate measure.

There is a movement for abandoning compulsory study of English in the Secondary School classes. The Report states that those who will be the intellectual leaders and will be directing the development of India must be in possession of this instrument of modern intellectual life and culture which will bring them at par with the rest of the world and that though such directing intelligentsia may not form 3 or 2 or 1 or even ½ per cent of the population, they act as the necessary leaven for modern progress. How is one to realise in advance who from among our youth will reach this position and how can they acquire the possession of the instrument unless they have a good foundation for knowledge of English at the Secondary school stage?

**English as vehicle of knowledge.**

17. English is our most valuable vehicle of knowledge and it is a great legacy we have received from Europe like the railway, motor car, telegraph and other amenities of modern civilization. English has a powerful means of communication, which helped to bring about the unity of India as well as her recent eminence in Science. It must be conceded that knowledge of English gave an impetus to our social and religious reformers like Raja Rammohan Roy and political leaders and for the steady growth of nationalism and struggle for political freedom. English has helped us to give to the modern world personalities like Raja Rammohan Roy, Swami Vivekananda, Rabindranath Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi, Srinivasa Sastri, Shri C. V. Raman, Dr. Radhakrishnan and Shri Jawaharlal Nehru as exponents of Indian culture and intellect and the Indian attitude to the world. In our national struggle, English, though the language of those against whom the struggle was made, has been of immense help. When such is the historical background of English and as long as we continue to use our own languages also, we need not feel ashamed to use English as a vehicle of knowledge and intercommunication even though we are free from English rule. English is no longer the exclusive property of the Englishmen. It has become the language of the world and is being accepted everywhere as an important vehicle of expression, understanding and communication of thought among peoples. English tradition in education

and public life is of a high standard. It is more than a century old in India and has done immense good. Hindi has yet to develop a tradition for India as a whole and its open span of life is hardly 150 years.

**Sentiment in eliminating English.**

18. The desire to eliminate English from the Indian setting is often based on two mental attitudes:

(1) there is the inferiority complex that if we use English, we shall lose face before the other nations, (2) lack of proper appreciation of the fact that India is a multi-lingual State which does not have a common modern language, which can claim the willing homage of the people if we consider English as anti-Indian or anti-national. We have been in the past and still continue to be even more truly, most intensely national and patriotic with English as common language, understanding and appreciating the bearings of our civilization, which we can do with facility with the use of English. Indians in general do not really believe that the use of English as our common language in the present age, considering its historical circumstances and background in India, will in any way be derogatory to the self-respect of India. I am aware that a great many of our foremost leaders of thought are of this opinion. Almost all the witnesses in Bengal and Madras and also some of the most distinguished scholars and scientists from other States, who have served the cause of education and who have contributed to the wakening of India's intellectual and national life concur with the views I have expressed in this note. I would mention in this connection, by way of illustration, the names of Shri Rajagopalachari, Shri C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, Shri Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, Shri B. C. Roy, Shri K. M. Munshi, Shri M. R. Jayakar and well-known scientists like Shri C. V. Raman and Dr. K. S. Krishnan.

**Reasons for retaining English.**

19. There is one point which most of our politicians and ardent linguistic nationalists clamouring for the removal of English, fail to understand. The Indian intellectual, whether in North India or Bengal or Maharashtra or Tamil Nad, who wants to retain English in our education and in certain higher levels of our public life, does not do so out of a spirit of perversity, of "cussedness", or of denationalisation, or to perpetuate a class domination, or again out of a failure to appreciate his own national culture. He is on the other hand, actuated by a very deep sense of realism and practicality as well as of intellectual and humanistic idealism, which sees in English the means to improve his inner being by finding easy access to the best and noblest thought and aesthetic expression of the entire world of men, apart from the largest amount of positive scientific knowledge.

It is generally admitted that at present in Indian education the restriction or omission of English whether in favour of Hindi or the regional language, has brought in a serious deterioration in standards. This is inevitable as it has to be admitted that neither Hindi nor any regional language has developed sufficiently to be used as a

suitable vehicle of expression to explain scientific, technical and technological terms in the course of higher education or even for that matter in general administration. To this extent, therefore, it cannot be denied that English, if properly taught, is the only vehicle of expression available to us which would bring about a mental alertness and an attitude of intelligent interest in such subjects with a generally high level of efficiency. Experience has proved that a judicious combination of the mother tongue and English gives the best results. In a free India, the free and unfettered advance in intellectual equipment, no matter whatever is the medium, should not be made subservient to the fetish of an Indian language. If because of sentiment or sensitiveness we abandon or restrict English, which is still the best practical medium for the acquisition of knowledge, which India now has, we shall do so at our own peril.

**The present situation.**

20. The situation, as we are now realising it, is a very peculiar one indeed. Here is a language which is in no way superior to the other languages of India. Everybody including its own speakers and its most ardent supporters ruefully admits that it is not yet ready or up to the mark for the role it will have to play. Must we all take a plunge into it, leaving something which was quite clear and definite and helpful?

**Law and Justice.**

21. In the administration of law and justice, Article 348 was deliberately put in the Constitution and from the evidence of a majority of the judges and others who have the authority to speak on the subject, it is clear that Hindi cannot take the place of English and that, therefore, English as the language of both the Supreme Court and High Courts should not be interfered with for a long, long time to come. The amount of work to be done in the way of preparing proper technical vocabulary translations etc. cannot be hastily done.

The present position with English in this sphere is much simpler, and it is still working most smoothly. The substitution of English by Hindi or any other regional language will necessitate the translation of the entire mass of voluminous legal publications, reports, etc. into these languages. The launching of such a policy will undoubtedly involve heavy expenditure amounting to several crores and we must pause and seriously consider if we can afford it and if it is worthwhile to be so extravagant in the present economic situation in India to give an unnecessary and unfair priority to a language which is not yet "in esse" but only "in posse". If our legal system and legal thought had nothing to do with English, then it would have been a different matter. But now English will necessarily have to be the basis and background for many years to come in our legal set-up.

**Rules and Regulations in the Report.**

22. I cannot help feeling that when the psychological factor is so very powerful, the Report is wrong in prescribing a most harassing set of State regulations and interferences and in trying to whip up

the pace with a people as yet unprepared, and not yet free from latent jealousies and narrow-mindedness and parochialism. The elaborate prescriptions regarding the gradual change over within 5—10, 15 or 20 years and the carefully thought-out steps proposed to bring this about as quickly as possible, all become meaningless when we consider the mental background and the practical difficulties which must determine the line along which things will move.

**Public Examinations.**

23. With regard to the competitive examinations held by the Union Public Service Commission, not only the all-India Services, but also for all class I Central Services, such as I.F.S., I.A. and A.S. and the officer cadre of Defence Services, I consider that English should continue to be the medium of examinations at least for many years to come. After Hindi has attained the same standard and position that English has, it may become the alternative medium at the option of the candidate, but a person who opts for Hindi should be compelled to answer a stiff paper or two to prove that he has adequate knowledge of the English language; just as a candidate who opts for English should answer a paper or two in Hindi, the standard of which must be very simple for many years to come. I am firmly of opinion that there should never be a multiplicity of languages as media for these examinations. The Report has suggested ways and means to remove difficulties in the way of establishing Hindi. The cost in the loss of efficiency and the general set back in the administration, apart from the waste of money, are important factors which should make us think twice over the matter.

In this respect, I would also like to say that instead of trying to shift the burden of taking a decision on a future Commission, we should face the issue even now and make a decision on it. I have found in the course of the deliberations of the Commission that, with regard to the media for these examinations there are two opposite points of view, which have alarmed me—one section in favour of Hindi and the other in favour of regional languages. I fear that the linguistic fanaticism of those who hold these two opposite points of view in the country may become a serious menace to unity and harmony in our country. I do feel that it must be stopped now and I recommend that the demand for multiplicity of languages for purposes of examination for the all India and Class I Central Services should not be accepted.

**Undue haste not advisable.**

24. Under present conditions all that the people of non-Hindi areas would suggest is that the matter must not be hastened and no time-limit can be a practical proposition. Let us keep as a great ideal before us that at some future time Hindi may become the language mostly widely understood in India, being accepted voluntarily and then through the eminence of the Hindi-speaking peoples in the arts and sciences, which they may have acquired by then, Hindi will become a great language to be a rival of English; and then the rest of India may gladly accept it. Now it is like putting the cart before the horse. We could now go on along the line of least resistance. The States Reorganisation Commission's recom-

mendations have brought in so much rancour and internecine strife that there is certainly grave cause for alarm. Many of our statesmen have suggested that as matters of secondary importance the Re-organisation of the States and the replacement of English by Hindi at the Centre should be shelved for some time. In any case, nothing should be done by the Centre without obtaining from the Legislatures of the non-Hindi States clear indication of the wishes of the speakers of the various regional languages in the matter—through their properly elected representatives, the members of the State Legislative Bodies.

**The Constitution.**

25. During the course of our discussions, I became convinced that Hindi having been accepted in the Constitution as the Official Language, its exponents do not like to alter the Constitution as if it were a sacrosanct document. No Constitution is immutable in its scope and our Constitution cannot stand in the way of being amended as and when necessary in the interests of the country. We have already altered the Constitution several times without any compunction. Those who oppose the proposal for the amendment of the Constitution do not appreciate that due preparation should be made before Hindi could become the official language of the Union. In their enthusiasm of the present constitutional provisions they overlook the fact that they will be coercing the non-Hindi speaking people to adopt it, while neither those people nor the Hindi Language is ready for the purpose. In a very vital matter like the official language of India, a question which seriously affects the non-Hindi speaking areas, the Constitution can certainly be amended. The West Bengal witnesses including the representatives of the Government were definite in their opposition to the introduction of Hindi by 1965. So also were most of the witnesses in Madras including the Chief Minister of Madras and the witnesses in Mysore including the Chief Minister of Mysore. The Government of Madras who at first merely envisaged a situation wherein after 1965 English would have to continue, have in a subsequent letter to the Commission stated that they would welcome an amendment to the Constitution.

**My specific recommendations.**

26. Having explained my points of view in brief, I give below my specific proposals which I consider just and proper taking into account the existing conditions in the country. They should be before the Governments, Legislatures and the people, in all parts of the country. It is only in this way that more points of view than one can be considered by those who deal with the destiny of the people:

Taking into consideration the terms of reference indicating "the duty of the Commission to make recommendations to the President 'on the five items mentioned in Article 344 of the Constitution' while having due regard to the industrial, cultural and scientific advancement of India and the just claims and interests of persons belonging to non-Hindi speaking areas in regard to public services", I would beg respectfully to make the following recommendations to the President:—

(i) Because of the fact that Hindi-speaking people will have a great advantage over non-Hindi speakers if Hindi, which

is the regional language of the former, comes to be used for all official purposes of the Union before the non-Hindi speaking areas are equipped with equal facilities to adopt Hindi and that as a consequence it is possible that India will have a privileged class of Hindi speakers in all departments of public life and administration and also because that as a further consequence the fundamental rights of the non-Hindi speakers in the matter of their language are sure to be seriously affected both in an All-India setting as well as in their own States,

and further taking into account the present political situation in the various States of India which is at present certainly not normal through the working of linguistic and territorial jealousies and rivalries and is not at all propitious for any far-reaching change which may be taken to affect the linguistic and other rights of the Indian people particularly when they are outside the Hindi orbit,—

(a) the question of the progressive use of the Hindi language for the official purposes of the Union be kept in abeyance for the time being as it may bring in grave complications unnecessarily within the Union; and the Commission to be appointed under clause (4) of article 344 of the Constitution be also directed to take cognizance of the situation in the country regarding the progress of education, administrative efficiency and the wishes of the non-Hindi speaking peoples of India in this connection, while making their recommendations. The President is also respectfully requested to give due weight to the altered situation in the country in the above matters before issuing any directions in accordance with the Report.

(b) The restrictions on the use of the English language for all or any of the official purposes of the Union, in the interests of Indian unity and harmony, efficiency in administration, and advancement of the Indian people in Science and Technology as well as in the humanities be not given effect to for the time being and the same procedure be followed regarding the Commission to be appointed under clause (4) of Article 344 of the Constitution as for item (a) above.

(ii) For a long time to come for all the purposes mentioned in Article 348 of the Constitution, the use of the English language be continued as now, both in the High Courts and the Supreme Court and the States be given the liberty to use their regional language side by side with English in their subordinate courts. The language both in the Central Parliament and in the State Legislatures should be English for a long time with the option as given now to members who are not familiar with English to use either Hindi or their regional language, and the States be given the liberty to use their regional languages side by side with Hindi and/or English.

(iii) The international forms of the Indian numerals which have been already accepted for the convenience of the whole of India not only for easy communication but also for scientific purposes, be retained throughout the country for all languages as any change will cause confusion.

(iv) A language cannot be developed to order, and the preparation of a time-schedule before a language is actually developed will be futile and exasperating because it is impossible to be certain of achievement. The mind of the people must be first modernised, and sufficiently advanced in both science and culture, before its languages can become an adequate vehicle for the expression of the mentality of a modern and progressive people, in politics as much as in other departments of life.

It will finally rest with the different States using their own regional languages to decide, after Hindi has been voluntarily adopted by them and a knowledge of it has spread throughout their territory, to what extent Hindi can be used for communication between the Union and the State Governments and between one State Government to another.

I would, therefore, recommend that for the time being the idea of having a definite time schedule for the above purpose be kept in abeyance, and that we endeavour now to spread Hindi in non-Hindi speaking States largely through voluntary effort on the part of the States themselves.

(v) The medium of instruction at the University level should be English till such time as Hindi gets equipped for replacing English as the medium. However, even when Hindi ultimately becomes the medium, English should continue as the medium of instruction in scientific, technical and technological subjects and also in subjects like politics and economics for a longer time to come. This would certainly not militate against the study and development of the regional languages in the many universities of India.

(vi) In the case of competitive examinations for the All-India Services and the Central Services referred to above, English should remain for many years as the sole medium of examinations. After that time, Hindi may become an alternative medium with the condition regarding additional papers that I have mentioned.

(vii) The States may adopt the language of their region as the medium for all State purposes if they think it desirable and easy to do so. Examinations conducted by the State Public Service Commissions may be in the regional languages with option given to the candidate to have either English or Hindi as the medium.

(viii) English should remain as the Official Language of the Union, so long as Hindi does not attain the standard which is necessary for the purpose of replacing English as the official language and as long as it is not accepted as the medium of instruction in all the Universities of India and for these reasons English must find a place in Schedule VIII of the Constitution as one of the languages of India.

**Conclusion.**

27. I would in conclusion again express my disappointment that unanimity was not possible. I appreciate the consideration that has been shown me by our Chairman and other colleagues but I cannot compromise on differences over what I consider to be fundamental principles. My sense of duty as a member of this Commission and my concern for the progress of our country with peace and harmony have made me put forward my specific recommendations after giving much time and thought to the matter. In making these recommendations I repeat that I have been strongly conscious of the following four primary objectives, *viz.*,

(i) the maintenance of national unity;

(ii) the maintenance of efficiency of administration;

(iii) the advancement of knowledge among all sections of the people; and

(iv) the availability of equal opportunities for all citizens from all parts of the country.

I feel that those who will take final decisions on this question of language should give full and serious consideration for the point of view which has been put forward above.

P. SUBBARAYAN.

**A SEPARATE NOTE**

**TO BE APPENDED TO THE REPORT**

**OF**

**THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE COMMISSION**

(GOVERNMENT OF INDIA)

**BOMBAY**

BY

MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

## CONTENTS


| | | Page |
|---|---|---|
| | Introduction (Why this Note) | 335 |
| 1. | Language pattern under the Constitution of India | 343 |
| 2. | Language of Law-making and Law-courts under the Constitution | 354 |
| 3. | Place of Hindi and English in National Education | 357 |
| | Addendum—Madras Legislative Council Resolution | 361 |
| 4. | Medium of Instruction | 364 |
| | Addendum—Gandhiji's Views | 368 |
| 5. | Medium of Public Services Examinations | 371 |
| | Addendum—Moderation of a Multi-medium Examination | 375 |
| 6. | The Hindi Prachar Movement—A Critical Survey of Its Fundamentals | 378 |

## INTRODUCTION

### [Why This Note]

1. I pen this note with great reluctance and under a sense of deep responsibility. At Srinagar, on 19th June, 1956, when I, along with my colleagues of the O.L.C. (*i.e.* Official Language Commission), was asked to sign what will be presented to the President as our Report under Article 344(2) of the Constitution of India (shortly C. of I.), I had reluctantly to record that I signed it subject to my separate note. This I present now for incorporation in the Report.

### I

2. We were appointed by the President under Article 344(1) of the C. of I. Our duty as the O.L.C. is prescribed by the C. of I. itself in the next clause of that article, *viz.* Article 344(2). It contains five sub-clauses (a), (b), (c), (d) and (e) laying down the items of the duty of the Commission to make recommendations to the President. These constitute the terms of reference to the O.L.C.

3. The next clause, *i.e.*, Article 344(3) is in the form of a directive to the O.L.C. asking it to have 'due regard to the industrial, cultural and scientific advancement of India and the just claims and the interests of persons belonging to the non-Hindi speaking areas in regard to the public services', when making its recommendations under Article 344(2). The directive connotes two safeguards (1) regard for our manifold national advancement and (2) protection for the interests of non-Hindi speaking areas, particularly in the public services.

4. It may be noted that no need is felt to mention India's unity as a directive in the Article. National unity is implicit in the Constitution, as it informs and infuses the whole of it. It follows therefrom that, whatever linguistic pattern or the settlement of the language problem that the Constitution of India envisages and has laid down is held to be consistent with the paramount need of India's unity. Rather, we might say that the pattern portrayed or the solution laid down by the Constitution is true to such need and is so laid down because it will subserve this basic fact of our national existence. Hence if the O.L.C. kept itself true to that pattern when making its recommendations, one need not worry that it will cause any harm to India's unity as envisaged by the Constitution of our country.

### II

5. The first four sub-clauses of Article 344(2), *viz.* (2) (a) (b) (c) and (d) and Article 344(3) noted in the paras above are bodily taken from that Article and reproduced as part of the terms of reference to the O.L.C. The fifth term of reference about the need of a time-schedule is occasioned by Article 344(2) (e) of the C. of I.

which says: "any other matter referred to the Commission as regards the official language of the Union and the language for communication between the Union and a State or between one State and another and their use".

6. Under this sub-clause of the said Article 344(2), the President asked the O.L.C., in its fifth term of reference (e), for "the preparation of a time-schedule according to which and the manner in which Hindi may replace English as the official language of the Union and as a language for communication between the Union and State Governments and between one State Government and another".

7. The sub-clause entrusts the O.L.C. with a clear and specific duty, *viz.*, that it should recommend to the President a clear-cut policy and programme giving a time-schedule for, and the manner of, gradually replacing English by Hindi which is to be the official language of the Union and that of the States also for the latters' communication with the Union and amongst themselves.

8. This is a very specific and significant reference. It asks for submitting a time-schedule for, and showing the manner of, the replacement of English by introducing the progressive use of the language of the Union and restricting the use of English from what it obtains at present.

III

9. The terms of reference to the O.L.C., particularly the fifth one spotlighted above, must be understood in the background of another relevant fact or two that we were appointed at the "expiration of five years from the commencement of the C. of I." and that under the Constitution another O.L.C. will follow in 1960 with a similar duty. Further, it is laid down, as a working target for framing such a time table, that the process of the transition from English be so thought out and planned as to give a reasonable assurance that it will be almost on its way to be complete by 1965. If as a result of its inquiry the O.L.C. might feel that this was not possible by 1965, it might say so and recommend the transition of replacement time-scheduled accordingly. My point is that our recommendations should give a clear-cut policy and programme, which if worked out, may be reasonably expected to lead to the fulfilment of the time-target set down by the Constitution.

10. Further, there is, in this connection of the time-schedule, another fact deserving notice. Though we are the first O.L.C. we had not to work on a clean slate: we come in the field of the language question after the expiration of five years from 1950, during which the Governments of the Union and the States were required to begin this work of promoting the spread of Hindi and preparing for the transition from English to Indian languages. My point is that the O.L.C. does not begin its work at the beginning, but that Governments have begun to move and do something, both at the Union and the State levels, in this matter of their constitutional duty of the

linguistic change-over enjoined by the C. of I. In this field the non-official world also has been active in its own way, which is noteworthy and to be welcomed as the earnest of its good will and active cooperation in this matter.

11. Naturally the O.L.C's examination and inquiry of the problem set to it and its recommendations will have to be largely based on the picture of work done during the first five years. Therefore a clear and precise appraisement and constructive review of the work done during the period 1950—55, both in the official and the non-official sectors of the field, becomes necessary, so that actual difficulties and impediments that might have held up, thwarted, retarded or restricted the process of the change-over might be considered and future programmes and policies be so devised as to overcome them and set the matter aright.

IV

12. The O.L.C. went into such an inquiry and has noted its findings in the report. The picture presented is not satisfactory. Admittedly, as the Madras Government Explanatory memorandum submitted to the O.L.C. says, "the problems involved in organising the transition from English to Hindi at the Centre are numerous, varied and complex". The task of tackling them, particularly in a multilingual situation like ours, is indeed very trying and difficult. However, what is pertinent to note here is that, (in the words of the said memorandum which says further) "these problems have not even been completely surveyed and mapped out. The solutions are yet to be worked out. Though five years have passed out of the 15 stipulated as the transition period, the transition process has not yet commenced".

13. Our inquiry into the work done during 1950—55 corroborates this remark and one might well say therefrom, without any fear of contradiction, that there is not visible on the Indian scene anything like an active all-India movement clearly mapped out and made operative in such a way as to have to ourselves some reasonable assurance that the transition is on its way and will be duly negotiated by 1965, with the help of the recommendations of two O.L.C.'s that will be instituted by the President to that end. The demand by the President from the O.L.C. for a time-schedule which will obviously entail consideration of setting up all-India targets must be understood in this background of first five years' work as well.

V

14. The need of a clear-cut policy with a time-schedule at least covering the period of the 1st O.L.C.'s jurisdiction, I mean, 1956—60, is further highlighted by another very important and noteworthy consideration. Article 344(1) of the C. of I. says that the President shall constitute the O.L.C. consisting of the representatives of the languages of India specified in its Eighth schedule. If we examine the Article further we find that this body is privileged under the Constitution to have the right of initiative in the matter of negotiating the transition from English to India's languages. The recommendations of this body, as reported upon by the Parliament Committee to be constituted under Article 344(4), shall be the basis for

the Presidential directions in this matter. This shows that neither the said Parliament Committee nor the President can add any new matter to the recommendations submitted by the O.L.C. It, in a way, invests the republic of the languages of India with veto power in the field of the language transition. No coercive or such-like powers of the Central Government will be used in a way that may appear like imposing Hindi on any linguistic area.

15. In this connection I may note a significant answer that a very important witness of a non-Hindi speaking State gave to a question—if the Centre decides to use Hindi in its communication with States, how would you prepare for it? The answer given was, 'If it is imposed on me, I would secede from the Union'. (I write this question and answer from memory and in my words, as I have not before me a copy of this oral evidence).

16. This emphasises still further not only the need of a policy and a time-schedule, but also that it must be such as may be accepted by non-Hindi speaking areas in particular. We found that Bengal and Tamil Nad in particular were thinking not in terms of replacement but of retention of English for the time being, for reasons I may not go into at this stage of my note. I may only remark here that this feeling in the South and the East must be removed by virtue of our recommendations and an all-India plan of work made operative as their result. This can be done only if we suggest clear-cut all-India targets with a time-schedule broadly laid down for the transition programme.

17. In this connection I agree with my colleague Dr. Subbarayan where he says in his note that "though there is an attempt in the Report to frame a time-schedule for introduction of Hindi as the official language of the Union by 1965, there is really no time-schedule as I would conceive it". It would not do to say that it was not possible because the Government of India did not suggest anything like it to the O.L.C. This would perhaps be like putting the cart before the horse. Under the Constitution of India it is the O.L.C. which has to initiate proposals in this matter and the President has specifically asked for them from us as one of our duties.

## VI

18. I referred above (*vide* para. 12) to the Explanatory Memorandum of the Government of Madras where it said that the language transition process has not still commenced. It further remarks that "nor is (it) likely to commence until the reconstruction of States is completed on the basis of the recommendations of the S.R.C. and detailed decisions are reached after the conclusion of the labours of the O.L.C. and the O.L. Committee of Parliament which will follow it".

19. The remark pinpoints two things: the vital relationship of the problem of States reorganisation with that of language transition, and the need of a detailed map of the transition from English to Indian languages. Both of these things will be before the people now: The S.R. Bill is before the Parliament and the O.L.C. will be

concluding its labours shortly and will report to the President next month. What is noteworthy here is that our labours as the O.L.C. are expected to give 'detailed decisions' on various matters connected with the transition.

20. Obviously the transition process has mainly to start in non-Hindi-speaking States.* They must begin to learn Hindi and get ready to use it for the purposes of their inter-State and Union-State communication. They should also begin to replace English with the State's official language or languages as decided by them. This decision has not been still taken by many States.

21. In some of the States we found that there was a strong inclination to retain English, even though they declared that they would have their regional languages as State Official Languages. Why this reluctance on their part is, for instance, clearly stated by the Madras Government in their Explanatory Memorandum quoted above. Discussing the question "why no serious step has been taken so far to bring about a change in the official language of the State" it says—

> "While it is true that the decisions regarding the official language of the State are to be taken independently of the decision regarding the official language of the Union, the probable repercussions on the State Administration and the State educational system must be understood and allowed for......But no decision about the changes at the Centre appeared likely until the O.L.C. studied the problem".

22. It is not that Madras or Bengal or other non-Hindi areas have not shown their mind on these matters of the medium of State administration and education. Their fears and apprehensions are whether it will be ratified by the O.L.C. or whether they, as a result of its recommendations, will be confronted with a situation from the Centre in which their decisions could have no free scope of implementation. The present situation in the country, specially in non-Hindi speaking areas in the South and the East, *vis-a-vis* the transition is therefore, so to say, in such suspended animation. While they accept the constitutional clause about Hindi as the official language of the Union, they ask for retaining English along with it and they continue to retain it at the State level both in administration and education. Surely this is a very great hurdle in starting the all-India movement for transition. It must be removed. It will not do to postpone this duty to the next O.L.C. to come in 1960-61, unless we agree to lose the precious next five years also.

23. Therefore it is very necessary that a proper dynamic for a nation-wide movement for the change-over both at the Union and the State levels is found out and set in motion as a result of our recommendations. This means that in their total effect and significance,

---

*Hindi-speaking States will also have to replace English at the State level as other States, with this difference that they will not have to learn a new language as the non-Hindi speaking States.

our recommendations should succeed in allaying fears and apprehensions obtaining at present in the non-Hindi speaking areas about the nature and form of linguistic set-up that will come about in future as a result of our recommendations. I am afraid, our recommendations leave a good something to be desired in this respect.

VII

24. Till now I have written about the specific and main duty enjoined on us by the President. I admit that in fulfilling it properly, the O.L.C. might be required to ramify its inquiry into related issues, which, strictly speaking, may be outside the letters of its terms of reference.

25. As such issues the O.L.C. has chosen to have medium of instruction for higher education, nature scope and development of Hindi and other languages of India, the place of English in the educational system of the country, etc. Obviously, these matters are clearly not within the scope of the work of the O.L.C. Most of them are State subjects and as such are within the powers of agencies, official and non-official, of the States. If, as is often said, these are matters in which the question of the unity of India is concerned, surely the C. of I. would have gone into them and enjoined specific lines and directions for them. As we see, it has done nothing of the sort. These are rather questions wherein enlightened opinion of the free world is clear and unequivocal. Free as we are now as a people, we have to arrange our house in accordance with it.

26. Again, most of these extraneous matters into which the O.L.C. has allowed itself to be drawn are the very things regarding which, as we saw above, the people of the States feel keenly and are uneasy about how the O.L.C. will react to them and report. They also fear how the Government of India, with the wide powers it has and the over-all authority it can wield in various ways, will use its legal, *i.e.* coercive powers in this behalf. As I said above, it is this thing which impedes the movement for the change-over to start and make headway. The O.L.C. report, in this regard, has not only 'over-flown' the terms of reference, but also overstepped them and made suggestions and remarks which, to say the least, will not help allay fears and apprehensions noted above in this note.

27. I noted above from the oral evidence of a V.I.P. from a non-Hindi-speaking State. It illustrated the point from one direction. Quite the opposite direction was illustrated to us by a V.I.P. from another non-Hindi speaking State. He gave us the other side of the matter when he said that the programme of Hindi propagation in the official and even non-official sectors should be pushed on with the central authority and powers. (I may again say that I summarise the evidence from memory as I have no copy of it when I write this). It is such ideas and approach to the language problem which cause alarm of 'imposition of Hindi'.

28. As I said at the beginning, the O.L.C. will naturally go into related issues. Being the first one, it will try to draw general lines of the language problem and depict the essentials of its solution. My point however is that all this will be governed and limited by

the main consideration of its task, *viz.* the needs of replacement of English and the progressive use of Hindi for official purposes.

VIII

29. At the States level also the problem of replacement of English exists as badly as at the centre. English holds equal sway over the States both as the language of communication within the State and with the Union and other States and as the medium of instruction etc. The O.L.C. is not asked in its reference to directly concern itself with intra-State replacement of English. However, it cannot escape it, because replacement of English is an integral all-India process, which cannot be isolated at the State level. Rather, if it has at all to succeed, it should really begin there.

30. At the State level this replacement is a two-pronged movement. On one side the State will replace English in its administrative and educational systems by progressively using its recognised official language or languages; and on the other it will prepare itself to have Hindi for inter-State and Union-State communication, so that there may be no vacuum in the transitional stage. Both these movements must start simultaneously as one composite plan and a single unified process. Only thus can an all-India change-over be made a practical proposition. I feel that this aspect of the dynamics of the change-over is not brought out by the O.L.C.R. as much as it should be.

31. There is another point in this regard also. There is to be found an opinion or a school of thought in the country which, invoking the name of India's unity, says that we should have as much Hindi, in the State administration and education, as possible. The O.L.C.R. in this connection has made certain observations and has styled them as 'conclusions' as contradistinct from 'recommendations', the latter being strictly in regard to the terms of reference. I think these 'conclusions' might better and more modestly as well as appropriately be styled 'observations'. And I have felt that in their cumulative effect, these so-called 'conclusions' err in creating an impression that Hindi is sought to be used in places where it should better avoid conflict with the legitimate claims of regional or State languages. It is this avoidable conflict that would rather jeopardise India's unity by unwittingly provoking emotional mal-integration among linguistic groups.

IX

32. Again, at this stage of the work of progressive introduction of the use of Hindi, the Union language, it is very necessary that we must be clear about its nature and position. Hindi at present is only one of the languages of India of the Eighth schedule. Hindi as the language of the Union has only titular and prospective existence. Again Hindi is not a developed language like English, such as can be readily adopted in its place; nor does it command richness as would make it attractive for the purpose of literature, knowledge, etc. like English. However, if it is to be the all-India common language as has been decided in our Constitution, it must be learnt by non-Hindi speaking areas. But, as I said earlier, the whole matter is in suspended animation. It can become an active

living proposition only when these areas adopt it in their educational and administrative fields in place of English which rules to-day. This means that Hindi requires to be so developed.

33. Further, a common name 'Hindi' for both the official language of the Union and for a regional language of North India creates confusion in our thinking leading to mistaken decisions in various matters of immediate import and effect. For example, if we say that Hindi will be an alternate medium of all-India Services competitive examinations with English it will only mean that it will benefit those only in the North whose regional language is Hindi, because Hindi as a common Union language has yet to come into existence. If we suggest that English should be replaced here, we should, in fairness, say that all regional languages will have equal recognition for the purpose. Hindi only can be possible only when it is a living second language of the non-Hindi speaking areas. When deciding about introducing Hindi for official purposes, this matter of the dual nature of Hindi and its development and enrichment for perfecting it as a vehicle competent to replace English is a very pertinent consideration.

34. The O.L.C.R., in its analysis of the problem of Hindi, noted two sectors on, I should think, a mistaken analogy of terms prevalent in economic planning today, *viz.* 'the public sector' and the 'private sector'. The former is the official sector; the latter is the non-official sector of the people's use of languages in education and public life. The latter is therefore really the 'national' sector where not the official language of the Union, but the national common language Hindi, India's Antar Bhasha will prevail. Like the two aspects of Hindi noted above, here also we have two aspects on the all-India plane.

35. We desire to replace English in both these sectors. Though related, both require to be examined separately also. While the official Hindi will be developed to a certain extent as a directed language under terminological and such other prescriptions laid down in Government manuals etc., the national language will emerge as a free growth through the efforts of our entire people. The latter will energise the former and make it not a mere official Esperanto or jargon, but a living and creative thing though directed in a particular manner by Government. This renders the whole question of replacement of English by Hindi not merely an official venture; it becomes a venture for the entire Indian people though they speak many tongues. In this great effort the Government of the land will lead and will have to be led by them.

36. To start such a process with the good will of all the units of the Union is the linguistic problem before the country. The C. of I. has indicated the main lines which such an effort should adopt. It is along them that the O.L.C. is asked to suggest a programme and a time-schedule for the next five years. My feeling is that the O.L.C.R. leaves an impression of not meeting this question in as categorical a manner as possible and essential in the present situation. In this introduction to my note, I have tried to show why I feel that way, by referring to some aspects of our work. I now propose to take the chief of them for a more detailed consideration.

## CHAPTER I

## LANGUAGE PATTERN UNDER THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

1. This is portrayed in Part XVII of the Constitution—Arts. 343 to 351. The Articles are arranged into four Chapters headed as follows:—

1. Language of the Union (Arts. 343-44);
2. Regional Languages (Arts. 345—7);
3. Language of the Supreme Court, High Courts etc. (Arts. 348-9); and
4. Special Directives (Arts. 350-1).

2. There is, further, the 8th Schedule in reference to Arts. 344 and 351, which specifies the "Languages of India" for the purposes mentioned in these two Articles.

3. Consideration of these five along with the fundamental rights regarding language, education, culture, etc. in particular gives us the picture of this pattern.

I

4. We in the Constituent Assembly resolved to constitute India into a sovereign democratic Republic. Accordingly the solution it arrived at for the language problem is essentially democratic and true to our cultural and educational advancement, consistent with the requirements of good and efficient administration in a republican democracy of a multi-lingual Union composed of State units.

5. It guarantees as a fundamental cultural and educational right of the citizen that any section of our people shall have the right to conserve its distinct language or script or culture it may have. [Art. 29 (1)].

6. It also ordains that no citizen shall be denied admission into State-owned or aided educational institutions on grounds of religion, race, caste, language or any of them. [Art. 29 (2)].

7. It also specifically directs that every person shall be entitled to submit a representation for the redress of any grievance to any officer or authority of the Union or a State in any of the languages used in the Union or in the State, as the case may be. (Art. 350).

8. We might well say that this is the charter of linguistic rights and freedom our people got for the first time in recent history. The language pattern that is devised for the official purposes of the Union and its Units must be understood and interpreted against this background. As we shall see below, it is equally liberal and democratic. It gives freedom of choice of the official language for a State

to States and for the Union it prescribes that it shall have as its official language an indigenous language Hindi, which is known to the largest number of our people.

II

9. The Constitution notes the fact of the diversity of languages in our country and recognises them all as 'regional languages'. These are not the 14 ones only as enumerated in the 8th Schedule; they also include all other languages and/or dialects like Maithili, Bhojpuri, Avadhi, Rajasthani, Dogri, Ladaki, Cutchi, Konkani, Bundeli, etc. Under Art. 345, these are all eligible to be recognised as official languages of their respective States where they might be in use as regional languages.

10. The meaning and significance of this provision is even more apparent if we see Art. 347 which gives power to the President that "on a demand being made in that behalf, the President may, if he is satisfied that a substantial proportion of the population of a State desire the use of any language spoken by them to be recognised by that State, direct that such language shall also be officially recognised throughout that State or any part thereof for such purposes he may specify."

11. Thus we find that Jammu and Kashmir has recognised Dogri, Ladaki and Kashmiri and uses Urdu as the common State language also. On the other hand we have an instance of U.P. and Bihar where Urdu, one of their regional languages, is not recognised and an application has been made to the President under Art. 347 for its recognition along with Hindi which is recognised as the only State language.

III

12. Amongst our 'regional' or indigenous languages, there is not one that is at present in use as an all-India common language. English is used as such for our common all-India purposes, official and non-official. The Constitution has laid down that the official language of the Union shall be Hindi in the Devnagari script so far as letters of the alphabet are concerned, the numerals being the "international form of Indian numerals." [Art. 343 (1)].

13. As Hindi is not taught in schools of the whole country like English and hence as it is not known outside the Hindi-speaking areas and as it is not sufficiently rich and developed to take over immediately from English, provision is made for a transitional period of 15 years, *i.e.* up to 1965, during which it is laid down that English shall continue to be used as before for all the official purposes of the Union. [Art. 343 (2)].

14. It will be seen that the Constitution does not contemplate a sudden break with English as the medium of administration, and allows no vacuum to occur. Hence it further says [Art. 343 (3)] that, if need be, Parliament may provide by law for continuing the use of English even after the target-time of 15 years for such purposes as may be specified in the law.

15. But it does contemplate that the use of English will begin to be restricted as Hindi gets ready to take over. Insistence for a change-over to Hindi as soon as we can can be seen even from the provision in Art. 343 (2) which empowers the President to authorise by order the use of Hindi in addition to the English language even during the transitional period of fifteen years. After the period is over, Hindi becomes the Union's official language and English can continue also only if Parliament so enacts specifically.

16. Thus, during the transition there is provision for the use of both English and Hindi for different official purposes of the Union. But it would be wrong and misleading therefrom to describe the two mediums in terms of one being 'principal' and the other 'subsidiary', as the Explanatory Memorandum submitted to the O.L.C. by the Madras Government does. The proper description would be that while English is the *outgoing* official language of the Union, Hindi is the *incoming* one. There is no question of retention of English as the medium of administration under the Constitution; it envisages its restriction and eventual or ultimate replacement by Hindi.

17. For the fulfilment of this end, the Constitution has provided for the democratic process of instituting an O.L.C. whose duty it is, as we saw before, to suggest the policy and programme for such replacement (Art. 344).

IV

18. The position of the States *vis-a-vis* the language problem is different from that of the Union. Unlike the Union, *i.e.* the country as a whole, many of the States are uni-lingual and as we know, they are shortly going to be reorganised, so that almost all of them will be uni-lingual generally. They will then be in a position to decide in their legislatures immediately to adopt their respective regional languages as official languages of the States. Therefore, while the Constitution (Art. 345) says that States shall continue to use English as they do to-day, it does not prescribe a transitional period for their change-over to Indian languages, as they can forthwith adopt their regional languages and replace English by using them under Art. 345, for intra-State purposes.

19. However, obviously they cannot do so for the purposes of extra-State communication with other States or the Union. They must have a common all-India language for this purpose. The Constitution prescribes that the language for the time being authorised for use in the Union for official purposes, *i.e.* English at present and Hindi eventually when it replaces the former, shall be such medium for extra-State use. (Art. 346).

20. It is noteworthy that in this field also a sort of urgency about the transition to the use of Hindi is shown by inserting a Constitutional provision (Art. 346) that if two or more States agree that Hindi should be the official language for communication between such States, that language may be used, even though English might be the official language of the Union.

21. The above analysis of the constitutional position shows that States will have to undertake a two-fold programme for the change-over. What is further remarkable in their case is that they and not the Union are in the unique position of starting it immediately. The initiative almost entirely lies with them.

22. The two-fold programme for the State is, firstly, they will change the medium of administration for intra-State official purposes; secondly, they will have to replace English for the extra-State official purposes of inter-State and Union communication, by learning Hindi and preparing their personnel for using it for those purposes. Unlike this, the Union will have to undertake a unifold process only, *viz.* that of changing to Hindi in the central secretariat for its internal purposes. In regard to using it in its communication with the States and the public, chiefly the non-Hindi-speaking areas, it will have to await their preparedness for entertaining such use. Here the work of the Union will be a joint affair with the States. This will need a modicum of the spread of Hindi among the people also. I shall leave this point of the dynamics of the change-over here.

V

23. We shall now turn to consider the group of languages enumerated as Schedule Eight in the Constitution. They are fourteen in all. All of them are indigenous languages of India. Except for Sanskrit which is our ancient classical all-India language, the rest are modern Indian regional languages.

24. As we saw above their enumeration is occasioned by Art. 344 and 351. Its meaning and significance in relation to Art. 344 was noted by us earlier (*vide* Introduction, Para. 14); that in relation to Art. 351 is even more serious and fundamental *vis-a-vis* the language problem and Hindi in particular.

25. Art. 351 defines Hindi, the official language of the Union and in so doing it touches various aspects of the language problem like the form and scope of Union Hindi, its relationship with the 14 scheduled languages of India on one hand and, on the other hand, with the problem of the national or an all-India common language or the Antar Bhasha (*i.e.* the Lingua Franca) of India, etc. These must be closely studied now if we propose to start the process of linguistic transition in our country. It will not do now to shirk them. I quite agree with the remark in our Report, in its Chapter 13 (Propagation and Development of Hindi and the Regional Languages) that "widest publicity may be given to all the aspects underlying the nation's language policy to inculcate a proper perspective among the people at large in this regard."

VI

26. Art. 351 occurs as a directive to the Union. It is as follows:—

"It shall be the duty of the Union to promote the spread of the Hindi language, to develop it so that it may serve as a

medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India and to secure its enrichment by assimilating without interfering with its genius, the forms, style and expressions used in Hindustani and in the other languages of India specified in the Eighth Schedule and by drawing, wherever necessary or desirable for its vocabulary, primarily on Sanskrit and secondarily on other languages."

27. The fourteen languages are described as 'languages of India' and not as 'regional languages', as it would be too wide for the purposes of the Article. They are cited as intended to supply the Union Hindi, for its assimilation, "without interfering with its genius", with forms, styles and expressions, and also words,* wherever necessary and desirable.

28. The Article contemplates and prescribes that the Union Hindi is to develop "so that it may serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture† of India". It is tenable to suggest therefrom that the Union Hindi as defined by Art. 351

---

*It may be noted here that Art. 351 says that adopting new words for the enrichment of the vocabulary of the Hindi language is to be done by drawing, wherever necessary and desirable, primarily from Sanskrit and secondarily from other languages. The point to be noted here is that other languages include all languages, not only these fourteen. Therefore, English and other languages of the world with which we might be in contact and hence would have to take words from them, are not excluded. Other languages are not qualified to mean only Indian or some specific other languages only. Words can be adopted freely without interfering with the genius of Hindi. This is significant in the context of the recent purist movement in the North which aims to remove "foreign" words even if they have been current as part of the common man's vocabulary. Sanskritization of the vocabulary is also undesirable and against the spirit of this directive of the Constitution.

†On this aspect, I may be permitted to quote here from the report of the Hindi Teaching Committee of the Bombay State :—

> "The culture of India is a growth of centuries. It has been affected by Sanskrit, Prakrit, and other *Deshi* languages, besides Persian, Arabic, and English. It has assumed a variety of forms according as it developed through these various languages and in different linguistic areas. Local traditions and history have made their own contribution to this common stream. Religious teachers, poets, lawgivers, and philosophers have laboured throughout for its nourishment and enrichment. From the dawn of history, Indian teachers have developed a universal attitude and so influenced and moulded the life of the peoples of India as to make them thoroughly human, peace-loving, just and law-abiding. They have received all good people in a brotherly spirit and have welcomed them and given them shelter. A wonderful cosmopolitan culture thus was fostered into this ancient land and cherished and nourished with great zeal and love. 'Live and let live' has been their declared motto, in word and deed.
>
> "The key to this successful maintenance and development of this Composite Culture of India is to be found in its recognition of and mild insistence on the *great fact of unity being different* from uniformity. They have favoured the former against the latter throughout.
>
> "The Hindi to be developed by the Union must, therefore, serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the Composite Culture of India. This part of our duty has to be always very clearly borne in mind and translated correctly into action in all our undertakings for the teaching and promotion of Hindi in framing syllabuses for schools, in selection of books and such other relevant matters."

should not be an artificial 'official dialect' or 'jargon',* but it should be a living and organic growth and development as a result of the joint and common endeavour of all our language groups. Evidently such a national endeavour on our part will also produce a common national आन्तर भाषा Hindi or Hindustani. Such a result will therefore be emotionally acceptable to all language groups of the nation, even though the आन्तर भाषा will be developed on the basis of one of them, the basic structure or genius of which is the common property of many regional languages and dialects of North India.

VII

29. The meaning and significance of the 'languages of India' in the 8th schedule must now be sought from the above context. They are the literary languages of India prevalent in various sizable regions of the country. They are the Swabhashas (स्वभाषा's) of our people. It is therefore that the Prime Minister has been lately describing them as the National Languages of India.

30. This change in the nomenclature of this group of languages has been inevitable because of the peculiar situation that has arisen at the present time in regard to the inter-relationship of these languages. This has been noted in very trenchant terms by the Explanatory Memo. of the Madras Government referred to in this note earlier. I may better quote it here to describe this point:—

31. "There is a widespread belief that the Constitution has declared Hindi to be the 'National' language of India, that other named languages are 'regional' languages, and that the unnamed languages are ignored. This belief is incorrect. Hindi has *not* been declared

---

*However, it may be noted as a foot-note that the Union language and the National language would have a difference in that while the former is an official thing the latter will be non-official—of the people at large. The distinction is vital. To bring out the point involved in it, I may better quote from the Report of the Hindi Teaching Committee (Bombay State). Regarding the official language of the Union it remarks :—

"For the purposes of Government it must have a linguistic coinage of its own. This restricted and special coinage in Hindi will make up the official language of India. Its various departments, to avoid confusion, must have one fixed and definite terminology of their own. Departments will bear definite names. Forms, Declarations, and the like will have to be couched in precise language leaving no room for ambiguity and confusion. This is the official language.... Hindi of Art. 343.

"High Hindi (mentioned as Hindi in the 8th Schedule) would be serving the need of a Region and it would continue to be 'the Home Language' of 30 or perhaps not more than 50 millions of souls, and for that purpose its scope would have no artificial limitations..............................

"Hindi as envisaged in Art. 351.....will serve as a common medium for all the peoples of India for their common objectives. It will have to serve our public men, leaders, ministers, plenipotentiaries, ambassadors, scholars, teachers, editors, newspapermen, radio-men, kisans and labourers, and all others, whenever they will have to meet or work together in conferences and associations or otherwise for the expression, discussion and promotion of common all-India objectives......This Hindi will, therefore, have to be inclusive and extensive and not exclusive and intensive. It will have to be as simple as possible and as easy and pliant too. From whatever source it gets its required nourishment it should do so without fear or hesitation. Its one aim should be to be understood and understood easily and quickly. It will recognise no barriers of caste, creed or region, country or origin, so long as it is expressive, vigorous, pliant and easily understood."

to be the national language of India—It is the Official Language of the Indian Union which is not necessarily the same thing. *Any* language in use in *any* of the States of India is referred to as a 'regional language'. This includes Hindi, and it does *not* exclude any of the unnamed Indian languages.

"There is thus no warrant in the Constitution for the spirit of linguistic sectarianism which has developed in recent years. In view of the large part played in this development by loose and misleading use of the expression 'national' language, it is desirable that this use should be changed. The Indian nation has always been and will always continue to be multi-lingual. This is not a Skeleton to be hidden away in the national cupboard. It is a cultural heritage of which the nation can and should be proud. Every language of Indian origin, spoken by any group as their mother-tongue, should therefore be referred to as an Indian National language..........."

## VIII

32. The above discussion will show that राज्य भाषा Hindi, the official language of the Union, may not be the same as all-India common language or आन्तरभाषा-हिन्दी; similarly it may not be the same as 'High Hindi' or the Hindi mentioned in the 8th Schedule. The latter distinction is well borne out by the Constitution also, if we look at Article 351 read together with the 8th Schedule.

33. Article 351 and the 8th Schedule of the Constitution read together raise a question which has become a matter of keen controversy. I mean the matter of "two Hindis" as it is sometimes called. I know that the Hindi educated world has not cherished it for reasons which agitate and operate in our national life for the last 30 years or more. The question is fundamental. It pertains to the nature and form of Hindi language which, under the Constitution, is to be the official language of the Union. Though in a different situation and context, this is the same problem which existed before 1950, *i.e.* the promulgation of the Constitution, regarding the nature and form of the national language, which was called Hindi, or more aptly Hindustani, with a view to pin-point its distinct character from Hindi and Urdu, which were often held to be distinct or different variants or styles of a common stem. (I may note here that the Constitution has now described them as two languages and not two styles of the same common language by whatever name we may call it.)

34. The Constitution adopted the name Hindi for the official language of the Union. The same term also occurs in the 8th schedule, where Hindi is named as one of the 'languages of India'. Thus, there does arise a question of precisely understanding the implications thereof. The expression "Two Hindis" is used in this connection.

35. Schedule 8 contains Hindi along with Urdu, Gujarati, Marathi, etc. Article 351 says that the Hindi language has to enrich itself by assimilating the forms, style and expression of, among others mentioned in the 8th schedule, Hindi. This reference to the enrichment of Hindi language is evidently to the "Hindi" mentioned in

Article 343, the official language of the Union, which is to be propagated and developed for the official purposes of the Union and in a specific manner described in that article. Citing the 8th schedule the said article says that the Hindi language will be enriched by assimilating forms, style, etc. from Hindi, Urdu, Gujarati etc. This, in other words, amounts to saying that Hindi is to assimilate forms, style, expressions, etc. from Hindi! This would be absurd. It is therefore argued with irrefutable logic that unless the word Hindi in this context means two different ideas, the directive in Article 351 would become wholly meaningless. Obviously it cannot be so. It is therefore concluded that Hindi mentioned in the 8th schedule is not, cannot be, the Hindi language of the Union mentioned in Articles 343, 351 and *vice versa*. The two terms, though apparently the same, are different concepts, though allied. A kind of qualified dualism or say, a dualistic or dualizing monism if you will, does inhere here. And this is not merely formal, legalistic or academic, but it is vital, as we can see it if we examine the history of the movement for the national language of India during the last 40 years. This I should better leave here.

36. It is further necessary to note here that Hindi that is named in the 8th Schedule is not the language that is often loosely described as "spoken by the largest single linguistic group in our country." At best, it is literary expression of that vast group who speak various languages and dialects spoken in Northern India which, by and large, is mentioned as or understood to be Hindi-speaking. It is the common basic structure or genius of these many North-Indian regional languages that we are enjoined to preserve when developing and enriching the language of the Union, also named Hindi.

37. The above paras will show that the Hindi language has a dual nature, and as the language of the Union, it is called upon to perform a new role. It is not the role of Hindi which is scheduled in the Constitution as a language distinct from Urdu. The Union Hindi can have no such distinction.

## IX

38. At the end, there remains one aspect of the language pattern worthy of examination. It is regarding the use of Hindi as a State language, as provided for in Article 345, which says that the State legislature may by law adopt any one or more of the languages in use in the State *or* Hindi as the language or languages to be used for all or any of the official purposes of that State. It must be noted that the Hindi that is suggested as an alternative to regional languages is the Union Hindi or the अन्तर भाषा of India. The provision, therefore, concerns chiefly non-Hindi speaking States.

39. The Bombay State provided an illustration on this point. Four years ago, a bill was introduced in the State Legislature prescribing Hindi as the official language of the State for purposes (including legislative) higher than those at the taluka or district level. For the latter levels Gujarati, Marathi or Kannad which are the regional languages of the State were to hold their respective fields. It was argued in favour of this move that as the State was multilingual, the Union language or the inter-State medium of

communication, Hindi, ought to be held as the proper means for the official purposes at the higher level. The bill was dropped on account of popular opposition to it.

40. Uttar Pradesh provides an illustration of another kind. It has adopted Hindi only as State language, perhaps, under the impression that it was the Union Hindi that it adopted and therefore the question of adopting a regional language did not arise for it. This is a mistaken assumption. Hindi it adopted is the regional language as much as others. As we saw before, non-recognition of Urdu has led people in U.P. to appeal to the President under Article 347.

41. The two illustrations pin-point the seriousness of the provision for such use of Hindi. Under Article 345-6, it is open to a State to adopt Hindi only as the official language, to the exclusion of any one or more of its regional languages, as Uttar Pradesh seems to have done when refusing to recognise Urdu and adopting Hindi only. Or a State may adopt Hindi, restricting the use of its regional languages for certain levels or purposes only, as Bombay proposed to do.

42. Surely it cannot be the intention or the meaning of this provision of the Constitution for Hindi as alternative State language, to create a conflict and emotional resentment among the people of the States, which would naturally arise, if a feeling of unseemly rivalry between the regional languages and the language of the Union is provoked from such a use of the said Articles 345-346.

43. An observation made in this connection by Dr. Abid Hussain in his recent book "The National Culture of India" is worth quoting here. On p. 195 of the book he says:

> "It (Article 345) recognises the right of the largest linguistic group in every State to make the language spoken by it, the official language of the State and at the same time provides, by implication, for giving the languages of minority groups a status equal to that of the majority languages as it permits the adoption of more than one official language."

Having noted the significance of the Article this way, he proceeds further and says:

> "But the words 'or Hindi' appended to the phrase 'one or more of the languages in use in the State' are fraught with danger. It is true that they have no practical significance because there is very little chance of a majority of members of legislature in a non-Hindi-speaking State voting for Hindi in preference to their own language. Still the very suggestion that Hindi may compete for the position of the official language in a State where it is not spoken by the majority of the people might encourage the partisans of Hindi, who are endowed with a large amount of enthusiasm than of prudence, to make an attempt to replace the regional language by Hindi and thus fan the flames of linguistic communalism into a devastating fire."

"So it must be made perfectly clear by Governments, as well as by other responsible agencies working for the propagation of Hindi, that it is not their object to let Hindi usurp the position which belongs of right to regional languages. The suspicion lurking in the minds of the non-Hindi linguistic groups that the introduction of Hindi into their areas may be a prelude to "Hindi Imperialism" is a deadly venom which should be eliminated before it poisons the national system and kills the nascent spirit of unity on which not only our freedom but our very existence as a nation depends."

44. The cases of Bombay and Uttar Pradesh cited above aptly show that the observations made by Dr. Abid Husain in his book are reasonable or well grounded. I believe, such a thing like these cases becomes possible because of a mistaken idea or understanding of the constitutional provision in Article 345, about Hindi for use as a State language, particularly in non-Hindi-speaking areas. I may well note here an illustration of a similar provision made in the Gujarat University Act, which has created similar avoidable confusion in the sphere of the medium of instruction for higher education. The Gujarat University Act provides for the "use of Gujarati (*i.e.* the regional language of the area) or Hindi in Devanagari script or both as the medium of instruction and examination" in the University. This is on a par with the provision in Article 345 of the Constitution which provides similar alternatives for adopting a language of a State for its official purposes. There is a further case relevant to be noted here, *viz.* of the Vallabh Vidyapith, a statutory university recently created in Gujarat. The Act for that University provides that Hindi only shall be the medium of instruction and examination. The above illustrations are cited to show that Hindi, the language of the Union is sought to be the medium of administration and of instruction also in a non-Hindi-speaking area or State.

45. Obviously this is bound to be felt as imposition or domination of Hindi not only in the official but also in the educational and cultural fields. The alternative use of Hindi as a State language is permitted by the Constitution. However, it would be a mistake to construe it to mean that Hindi may be used as a State language or as a language of instruction, to the entire exclusion of the natural and undisputable claims of regional languages of a State. It will surely create an undesirable conflict between regional languages and the Union language, which is not intended in any manner by the Constitution. Such a conflict will make difficult, if not impossible, the 'emotional-*cum*-linguistic' integration of our people thus jeopardising national unity.

46. Hindi has to be the medium of communication between a State and a State and between a State and the Union. However, it is possible to imagine its use in the State even. For example, those,—either in the Government service or outside,—who do not know the recognised regional language or know very little will avail of the inter-State Union language Hindi. Such use of Hindi as the आन्तरभाषा or the common medium for our multi-lingual people is not only legitimate but rightful and should be admitted.

It will facilitate non-regional or extra-State people to serve in a State, the regional language of which they might not be able to use so well. At present they use English. When Hindi replaces it, it will be available to such persons to be similarly used. Thus understood, Hindi as a State language, particularly in non-Hindi-speaking States, will create no conflict; rather it will become complementary to the regional languages and tend to foster harmony and unity among various linguistic groups. If we look at Article 351 in particular, we find that the language of the Union is really sought to fulfil such a unique and unifying role in our body politic. Similarly our Universities, legislatures and the Judiciary also, particularly in non-Hindi-speaking areas, might well permit the use of Hindi by non-regionals, along with the regional language or languages. As Hindi will be studied as a second language in schools and colleges, there will be no difficulty in arranging such a pattern. This anticipates provision for compulsory study of the Union language Hindi in our educational system. This is obviously the first and the immediate step of preparing for progressive use of Hindi and facilitating replacement of English by it.

## CHAPTER II

## LANGUAGE OF LAW-MAKING AND LAW-COURTS UNDER THE CONSTITUTION

### I

1. Among the official purposes of Government those of law-making and law-courts are obviously of special nature and importance, comparatively to those of the executive or civil administration. The Constitution of India (Article 348) has taken care to see that the language policy to be adopted in regard to these two categories of official purposes is well safeguarded from possible confusion or unsettlement during the transition from English to Indian languages.

2. The essence of such safeguarding lies in continuing to use English, wherever it is absolutely necessary to do so in the interests of accuracy and precision of language, till Indian languages and the Union Hindi are sufficiently developed to take over in their respective States and the Union respectively.

3. When considering the safeguards the Constitution of India makes a distinction between the needs of a language for what may be called the deliberative purposes of the Parliament and State legislatures and those of their actual work of enactment. Similarly, in the field of the judiciary, it distinguishes the needs of a language for the proceedings of a law-court from those for giving judgment or passing orders or decrees.

4. Article 348 amply demonstrates that the above distinction is made in order that full and legitimate use of the official languages of States in their respective spheres at the State level is guaranteed or provided for, consistently with the absolute or unquestionable requirements of using the common all-India and inter-State medium for the official purposes of the Union and inter-State communication.

### II

5. The safeguard at the Union level is to see that the language of all the proceedings in the Supreme Court and of Bills in Parliament shall continue to be English only, until Parliament by law otherwise provides. That is, no action for providing for the use of English, as per Article 343(3), after 15 years is needed for these two purposes of the Union; English will continue automatically till Parliament decides to change it to Hindi, subject to Article 349.

6. Till 1965 Parliament cannot move in the matter, unless permitted or asked to do so by the President. The latter can do so only after taking into consideration the recommendations of the Official Language Commission and the report of the Parliamentary Committee under Article 344. The Official Language Commission has therefore to consider what to recommend, if anything, regarding amending Article 348 within 15 years from the commencement of the Constitution of India.

7. Parliament can think of going into changing English to Hindi only when it is reasonably satisfied that Hindi has enriched itself and developed well enough, as per Article 351, and has secured working competency, accuracy and precision so as to take over from or at least to be used as a tolerable alternative to English.

8. Such satisfaction can be possible to reach if High Courts and State legislatures in Hindi-speaking areas in particular begin to use Hindi and thereby develop it as a suitable instrument for these purposes. This development and enrichment they should do as per directive of the Constitution of India in Article 351. Working so, they should achieve a measure of development and linguistic competency of Hindi such as may arouse reasonable confidence to take it up for the purposes of Union law-making and proceedings of the Supreme Court.

9. In an earlier part of this note I have tried to show that Union Hindi is different in conception. The directive in Article 351 may not be acceptable to regional Hindi protagonists who, in the U.P., for example, hold that Urdu should not be recognised. There is going on a movement for 'Shuddha' or Sanskritized Hindi which aims to boycott words which are dubbed as 'foreign'*. Among such words occur such as वक्त, फ़कीर, ज़माना etc. I may not go further into this painful matter. It is only to show that if the Hindi-speaking areas do not develop their regional language with the breadth and the catholicity of approach that is laid down in Article 351, they may fail to oblige the country with providing it with a pattern of Hindi under Article 351. This may retard and obstruct the progressive use of Hindi for the official purposes of the Union. And more—it may unwittingly allow the atmosphere of fears and suspicions that have unfortunately gathered round the idea of propagating Hindi since the commencement of the Constitution of India, to continue.

10. The Constitution of India also envisages that High Courts and legislatures in non-Hindi-speaking areas also will begin to use their respective official languages in a similar manner as Hindi-speaking areas. Naturally they will use their recognized regional languages for law-making and justice. The full growth and development of these languages require that they must be so used. Hindi should in no way be imposed in this sphere as well.

11. Like the Supreme Court, High Courts of non-Hindi-speaking areas also cannot resort to Hindi, the official language of the Union, alternatively or optionally much less compulsorily, so long as it is not evolved to be an efficient linguistic medium. The time to adopt Hindi by them would come when the Supreme Court changes over to Hindi by an act of Parliament. Till then they should also continue in English as required by Article 348, and also in the recognized official language or languages of the State, as permitted by the said Article 348.

---

*I am referring here to a dictionary (3rd edition) published in 1952 which gives as an appendix a list of about six thousand words mentioned as 'foreign' and thus requiring to be eschewed from the language. The instances of words are from that list.

III

12. Turning to consider what the safeguards are at the level of the States for their legislature and judiciary, we find that Article 348(1) provides that all proceedings in High Courts and authoritative texts of Bills, and all enactments shall be in English. However, a distinction noted in paragraph 3 above, is made in this case: *viz.* the use of the official language or languages of the State or Hindi is permitted in the deliberative proceedings in both the spheres—legislative and judiciary. [*Vide* Article 348(2) (3)]. But it is specified that the language of enactment and of High Court Judgment, decree, order, etc. shall be English, except that for enactment authorised English translation shall be gazetted officially for the purposes of Article 348(1).

13. The safeguard at the States level is of the same nature as at the Union level. What is noteworthy, however, is that at the latter level there is contemplated no provision or process for such negotiating of the change-over from English to Indian languages. This is apparently because the process can aptly begin at the States level almost simultaneously in all the scheduled languages of India. Obviously such beginning only will ultimately lead to and prepare the country for having Hindi at the Union level.

IV

14. It is to be noted that Article 348(3) provides that in case a State legislature prescribes a language other than English for use in Bills etc., an authorised translation in English to serve as the authoritative text thereof in the English language under 348(1) will do for the purpose. But such a provision for an authorised translation in English is not made in case of judgment, decree or order passed or made by a High Court, even if it might use the official language of the State in its other proceedings.

15. When English changes to Hindi eventually when Parliament so provides, it will be necessary to think out what should be done in this case of High Court judgments etc. As in the case of enactment, it may be provided for High Courts also that their judgments, decree, order etc. also be made or passed in the official languages of the State and their authorised translations in Hindi should be available for reporting or appeal purposes. A judge however may choose to do his work in Hindi. Hindi alone must not be the rule.

16. The largest bulk of the bar will be working in courts below the High Court. That is, they will be working through the medium of the regional languages. Therefore it is but proper that legal education also is conducted through them. Hindi and English will be compulsory languages of study. This will facilitate the use, during the transition, of English law books and enactment.

17. For the change-over from English to Indian languages it should not be felt necessary that as a pre-requisite to do it all laws, case law should be first translated into these languages or Hindi. Laws in English can well be used, as lawyers will be knowing English as a compulsory subject. Eventually laws in Hindi also will not cause difficulty as lawyers will have studied that language also as a compulsory subject and must also be using law books in Hindi also.

## CHAPTER III

## PLACE OF HINDI AND ENGLISH IN NATIONAL EDUCATION

### I

1. Replacement of English from its unnatural and therefore wrong position of being the medium of administration and higher education in the country is the most outstanding national venture we are called upon to undertake. This venture, in its effect upon the entire life of the nation, is bound to be revolutionary. India had till now in her history Sanskrit, Persian and English as all-India common languages. They were languages known only to a microscopic number of the people. They were not the languages of the people; they were languages of small classes only. Therefore, such a thing did not tend to nor work for a democratic order, which we now desire to establish. It is perhaps for the first time in our history that we are launching upon the democratic experiment of having the languages of the common man as the vehicle of his government and education.

2. Multilingual as we are, we need for such an experiment the unavoidable accompaniment of an Antar Bhasha—a *lingua franca*. Accordingly we have decided that it will be Hindi, the common language of the largest number amongst us; it will not be a small affair like Sanskrit or Persian or English, however, rich and developed they may be. The decision is a tremendous responsibility. If we succeed in discharging it, the very effort itself will create the New India of our dreams—a democratic and egalitarian society. The language pattern and policy envisaged by the C. of I. is therefore the most epoch-making item in rebuilding New India—free and democratic, creative and equalitarian.

3. As the said pattern abundantly shows, this great rebuilding is to be done by replacing English with the judicious use of our great national languages of India and of the Antar Bhasha Hindi which will be one additional language to the enormous linguistic wealth with which we are blessed in our country. For such an effort to be successful it is very essential that there should be a joint and concerted endeavour of all the language groups of the nation, without any spirit of unhealthy rivalry or sense of superiority etc. amongst them. The Antar Bhasha Hindi, being also a regional language of one of the groups, shall feel or own no superiority over others and shall not covet to steal a march over the fields of the primary or basic languages of the people. This requires to be said here because there is a school of thought among the ruling and vocal classes of the intelligentsia who, thinking in old grooves English had cut into the mental make-up of these classes, would like to create an order wherein not one's own but another language—the Antar Bhasha Hindi may rule. This, as is abundantly clear, is not what the Constitution wills or contemplates. Surely we cannot have a revised edition of the English order, though through Hindi.

4. Almost as an antithesis to this school is to be found a school of thought in the non-Hindi-speaking areas which clings to the *status quo* and pleads for retention of English, though it may not mind if Hindi is also placed along with it as another all-India common language, so long as it may be allowed English. This school, therefore, wishes to continue English teaching in Schools in the same way as it obtains at present and would, as a concession to the constitutional clause regarding Hindi, teach it to those who wish to learn it,—not compulsorily. That is, it will avoid the change-over as long as it can. Their whole argument amounts to saying that English is a national prize we have inherited from our ex-rulers. It has been the "pipe-line" of modern knowledge, specially scientific. I may not analyse this proposition here but only say that pipe-lines are many—as many as there are peoples of the world; but the life-line is only one and it is the indigenous tongue of the people. The best in us can develop and blossom forth only through being nourished by that line. Therefore we should retrieve that life-line and it will retrieve us from the groove in which we have stuck and lost our true way.

5. The retention school also is constitutionally as wrong as the former. Retention is out of court, unless we are prepared to continue with English and thus wreck the language chapter of the Constitution and the nation's effort of more than half a century to give to ourselves one common national language, which may provide us with a medium complementary to our own languages. This medium will thus be an instrument with which to feel and live our basic unity. But this unity is not to be a monolithic uniformity, but should be a creative and lifeful diversity on the canvas of a fundamental unity which India possesses as her great cultural and democratic prize achievement.

## II

6. The above ideal under the Constitution requires now to be worked out in its practical details as a constructive programme for our whole people. The first thing that is obvious is the paramount need of instituting compulsory study of the Antar Bhasha in the national system of education which will be free and compulsory up to the age of 14 of a pupil, under the C. of I. Such a step will be a long range measure for the replacement of English and for the progressive use of Hindi. The short-range measure would be to coach up the administrative personnel of all Governments in India for the immediate needs of the linguistic change-over. This also must be on a compulsory basis. While the former measure covers the non-official or the people's sector, the latter is the official sector, and will therefore be mainly a Government controlled and directed movement. We shall discuss here the former movement first.

7. The directive to the Union in Art. 351 says that it will be its duty "to promote the spread of the Hindi language" as defined in it. In the context of the above position, this becomes the Union's imperative duty. Obviously, the Union can efficiently discharge this its constitutional duty by seeing that Hindi becomes a compulsory study in the schools of the whole country. This will be the first step in the direction of the change-over stipulated by the C. of I. I agree with

Shri C. Rajagopalachari here that, if necessary, "the Constitution should be amended so as to provide for (this) logical first step...... to attain the universal spread of the new official language......in all the areas of India."

III

8. Naturally some will argue against this compulsion and quote in support the Madras anti-Hindi agitation. The point must be unequivocally met. There are two sorts of compulsion: (1) Prescribing compulsory courses of study and devising a system of national education for the people such as may reasonably be held to fulfil the ideas and ideals laid down by the democratic constitution of the land. In a democratic order, such a thing is considered to be the legitimate duty of a State. As Shri Rajaji said in another connection, "all School education has to be based on a certain amount of compulsion". This is not really the sort of compulsion which is objected to. The objectionable sort is the second one, *viz.* to ask for or impose the medium of Hindi in the affairs of a non-Hindi-speaking State in places where its regional language should legitimately and rightfully function; as for instance, the medium of instruction and administration. This is obviously undemocratic and will be felt coercive. And if imposed in any way overt or covert, it will be educationally and culturally bad and calamitous and politically disruptive and practically suicidal to the interests of the spread of Hindi. It will be in disregard to the safeguard contained in the O.L.C.'s terms of reference, *viz.* regard for our cultural advancement. Rather, I firmly believe that if the Government of the Union, on due recommendations in this regard from the O.L.C., assure non-Hindi-speaking areas, through due declaration of its policies in this behalf, that the second sort of compulsion is entirely out of court and is rejected as a wrong policy, I am sure, such an assurance will go a long way in giving a line-clear to the States for starting compulsory study of Hindi in our Schools and Colleges. As we know, there are numerous pronouncements made both by the President and the Prime Minister of the Country in recent times, giving such assurance of not imposing Hindi through any legal or administrative means in all the spheres where regional languages can have their legitimate use according to the Constitution. What these spheres are must now be detailed and a clear-cut policy mapped out by the O.L.C. Such assurance only can start the process of replacement and silence the cry for retention of English and consequent postponement of the linguistic change-over at least for the next five years. It will, to say the least, knock out any semblance of a tenable argument not to move and learn Hindi.

9. The specific spheres of regional languages mentioned above have been clearly enumerated in an amendment to the resolution of the Madras Legislative Council moved by Government for consideration of the Questionnaire of the O.L.C. The evidence tendered to us in Bengal and other non-Hindi-speaking areas generally endorses this view of Madras. I reproduce the said amendment of the Madras Legislative Council as an addendum to this chapter at the end. It must be noted that the view is in entire agreement with the language pattern under the C. of I.

IV

10. The O.L.C.R. (in Chap. 4, para. 15 onwards) describes the above specific details of the linguistic assurance under discussion here as "linguistic requisites for....unity which is enshrined in the Constitution". And it avers that "as the English language is gradually displaced in the supererogatory fields it occupies at present,...... the regional languages will come into their own"; and it welcomes that such "enfranchisement of the regional languages in their respective fields in administration, education and other respects would be very rapid".

11. However, it does not put down what these 'linguistic requisites' are and when actually making suggestions about the use and study of Hindi and English in Chap. VI, it has, according to me, gone contrary to the position described above. I do not wish to go into describing and discussing these things of the Report, but may note my fears with saying that they will, I fear, unintentionally help in maintaining the *status quo*, which is a vested interest of the small classes created by English in our national life.

V

12. I said above that the Union should have power and influence to cast a positive duty on the States to institute compulsory teaching of Hindi in their schools. An enactment like the one suggested by the S.R.C. for safeguarding the right of instruction through the mother-tongue, should be proposed by the O.L.C., saying that it shall be the endeavour of every State and of every local authority within the State to provide adequate facilities for compulsory instruction in the official language of the Union to all children, at least for the last 3 years of the period of free and compulsory education as directed by the C. of I. The President may issue necessary instructions to States in this behalf.

13. At present English is generally studied during these years of schooling in India. This must be displaced giving place to Hindi as the second language in the order of language studies in our system of national education. The teaching of English, except for those who own it as their mother-tongue, must be restricted to begin after the age of compulsory studies when further education may begin in Higher Secondary Schools. It is agreed by all that in the scheme of things educational envisaged by the C. of I., only the regional language followed by Hindi at the 5th year or so of the schooling—only these two languages can have place in it. The O.L.C.R., on the untenable plea of two 'streams' which have only a hypothetical validity, recommends that English might begin earlier than the 14 year-age of compulsion. This is entirely unnecessary and unwarranted by the needs of the change-over for which the O.L.C. was asked to consider. Such gratuitous consideration shown to English will only help continue the *status quo* and not allow Hindi to make any headway. Displacement of English language study and instituting Hindi study, in the present climate of our country, will be indicative of the earnest of our desire to usher in the process of the linguistic revolution we have decided to have. I may not dilate further about the urgent necessity of this first logical step which is

equally sound educationally and culturally also. I am firmly of the view that unless this is accepted as the general principle of reconstructing national education, the process of linguistic transition will hardly have congenial climate to start and can have any chance of a fair trial or a happy beginning. The above principle is in entire consonance with the ideas of Basic Education—the type of education we have decided to introduce in the country. Rather, it may be noted that unless the above national policy regarding the place of Hindi and English in our compulsory educational scheme is accepted, Basic Education even cannot come to stay and prosper.

14. The above step should begin as an all-India move from 1957. In that case, latest by 1965, schools will have been teaching Hindi not only in the lower but also in the higher secondary schools, *i.e.* for 7 or 8 years. And every citizen will have learnt Hindi for 3 or 4 years under the Constitutional scheme of free and compulsory primary education lasting up to the pupil's 14 years of age.

## VI

15. Along with this move in the educational sphere, there should be a similar move, on the part of all governments in the land, to train their personnel in Hindi for the specific needs of their work. This should be completed by 1960, which will give them a fairly sufficient time of about 3 years. Necessary planning of this work should immediately be undertaken so that its implementation may be expected to begin by 1957. A detailed and close study of all Government departments, like the one given by the O.L.C.R. in Chapter VII, Part (ii), regarding the Indian Audit and Accounts Department should be immediately undertaken and adequate targets and timetables decided upon for each one of them. This must give to every Government a five years plan to be over by 1960 in the field of this linguistic change-over.

16. Thus working, the personnel in the services of the Union and the States will be ready by 1960 to use Hindi as an alternate or additional medium with English. Five years more will be used to perfect their linguistic equipment still further. The concerted move in the educational field also will be helpful in various ways in the effort. Hence it should surely be possible to arrive at the stage by 1965 when we may reasonably be expected to do our internal work of Government through Hindi. For the work of external affairs, political, commercial and industrial, we might continue in English till Hindi gets necessary international recognition in the comity of nations. That will depend on both the assertion of our national pride, prestige and position and the extent of our having developed and enriched Hindi.

## ADDENDUM

(in reference to Para. 9, above)

The Madras Legislature discussed the language problem in India in its session of September, 1955. It was occasioned by a Government Resolution which said, "that the Questionnaire issued by the Official Language Commission (Government of India) be taken into consideration."

An amendment was formally moved in the Upper House which said to add as follows at the end of the Resolution:—

"and, on such consideration, this Council resolves to request the Government of Madras, in framing their replies to the Questionnaire, to incorporate the following principles and suggestions in their reply:—

(1) That, for purposes of administration, the State should use the regional language or languages ultimately and that Hindi cannot be adopted for this purpose.

(2) That for the limited correspondence between the Central Government or any other State and the local State, the State should utilize the services of translators and interpreters to the extent necessary.

(3) That, so far as the Union Public Service Examinations are concerned, the only just method of ensuring equality of opportunity for people both in the Hindi and non-Hindi speaking areas, as laid down in the Constitution, would be to permit candidates to choose a language or languages mentioned in the Constitution and to fix quotas according to the number of persons speaking such language or languages in the country.

(4) That so far as Court languages are concerned, the regional language or languages should be used in the courts of the State and in the High Court of the State.

(5) That the language or languages used in the State Legislature should be the regional language or languages and that in Parliament, representatives of the different States should be afforded all facilities to speak in the regional languages mentioned in the Constitution.

(6) That all public servants recruited to the Central Services should be required, after their selection to such services, to pass a test or tests in Hindi if they are from non-Hindi speaking areas and in one of the other languages of the Constitution if they are from a Hindi-speaking area.

(7) That there is no necessity for using Devanagari form of numerals in addition to the international form.

(8) That so far as the medium of instruction in primary schools, secondary schools, Universities, etc., is concerned, the sound principle that has been enunciated by all educationists that the mother-tongue is the natural medium to be employed by progressive stages, should be borne in mind and if and when English is to be replaced, it should be replaced by the mother-tongue of the particular region.

(9) That finally, in the opinion of the Council, the question of replacement of English by a suitable regional

language should be dealt with, taking into consideration the possibilities of the regional language being utilized at different stages of instruction and particularly in regard to higher education, technical, technological and professional, and also the extent to which well-qualified personnel in these higher branches of learning will be available to meet the needs of the changed situations.

(10) That due importance should be given to the study of an international language (English) during the stage of University and higher education, even after the adoption of the mother-tongue as the medium of instruction."

It was said in the course of the debate that the amendment embodies, in a general way, the considered opinion of the University, the Legislature, and the Government as well. Shortly understood, we might say that it describes how a non-Hindi State would wish its regional language to be used in its affairs—educational, administrative, judicial, legislative, etc. The amendment says that Tamil Nad would like to use Tamil entirely in all these fields.

## CHAPTER IV

## MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION

1. I have referred to this question at various places in the earlier part of this note. Really speaking there should arise no question or argument about what should be the medium of education of a student at all stages of instruction. As Gandhiji said, (This is quoted in the O.L.C.R., Chap. VI), "through what language the boys and girls of a place are to be educated is a question which is already decided for them in every free country." Hence he confidently noted further that "when this country becomes really free, the question of medium will be settled only one way." And that way, according to him, was that one's own language was the obvious natural medium. However, unfortunately the settlement of the question has not been as easy nor as quick as Gandhiji hoped.

2. Thanks to the pernicious habit, formed by our educated classes during the last century, of the use of the alien medium under the English educational system, some have almost lost the right focus to view the question in its true perspective as a free people. They would like to see the Union language Hindi adopted as medium in all or as many places as they can, as a monolithic solution of the question for the whole country. India being multi-lingual, this solution would be obviously in utter disregard of the sound and universally accepted principle of education and culture that we saw above.

3. Democratically also it would be bad to adopt it for a free community and thus dissociate the language of the people from that of the medium of their instruction. As late Shri G. V. Mavalankar, Speaker of the Lok Sabha, in his written reply to the O.L.C. Questionnaire said, 'The medium of education at all stages should be the regional language. It is necessary to do so for the development of the language as also for spread of higher knowledge...... Remembering the need of levelling up the level of the knowledge in all directions and on all subjects of our people, I cannot think of another medium than the regional language which alone will be able to achieve the final objective. Unless we get an educated electorate our democracy based on adult franchise will be always in danger of being autocracy of power-mongers or a sort of mobocracy." In reply to our Q. 21, he specifically said about the medium at the University stage, "I visualise education as one entire whole, intended for educating the entire personality of the student. Its division into primary, secondary and higher are for the purpose of describing only stages which are suitable to different ages of the student. It is well-known that education is best imparted through the mother-tongue and therefore I cannot visualise change of medium at different stages."

II

4. The O.L.C.R. has unfortunately not corroborated the above universally accepted solution of the medium question and has gone out of its way to suggest various measures which, according to me, are bound to injure the cause of spreading Hindi, by creating misunderstandings and suspicions in non-Hindi speaking areas of our country, about the purpose, scope and use of the Antar Bhasha Hindi in our body politic. I have, earlier in this note, argued that the O.L.C. should recommend that the Union Government should give detailed assurances to the people about the policy of the use of Hindi *vis-a-vis* the undisputed use of regional languages in the legitimate spheres of their respective States. The O.L.C.R., on the other hand, has, in my view, without warrant gone into making suggestions that are bound to give justification to fears and apprehensions which stand to be dispelled even at the present moment.

5. The question of the autonomy of universities is also pertinent here. Just as States are free, under the C. of I., to adopt one or more of their regional languages for official purposes, so also universities too should be free to decide the medium question for their instructional purposes. The O.L.C.R. takes note of such autonomy for them, but it would not respect it if the decisions of universities would not generally follow the 'conclusions' it has laid down in this behalf regarding the use of Hindi as the medium. In that case, it goes further and would invoke the powers of the Government at the Centre to interfere, even though the O.L.C.R. notes that "the Government of India have already decided in principle not to make medium of instruction in Universities an issue of Government policy." In so doing the O.L.C.R., surprisingly enough, has quoted Mahatma Gandhi in support of its view of disregarding the academic view. But it conveniently forgets to note the next sentence of Gandhiji and his view which I have referred to at the beginning of this chapter.

6. The O.L.C.R. has gone further to oblige the Government of India with a veiled hint to intervene in this question under a certain clause in the C. of I. The clause relates to powers of the Centre regarding "co-ordination and determination of standards in institutions for higher education......" Surely medium is something different from and above standards and more fundamental. To have an alien medium of instruction is rather putting premium over lowering of standards, one may think.* The said clause obviously cannot cover the matter of the medium, as the O.L.C.R. itself perhaps feels, as can be imagined from its use of the words, "......would *seem* to be covered under the subject 'co-ordination and determination'......".

7. I may not go into discussing further the position of the O.L.C.R. on this question, but may note that the whole treatment of the question by it is an outstanding example of its over-stepping the terms of reference and coming to 'conclusions' which, as they appear to me, compromise the Presidential assurance to regional languages.

*In this regard see para. 14 below.

III

8. Protagonists of the Hindi medium as a monolithic all-India solution forget that Hindi at the present day in our linguistic development is only a regional language like others enumerated in the C. of I. As I have noted in the earlier part of this note, the other Hindi, I mean, the Hindi contemplated under Article 351 of the C. of I., has only titular existence today. And it is this Hindi only that, I hope, is suggested as the medium of higher education. Therefore, to suggest Hindi today would mean the adoption of the regional Hindi. This is obviously not a right thing. Even so, it would be something worth while if Hindi, like Russian in the context of the regional languages of the U.S.S.R.—a multi-lingual country like ours,—were comparatively a richer and more developed language for the purposes of higher education. But it is not so. All our languages, suffering as they have been under the heels of an alien medium, are equally in need of development that stands arrested till now.

9. It may be observed here that, viewing from the restricted point only of being a ready and fit medium of instruction, claims of English are unquestionable; and hence those who stand for its retention may well argue against the Hindi case that, in the matter of the medium, they are on surer grounds than the Hindi medium protagonists. And as Hindi is not known well enough to be used as a medium in non-Hindi areas, and if Hindi is suggested as the medium, it will only land us into the *status quo* of continuing English. This is, however, out of the question, as the language problem is the replacement of English even as a practical measure, because the standard of English knowledge all over the country is going down even among the one per cent. of our people who know that language.

10. Our real problem is not that we wish to have Hindi as the medium, but it is to remove the English medium quickly and well. This can be done by a simultaneous move on the part of all regional languages including Hindi in their respective States. And this process can start immediately. Those who stand for retention of English also agree to change in this way and would be expected to join such an all-India move. Therefore even the Hindi medium School of thought should at least admit that "in the near future the regional languages will be the principal media of instruction at all stages in all the provinces." (Radhakrishnan Report, P. 323, Para. 51.)

11. Therefore, it is very necessary now to begin this change-over of the medium in our universities. If they begin by 1957, it is thought possible to complete the process by 1965 latest. It is needed as a vital part of the general linguistic transition envisaged by the C. of I. also.

12. Along with this, universities should continue the study of Hindi compulsorily up to the first degree course. This will equip our graduates with sufficient Hindi to fulfil the all-India purposes of national and governmental inter-communication.

13. Such a line of work is immediately practical. And the picture of an order that may result by adopting it will be quite satisfactory, as described by the Radhakrishnan Report which is worth quoting here:—

14. "Higher education is the door through which some of the educated youth will pass into federal (*i.e.* Union) services and federal politics. But much the greater proportion will remain in the provinces. Both from the point of view of education and of general welfare of a democratic community it is essential that their study should be through the instrumentality of their regional language. Education in the regional language will not only be necessary for their provincial activities, it will enable them to enrich their literature and to develop their culture. Educated naturally in the regional language, they ought to achieve higher standards* of learning and of thought, and should be able to give a powerful stimulus to research and extension of the boundaries of knowledge. Equipped with the requisite knowledge of the Federal language (*i.e.* the Official Language of the Union), the provincial students will have no difficulty in joining institutes of an all-India character, and the provincial scholars in undertaking to teach them." (P. 323, Para. 50).

15. I may note in passing a fear that the Hindi medium protagonists entertain about such a picture. This was expressed to us in his oral evidence by a V.I.P. at Delhi. He said that he admitted that the regional languages would surely replace the English medium immediately and well enough. But his difficulty was that under that case Hindi will not then have any chance to come in their places, once they delivered the goods! This exposes the Hindi medium case at its most vulnerable point. If with the study of Hindi as a compulsory subject and with one's own language serving fully well as the medium of instruction, it is alright to carry on, why should one worry to have Hindi in place of any of its sister languages of India? Surely Hindi as the Antar Bhasha cannot be understood much less pitched as a rival to the regional languages. We must rather be clear to ourselves that "if bilingualism† is fostered properly then the problems

*It will be interesting to remember here the point of medium *vis-a-vis* maintenance of standards, noted above in para. 6 of this chapter.

†*i.e.* as described above, or to quote the Radhakrishnan Report about the meaning of bilingualism from where I am quoting this sentence :—

> "We would like to see the introduction of the Federal Language in all schools at the secondary stages, and the teaching should be continued at the University. This will ensure a general knowledge of the federal language of use for all practical needs. In addition, for those who desire to attain greater mastery over the federal language facilities should be provided for intensive study. In the Hindi speaking regions it will be an advantage if students are required to learn another Indian language. This is proposed not merely to compensate for the efforts of students in other regions, but also to secure the eligibility of young men of this region to serve in other regions and to provide adequate supply of those Hindi speaking persons who can mediate between the provinces." (*ibid* p. 322, para. 48).

The O. L. C. R. has gone into the latter question of Hindi regions learning another Indian language. I do not agree with its remarks there. The position taken by the R. Report above is right. This is now corroborated by the scheme of language study in secondary schools that the Union Government has recently notified to State Departments of education (see Draft Syllabus for Higher Secondary Schools issued by the all-India Council for Secondary Education, on behalf of the Ministry of Education, Govt. of India). Such mutual study of our languages will really bring about and foster Indian unity based on mutual understanding and appreciation of one another's life and culture in various linguistic regions linked into one through the common Antar Bhasha Hindi.

which arise from the replacement of English by the federal language will be gradually solved." (Radhakrishnan Report, P. 322, Para. 49).

16. The Radhakrishnan Report, in one of the quotations recorded above, refers to the aspect of the medium question *vis-a-vis* the Services, central and provincial. I leave this point for a separate chapter, and end with another point, *viz.* Gandhiji's opinion on this complex question of the medium. I do it because, in course of our inquiry, the question of his opinion was raised by various persons. And this is not surprising; for has he not been the architect of most of the nation-building activities that are occupying us intensely today?

17. It is interesting to know how some have come to think about Gandhiji's views at the present juncture. For example, there was a view that, as Gandhiji was no more and as the conditions of freedom now are quite different from those of foreign rule when he was living and thinking, we should not go into studying what he said on the language problem! There is to be found another extreme view to this which holds that if Gandhiji had been alive today he would have said that Hindi should be the medium! There is the mid-way view which cuts short the matter by interpreting that Gandhiji stood for the mother-tongue medium for the primary stage!

18. All these remarks are mere wishful thinking or arguing, no way helpful to their authors, nor doing justice to the Father of the Nation. If at all we care to know about his views, we should only study what he really wrote and come therefrom to our own conclusions, for or against them. From this point of view I propose to add below, for ready reference, a few selected pieces that in his unique style and concise manner, give us his views not only on the medium but also on the more vital question of the dynamics of replacement of English in our official and non-official life. It is noteworthy that these pieces came forth from his genius at the time when we began to have the touch of political freedom in our land, partially in 1938 and wholly in 1947:

## ADDENDUM

[GANDHIJI'S VIEWS]

### I

### It is already decided

The medium of instruction should be altered at once and at any cost, the provincial languages being given their rightful place. I would prefer temporary chaos in higher education to the criminal waste that is daily accumulating.

In order to enhance the status and the market-value of the provincial languages, I would have the language of the law courts to be the language of the province where the court is situated. The proceedings of the provincial legislatures must be in the language,

or even the languages of the province where a province has more than one language within its borders. I suggest to the legislators that they could, by enough application, inside of a month, understand the languages of their provinces. There is nothing to prevent a Tamilian from easily learning the simple grammar and a few hundreds words of Telugu, Malayalam, and Kanarese all allied to Tamil. At the Centre Hindustani must rule supreme.

In my opinion this is not a question to be decided by academicians. They cannot decide through what language the boys and girls of a place are to be educated. That question is already decided for them in every free country. Nor can they decide the subjects to be taught. That depends upon the wants of the country to which they belong. Theirs is a privilege of enforcing the nation's will in the best manner possible. When this country becomes really free, the question of medium will be settled only one way. The academicians will frame the syllabus and prepare text-books accordingly. And the products of the education of a free India will answer the requirements of the country as today they answer those of the foreign ruler. So long as we the educated classes play with this question, I very much fear we shall not produce the free and healthy India of our dreams. We have to grow by strenuous effort out of our bondage, whether it is educational, economical, social or political. The effort itself is three-fourths of the battle.

(Harijan, 9-7-'38).

II

### Need for Quick Action

If the medium is changed at once and not gradually, in an incredibly short time we shall find text-books and teachers coming into being to supply the want. And if we mean business, in a year's time we shall find that we need never have been party to the tragic waste of the nation's time and energy in trying to learn the essentials of culture through a foreign medium. The condition of success is undoubtedly that provincial languages are introduced at once in Government offices and courts, if the Provincial Governments have the power or the influence over the courts. If we believe in the necessity of the reform, we can achieve it in no time.

(Harijan, 30-7-'38).

Gandhiji deprecated the suggestion that it would need a lot of research and preparation to enable them to impart technical education through the medium of the mother-tongue. Those who argued like that, were unaware of the rich treasure of expressions and idioms that were buried in the dialects of our villages. In Gandhiji's opinion there was no need to go to Sanskrit or Persian in search of new terms. He had been in Champaran and he found that the village folk there could fully express themselves with ease and without the help of a single foreign expression or idioms. As an illustration of their resourcefulness, he mentioned the word hava-gadi* which

*Literally air-carriage, meaning a carriage which travels at the speed of air or with the power of air (or gas).

they had coined to denote a motor car. He challenged university scholars to coin a more poetic expression than that for a motor car. (Harijan, 18-8-'46).

## III

### Take Care

Unless the Governments and their Secretariats take care, the English language is likely to usurp the place of Hindustani. This must do infinite harm to the millions of India who would never be able to understand English. Surely, it must be quite easy for the Provincial Governments to have a staff which would carry on all transactions in the provincial languages and the inter-provincial language, which, in my opinion, can only be Hindustani written in Nagari or Urdu script.

Every day lost in making this necessary change is so much cultural loss to the nation. The first and the foremost thing is to revive the rich provincial languages with which India is blessed. It is nothing short of mental sluggishness to plead that in our courts, in our schools and even in the Secretariats, some time probably a few years, must lapse before the change is made. No doubt a little difficulty will be felt in multi-lingual provinces, as in Bombay and Madras, until redistribution of provinces takes place on the linguistic basis. Provincial Governments can devise a method in order to enable the people in those provinces to feel that they have come into their own.

Nor need the provinces wait for the Union for solving the question, whether for inter-provincial speech it shall be Hindustani written in either Nagari or Urdu script or mere Hindi written in Nagari. This should not detain them in making the desired reform. It is a wholly unnecessary controversy likely to be the door through which English may enter to the eternal disgrace of India. If the first step, that is, revival of provincial speech in all public departments takes place immediately, that of inter-provincial speech will follow in quick succession. The provinces will have to deal with the Centre. They dare not do so through English, if the Centre is wise enough quickly to realize that they must not tax the nation culturally for the sake of a handful of Indians who are too lazy to pick up the speech which can be easily common to the whole of India without offending any party or section.

My plea is for banishing English as a cultural usurper as we successfully banished the political rule of the English usurper. The rich English language will ever retain its natural place as the international speech of commerce and diplomacy.

(Harijan, 21-9-'47).

## CHAPTER V

## MEDIUM OF PUBLIC SERVICE EXAMINATIONS

### I

1. This is a peculiar question in Indian conditions, and very vital also. This is evident from the fact that the C. of I. has given a directive to the O.L.C. that "in making their recommendations the Commission shall have due regard to......just claims and the interests of persons belonging to the non-Hindi speaking areas in regard to the Public Services."

2. Public Services (shortly P.S.) in India, particularly the central and all-India ones, under foreign rule, came to assume undue and peculiar weight and importance in the social and economic life of the people. They also formed vital links with the English educational system, so much so that till now they dominate it and almost set the law for its pattern of instruction. It is out of place to dilate on this story here. A few points only, relevant to the matter under discussion here, may be noted.

3. We are out to replace the English medium in education and administration. If we do it with the monolithic solution of adopting Hindi in place of English, in the case of non-Hindi speaking persons it becomes a change of one alien language giving place to another, though Indian. If we do that, the worst evil of the present educational system will have a new lease of life through Hindi. It is this which requires to be safeguarded against. Also we must see that it does not jeopardise the cultural and educational advancement of the country.

4. The corner-stone of the English educational system obtaining and still persisting in our country today is the alien English medium. This has created among the English educated classes an illusion of a unity which is, at its best, masonic in character. And as an academic system, it degenerated into a thing which we see today and which was described as follows as early as 1871, by an English observer:

> "......Looking to the poor and superficial acquirements of a great mass of those who obtain university distinctions, and to the fact that such distinctions are not pursued for their own sake, but merely as a means to employment or reward, there is really no *status* as yet for a university in the European sense of the term."

(From 'Education and Statesmanship in India' by James).

5. Even this system is at present in a decadent state; and under the stress of our new needs of free India, it is almost collapsing under its own dead weight of unworthiness. Therefore, it is a veritable headache for our national leaders as to how to reform and remodel it betimes before it gives way and creates a vacuum in our national life.

6. The only prop that still keeps it up is the same old unholy alliance of education with the lure of good services jobs. Possession of certain university degrees is made the basic qualification for public services examinations, and the chartered universities enjoy the monopoly of conferring them. The question of the medium of P.S. examinations is vitiated and unduly complicated on account of this most undesirable element in our recent history of education and recruitment to public services. A committee of the Government of India is working at present to study this problem and to suggest what might be done to improve the situation. If university degrees lose this economic value which the Universities enjoy, live by and prosper with at the present time, it will not only mean a change for the better in university reform, but will also set us athinking for a new scheme of recruitment for public services. The recruitment still continues under the old ways and values established and given to us as a legacy by our ex-rulers. Like many other matters, this also direly needs to be changed in the context of our new needs as a free people. One of them is the question of the linguistic equipment of public servants in a democratic order of administration.

## III

7. Obviously all these things will have direct bearing on the question of the medium of the P.S. competitive examinations. However, leaving them aside for the moment, the O.L.C. had to consider the problem from the restricted point of the replacement of the English medium, which is stipulated to be achieved by the nation within 15 years. I am afraid, the O.L.C.R. lost sight of this main question and followed the lines of thought and approach which it adopted in regard to the question of the medium of instruction for higher education. Therefore, evidently, the conclusions it arrived at here also suffer under the draw-backs of the same nature. I do not, therefore, repeat what I have observed about them in the previous chapter of this note. I may only add that, as the matter of the services is felt more keenly, the drawbacks are bound to be more seriously disturbing in their effect on the public mind.

8. There is a view held by some according to which they fondly believe that this problem solves itself in the following simple manner:—The C. of I. lays down that Hindi will be the Official Language of the Union. Therefore, the medium of examinations for the central and all-India services should *ipso facto* be Hindi and hence should be immediately adopted. And the view further asserts that the language medium of all universities also should be Hindi. The logic of the argument is patent to the attitude born of the English Educational System we very well know.

9. The fallacy is obvious. The Union Hindi, as I said earlier in this note, is only titular. What exists as a working proposition is the regional Hindi which has begun to be used as the medium of instruction and education in North India. Such use of Hindi is on a par with that of Gujarati, Marathi, etc. in their respective regions, though, I am afraid, universities in the North perhaps do not see it that way.

IV

10. The O.L.C.R. notes that as the Hindi-speaking area universities have changed the medium, therefore they must be accommodated in regard to "the alternative medium of Hindi in addition to the existing English medium, to be introduced after due notice." It does not care to note why non-Hindi speaking area universities are not changing the English medium, even though most of them have decided to adopt their regional languages instead. The reason is obvious: they cannot take to Hindi as it is still not known to their regions; hence they sit on the fence and maintain the *status quo* waiting for conditions favourable for changing their medium according to their wishes. If, as all agree and desire, the regional languages as well as Hindi must be given every encouragement and opportunity to develop, it is very clear,—nay, I think it is incumbent upon the O.L.C. that it should recommend to the President, that conditions must be so created that non-Hindi speaking area universities may feel free to reform themselves by instituting the regional languages as media of instruction. The obvious way to do so is to institute P.S. Examinations also through these languages. Thus only can the just claims and interests of non-Hindi speaking persons be safeguarded.

11. The O.L.C.R. has suggested optional Hindi medium institutions in its chapter dealing with the problem of the medium of instruction. If Hindi becomes the medium of examinations for the much coveted prize of public services, it will have a tactical advantage over the regional language medium institutions. This would then set in a process of pushing on Hindi in the same unnatural way as happened in the case of the English medium. Thus history would repeat itself in the case of Hindi, if it had to be so adopted as a medium in non-Hindi speaking areas. Obviously, such a way if adopted would be felt coercive and will only breed aversion to Hindi, and result into retention of English. If we are to replace English, the surest and quickest way is to begin to work through regional languages and to teach Hindi in non-Hindi speaking areas, as we saw earlier in this note.

V

12. The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress acknowledging the inevitability of our situation wherein such a law of the linguistic transition was immediately necessary, passed two resolutions in 1954, on this most controversial issue of the medium—one regarding the medium of Education and the other regarding that of the P.S. Examinations.

13. The Government of India accepted them and declared its policy that—

1. it will not make the medium of instruction in universities an issue of Govt. policy. It has virtually declared thereby that regional languages will be the media there; and that,
2. "progressively examinations for all-India services should be held in Hindi, English, and the principal regional languages and candidates may be given the option to use any of these languages for the purpose of examinations."

14. This decision of the Government of India is the most outstanding and immediately necessary contribution it made during the period 1950-5, in the implementation of its constitutional duty to work for the replacement of English and for the introduction of the progressive use of Hindi, at the same time encouraging all the Indian languages to develop and prosper. The declaration heartened non-Hindi speaking area universities to change the English medium to regional languages. This is bound to help not only the overdue reform of our universities but also to strengthen our onward march to democracy. It would be in tune with the two safeguards laid down in the O.L.C.'s terms of reference.

VI

15. It would be naturally expected therefore that the O.L.C.R. would welcome these two decisions declared by Government on the floor of the Parliament on an important matter of such high policy. But it is surprising that rather than this, the O.L.C.R. almost appears to show its aversion to it by basing its argument on the U.P.S.C.'s opinion regarding a technical matter of moderation in multi-medium examinations. I hold that an opinion of experts on a comparatively small matter of a technical nature cannot be allowed to be the determining consideration on the subject of fundamental importance like the one being discussed here. It should rather be that experts should feel that they are set a problem in the matter of the examination technique, necessitated by our special needs of a multi-lingual people. The best technique under the circumstances should be found out to start with, perfecting it in light of experience gained later on. I am sorry the O.L.C.R. did not take this view and, as I feel, made much of the opinion of the U.P.S.C. Queerly enough, the latter begs the very question of moderation even for a uni-medium examination.

16. Of course, where more than one language media are concerned, the task of assessment and evaluation becomes rather complex. But it would not do to say that it is impossible. In this regard it is interesting to note the opinion of the Radhakrishnan Commission Report. Discussing bilingualism about which I quoted it in the previous chapter, the Report says (P. 322, Para. 49)—

> "In selecting Officers for the federal services it should *not be beyond the ingenuity* of the Public Services Commission to devise their examinations so as to give the same chance of selection to candidates belonging to different linguistic regions."

That is, in its view, the question is not beyond the realm of practicability.

17. The Bengal Government in its reply to Q. 5 and 6 of the O.L.C. Questionnaire, which are in this regard, said:—

> "It is considered necessary, desirable and possible to have as media for P.S. examinations all the major languages in use in the Union."

And it added regarding moderation—

> "It is not difficult for a Public Service Commission to lay down definite standards for the examination of answer papers

and to enforce those standards through their examiners. This has gone on very well in the universities which teach languages. It is very rarely that in any particular language a large number of candidates obtain first class honours and in another hardly one obtains it for successive years. Without relying upon the good sense of examiners, P.S. Commissions may set up Boards of moderators, each expert in particular language, so that answer papers may be discussed and verified to ensure a Uniform standard, and marks can be revised accordingly."

18. If the U.P.S.C. seriously goes into this matter, I am sure it can find a very suitable solution to this problem of moderation. In its reply to the O.L.C., it reports that excessive number of examinees is a very great difficulty in this matter. It is not beyond ingenuity to find out a way of screening it out by devising a suitable scheme for it.

19. Again a multi-lingual medium examination is not quite a new thing. For example, the S.S.C.E. Board of Bombay State holds its examination in about 7 languages. My point is that a practical way for meeting the difficulty is not impossible. Believing so I had submitted a note on the matter to the O.L.C. I should better reproduce it here, even for documentation as a suggestion on this matter. This is added at the end of this chapter.

VII

20. To solve the above difficulty, there was a suggestion of a sort of a Quota System; that is a sort of reservation of places on a linguistic basis. The C. of I. [Art. 16(4)] contemplates reservation for backward classes only. It is a question whether linguistic reservation would be constitutionally proper. I am glad the O.L.C.R. rejected the quota system; it could well, in that case, have saved itself of a long discussion with a note on it appended to it. However it is just by the way.

21. With this I conclude my argument of this separate note. At the end I wish to add a chapter on the Hindi movement, as it very well serves as the background of my argument as also of the entire language problem of our country. The O.L.C.R. has not touched this aspect of the matter. Therefore, for the purposes of documentation even, I think, it will be a good addition to it. It was placed by me on the table of the O.L.C. I reproduce it at the end as a new chapter with a few verbal corrections and the addition of a concluding para. at its end.

## ADDENDUM

## A NOTE REGARDING MODERATION OF A MULTI-MEDIUM EXAMINATION

1. There may be a preliminary open competitive examination under the auspices of the U.P.S.C., medium-wise. A suitable curriculum for all such examinations be decided upon. This is a matter of detail.

2. The aim of the preliminary test is to find out and choose the best few from each language-medium candidates for the final test, the main idea being to secure a manageable number of candidates at the final open competitive examination or test.

3. Those only who score a certain total number of marks above a certain percentage not less than 1st class, say 65 per cent. or so,—they only be held eligible for the final test.*

4. This test will thus have a manageable number of candidates in each language medium, thus helping better and more careful evaluation and assessment of their performance.

5. Examiners will be surely bilingual if not tri-lingual or more. English will obviously be a common language equipment for them at present.

6. Answer-papers in English uniformly assessed and moderated in the manner obtaining at present can serve as, and will give a working basis of, a common specimen or model for all other languages. I mean, every regional language examiner will have before him, for his work of assessment, an English answer paper assessed and moderated in usual prevalent way, supplied by the Head Examiner. This will serve as a common model guide for evaluating all regional answer-papers, thus enabling to set up a common basis for maintaining a uniform standard for all the regional language groups.

7. Every language-medium answer paper may have two examiners, one 'internal'; *i.e.*, belonging to the same language and another 'external',—*i.e.*, knowing the language, though not of the region. This is to ensure a fair and balanced assessment. If thought necessary, a third man may go through their assessment as a moderator for that subject.

8. As number of candidates will not be so large, the process can be easily implemented and better impartiality secured; and any sort of a check-up still felt necessary will not be prohibitive.

9. It may be noted that the process and manner of evaluation and moderation suggested above is not really multi-lingual, but bi- or tri-lingual, only. Such a process will operate at any University examination also, if along with the regional language English and/or the Union language are going to be the media. This will be so in all universities of the linguistic areas. The All-India examinations of the Union Public Service Commission will be only doing it simultaneously for every region, only the respective regional languages changing region-wise. It will be only one agency working instead of 12 or 13 like several universities.

10. "If just claims and interests of persons belonging to the non-Hindi speaking areas in regard to the public services" are to have due regard, and if the medium of regional languages for higher instruction is to be encouraged and assured a fair trial, so that those languages also prosper and develop,—as we obviously wish and are required to do—then some such system of moderation on lines suggested

*How many may these be from each language group, it might be asked. The answer is obvious, equal from each.

above or others more suitable and helpful might be sought out by our examination technicians. Some such system only can ensure equality of opportunity in the matter of appointment to services, as assured under Article 16 of the Constitution.

11. This note is only to show that multi-medium examination moderation is surely not impossible; rather it must be assiduously devised in the present context of our national conditions.

## CHAPTER VI

## THE HINDI PRACHAR MOVEMENT—A CRITICAL SURVEY OF ITS FUNDAMENTALS

1. The language pattern for free India as laid down by the Constitution has a living background in the efforts of our people to forge and give to ourselves one common national language. These efforts by now cover a fairly long period of time—about half a century. Its history is still to be written. It is necessary to have a bird's eye-view of this chapter of our national assertion, if we should better appreciate and understand this language pattern under the Constitution of India. As I said earlier, it explains why, during the first five years of independence—from 1950 to 1955, we could or could not do about Hindi as we actually wished or were required to do under the Constitution of India.

I

2. The history of this effort of the Hindi Prachar movement in India is mainly the story of the endeavours of Mahatma Gandhi in this department of our national life,—though it must be noted here that even before his advent on the scene in India in 1915, there were a few persons in Western and Eastern India even who had expressed the view that the language which was commonly spoken by the people of North India was fit to be our common language. Mahatmaji formulated this thesis as far back as 1909 and put it down in his Hind Swaraj, Chapter XVIII, in the following very comprehensive terms:—

"Reader: Then what education shall we give?

Editor: This has been somewhat considered above, but we will consider it a little more. I think that we have to improve all our languages. What subjects we should learn through them need not be elaborated here. Those English books which are valuable, we should translate into the various Indian languages. We should abandon the pretension of learning many sciences. Religious, that is ethical, education will occupy the first place. Every cultured Indian will know in addition to his own provincial language, if a Hindu Sanskrit; if a Mohammedan, Arabic; if a Parsee, Persian; and all, Hindi. Some Hindus should know Arabic and Persian; some Mohammedans and Parsees, Sanskrit. Several Northerners and Westerners should learn Tamil. A universal language for India should be Hindi, with the option of writing it in Persian or Nagari characters. In order that the Hindus and the Mohammedans may have closer relations, it is necessary to know both the characters. And, if we can do this, we can drive the English language out of the field in a short time. All this is necessary for us, slaves. Through our slavery the nation has been enslaved, and it will be free with our freedom."

3. It is very noteworthy and pertinent here to see that the real language problem for India was clearly noted that it was to replace English by Indian languages and by evolving a common national language on the basic structure of Hindi, the commonly spoken language of North India. It is interesting to quote Dr. M. S. Patel from his doctorate thesis on *The Educational Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi* where he has shortly summarized this point as follows:

> "In the beginning of the twentieth century, it was taken for granted by educated Indians that English had come to stay not only as the official language of India, but also as the medium of instruction at all stages of education. It was considered fashionable to imitate the dress and speech of the alien masters, and one who did not acquire thorough proficiency in the art of speaking English perfectly was looked down by one's own fellow-men. Not only the individual but the elite of the nation as a class developed a split consciousness, the "Babu mind". Gandhiji was one of the first few Indians who could foresee the disastrous consequences of a foreign tongue acquiring a predominant position in the life of the people. He, therefore, raised a protest as early as 1909 against the neglect of Indian languages and against the over-importance attached to English. The ball which Gandhiji and a few others had set rolling in the first decade of this century continued to be in full play for about forty years till it was set at rest by the Constituent Assembly in 1949. The intervening period witnessed a fierce battle between the linguistic Pandits. The intensity of the controversy was aggravated by the communal fanaticism fanned by the foreign rulers." (pp. 221-22).

## II

4. The first pronouncement on the question of the Hindi movement in India was made by Gandhiji in his presidential address to the Gujarat Educational Conference, Bharuch, in 1917. This is what he said about why he rejected English and adopted Hindi for the unique honour of being the *lingua franca* or the *Antar Bhasha* of India from among the various *Swabhashas* or the indigenous languages of India:

> "What is the test of a national language?—
>
> (1) For the official class it should be easy to learn.
>
> (2) The religious, commercial and political activity throughout India should be possible in that language.
>
> (3) It should be the speech of the majority of the inhabitants of India.
>
> (4) For the whole of the country it should be easy to learn.
>
> (5) In considering the question, weight ought not to be put upon momentary or shortlived conditions."

Gandhiji then showed that the English language does not fulfil any of these conditions. In his opinion "there is not another language capable of competing with Hindi in satisfying the five conditions". Hindi was our national language

even under the Mohammedan rulers and they were unable to make Persian or Arabic the national language.

5. Next year—in 1918 he was called upon to preside over the Indore Session of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan (shortly H.S.S.), Allahabad; and he availed of this opportunity to make this institution take interest in the work of Hindi 'prachar'. With this began the first epoch in the movement which ended in 1935, when the second one began. The first epoch is noteworthy in one way, *viz.* that it defined what Hindi will be and what it would do for us. As the president of the Session, Gandhiji took special care to define what Hindi should be and what it was intended to do for us. The definition was described as follows:

> "I have often said that Hindi is that language which is spoken in the North by both Hindus and Muslims and which is written either in the Nagari or the Persian script. This Hindi is neither too Sanskritized nor Persianized. The sweetness which I find in the village Hindi is found neither in the speech of the Muslims of Lucknow nor in that of the Hindi *pandits* of Prayag. The language which is easily understood by the masses is the best. All can easily follow the village Hindi. The source of the river of language lies in the Himalayas of the people. It will always be so. The Ganga arising from the Himalayas will continue to flow for ever. It is the same with the village Hindi which will flow on for ever while the Sanskritized and Persianized Hindi will dry up and fade away as does a rivulet springing from a small hillock.
>
> "The distinction made between Hindus and Muslims is unreal. The same unreality is found in the distinction between Hindi and Urdu. It is unnecessary for Hindus to reject Persian words and for Muslims to reject Sanskrit words from their speech. A harmonious blend of the two will be as beautiful as the confluence of Ganga and Yamuna and last for ever. I hope that we will not waste our energy and weaken our strength by entering into the Hindi-Urdu controversy. There is no doubt difficulty in regard to script. As things are, Muslims will patronize the Arabic script while Hindus will mostly use the Nagari script. Both scripts will therefore have to be accorded their due place. Officials must know both scripts. There is no difficulty in this. In the end, the script which is the easier of the two will prevail. There is no doubt that there ought to be a common language for mutual intercourse between the different parts of India."

This was accepted by the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan then.

6. The definition of Hindi needs special notice today as it has been a question hanging fire up to this day. Mahatma Gandhi wrote in 1945, about this definition in the following words in his introduction to a collection of his writings on the subject of Hindustani:

सन १९१७ में मैंने पहला भाषण किया था। तबसे आगे उत्तरोत्तर मैंने जो विचार प्रकट किये हैं, वे ही आज भी है। फर्क सिफ इतना ही है कि आज वे विचार दृढ़ बने हैं, और

उन्होंने अधिक स्पष्ट रूप धारण किया है। हिन्दी और उर्दू को मैंने एक साथ जाना है। हिन्दुस्तानी शब्द का इस्तेमाल भी खुलकर किया है। सन १९१८ में इन्दौर के हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन में मैंने जो कुछ कहा था, वही मैं आज भी कह रहा हूँ। हिन्दुस्तानी का मतलब उर्दू नहीं, बल्कि हिन्दी और उर्दू की वह खूबसूरत मिलावट है, जिसे उत्तरी हिन्दुस्तान के लोग समझ सकें, और जो नागरी या उर्दू लिपि में लिखी जाती हो। यह पूरी राष्ट्रभाषा है, बाकी अधूरी। पूरी राष्ट्रभाषा सीखनेवालों को आज तो दोनों लिपियां* सीखनी चाहियें और दोनों रूप जानने चाहिये। राष्ट्रप्रेम का निश्चय ही यह तकाजा है। जो इसे जानेगा वह कमायेगा, और न जानने वाला खोयेगा।

(१-५-४५)

III

7. A shrewd and astute propagandist that the world now very well knows him to be, Gandhiji saw that if at all Hindi was to be the common language of India, it must be accepted by the four Dravidian languages speaking groups of our country. The case for Hindi could be won only if they would find it possible to learn this new language. The operations must therefore be begun in that direction. Therefore we saw in 1918 the establishment of the Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha, Madras, to propagate Hindi as the national common language in the four linguistic regions.

8. In 1919-20 he started the *Navajivan* and the Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad. Both had among their aims the one of propagating ideas on national education, particularly the spread of national language. The following two were laid down in the Constitution of the Gujarat Vidyapith as the principles of this movement for national education—

"1. Teaching of the National language Hindi-Hindustani shall be compulsory in the curriculum of the Vidyapith.

NOTE:—Hindi-Hindustani is that language which is commonly spoken by Hindus and Muslims of North India and which is written in Nagari or Persian script.

2. The language of the province स्वभाषा shall have principal place in the Vidyapith and shall be the medium of all instruction."

IV

9. In certain quarters at present there are some who say whether Mahatma Gandhi agreed to Hindi being the medium of instruction in higher education or not. The above position that he formulated for the National Education movement clearly shows that he stood for Swabhasha only as the medium and for compulsory study of Hindi-Hindustani in schools and colleges.

---

*In the *Harijan* (Hindi) of 25-1-48 he had also declared that मैं मानता हूं कि नागरी और उर्दू लिपि के बीच अंत में जीत नागरी लिपि की ही होगी। इसी तरह लिपि का ख्याल छोड़कर भाषा का ही ख्याल करें, तो जीत हिन्दुस्तानी की ही होगी।

10. To quote him further on the point, this is what he said on 25th January 1948 in his prayer meeting at Delhi:—

"The redistribution of provinces on a linguistic basis was necessary if provincial languages were to grow to their full height. Hindustani was to be the *lingua franca*—Rashtra Bhasha—of India, but it could not take the place of the provincial tongues. *It could not be the medium of instruction in the provinces*—much less English. Its function was to make them realize their organic relationship with India. The world outside did not know them as Gujaratis, Maharashtris, Tamilians etc., but only as Indians. We must, therefore, resolutely discourage all fissiparous tendencies and feel and behave as Indians. Subject to this paramount consideration, a linguistic redistribution of provinces should give an impetus to education and trade." (*Delhi Diary*, p. 379, dated 25th January 1948).

11. Dr. M. S. Patel discussing Gandhiji's position on this question in his book referred to above concludes as follows:—

"Gandhiji thus wants that the medium of instruction should be altered at once and at any cost, the regional languages being given their rightful place. He would prefer temporary chaos in higher education to the criminal waste that is daily accumulating. He is convinced that the mother-tongue of the child should be the medium of the instruction at all stages of education. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru holds similar views. Both of them do not agree to allow even Hindi to take the place of English as the medium of higher education all over India.

"Hindi is strange, if not foreign, to non-Hindi-speaking areas, and it is unpsychological and hence educationally unsound to make it a medium of instruction there. The child can express himself and comprehend others with ease and facility only in his mother-tongue.

"To conclude, Gandhiji believes that English cannot be either our *lingua franca* or the medium of instruction. He believes in the greatness of English and its literature, but he would encourage its study among those who have linguistic talent. He recognizes its utility as the world language for international commerce. Hindustani written in either Devanagari or Urdu script, Gandhiji affirms, must be the national language of India. It will be a compulsory subject in the school curriculum. It will not, however, be the medium of instruction in the non-Hindi-speaking areas, where respective regional languages will be the media of instruction at all stages of education." (p. 232).

12. Thus, according to Gandhiji, Hindi was to be the *antar bhasha*—the medium of inter-provincial and all-India communication. As

such it was not intended to be the medium of instruction in non-Hindi-speaking areas. By and large, this position is now accepted by the Government of India and by almost all non-Hindi area universities.

V

13. To continue the story of the Hindi movement,—by 1924-25 Gandhiji got the Indian National Congress to accept Hindustani as its official language and to include Hindi Prachar work as an item of the nation's great Constructive Programme which he formulated for the Congress during these years.

14. It is to be noted that Gandhiji used the term "Hindustani" also along with Hindi. In the constitution of the Gujarat Vidyapith he even used the term Hindi-Hindustani. This was not merely academic. He meant to convey thereby the definition of the national language which was not Hindi if it was understood as distinct from Urdu. This was the main thing which was the corner-stone of the Hindi movement. The Hindi that was to be propagated as the common language was to be of a composite nature; it was to be the expression of all the creeds and communities. In a way we might truly say now that this principle has been very well enshrined in our Constitution in its Art. 351, which expects on our part not only integration of all our creeds and communities through evolving a common medium of expression, but also the integration of all our languages. As the Constitution has put it, the Hindi language shall be "the medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India...." (Art. 351). Accordingly the Hindi movement was to be the emblem of, or the instrument for forging, true and abiding unity of our great people. The unity was not to mean uniformity; it was to be unity in diversity of our languages, religions, creeds, communities etc. This was the first principle of the Hindi Prachar movement, expressed through the question of the definition of Hindi.

VI

15. Another principle of equally great value and importance on which the Hindi movement was sought to be built up was the assurance to the people in all non-Hindi-speaking areas that the *antar bhasha* or the Rashtra Bhasha as it was called then was not to compete with, much less to displace or derogate in any manner, the great literary languages of India or *Swabhashas* of our diverse people; it was to supplement them with providing a common medium between them. Such a common medium can discharge this unique task only if its development and super-structure was to be as noted above as the first principle of the movement.

16. This second principle of the movement was repeatedly made clear by Gandhiji and others who worked in it. It was on the strength of this much needed assurance from the sponsors of the movement that the Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha, Madras, could thrive and prosper in its onerous work, as we see it today. It may be noted that persons like Shri C. R., Shri C. P. Ramaswami Iyer joined it then and continue to take interest in the work of the Sabha till now. I may, in this connection, well note here that now

in the post-Independence era, the Sabha has emphasized this principle more explicitly in the following two ways:—

1. It has made it compulsory for a candidate for the Hindi examination that he should appear in one of the S. I. languages papers also;
2. The Sabha declares that all non-Hindi-speaking people also have a legitimate part to play in developing the common medium.

These two things are important in the present context of the movement after Independence. I shall have occasion to revert to it hereafter, as this point of the movement came into prominence in its second era that began from 1935.

17. This second principle of the movement is also honoured and recognized by our Constitution. It should better have been done more explicitly, to dispel doubts and confusion about the matter that have come about when implementing the Constitutional directive about Hindi. As I noted in an earlier part of this note, doubts have been created by the Constitution mentioning that along with regional languages of a State Hindi also can be a State language. The question of the medium of instruction is not covered by the Constitution; however, doubts are being raised why the obvious and natural medium of instruction—the Swabhasha of a student should not give this place to Hindi.

18. Regarding this insertion (in Art. 345 of the Constitution of India) of Hindi as an alternative or additional State language I have already said that it must be understood to be in consonance with the above assurance and not in any manner of its violation. It is very necessary therefore that this should be cleared authoritatively and in more categorical terms. Otherwise, the acceptance of Hindi as the Union and inter-State language of communication will, to say the least, suffer a severe set-back, and the implementation of the linguistic programme of replacement of English will be parried and delayed if not openly opposed. The result will be clinging to English, as signs in the South and East clearly show.

19. I said above that the first epoch began with 1918 and ended with 1935. During the period it was demonstrated that to learn Hindi for Dravidian languages speaking people was not an impossible hurdle as some had apprehended. This cleared the pitch for the progress of the Hindi movement and favourable climate for it was assured in course of these years. The second hurdle that became apparent in course of the Second epoch was more difficult, which we shall examine now.

## VII

20. This epoch also began with Mahatma Gandhi again presiding over the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan. The session was at Indore in 1935. He got reiterated the same definition of Hindi that he had placed before it 18 years ago. The Hindi Sahitya Sammelan did it, but as events within the next few years showed, the acceptance was short-lived. Keen differences arose on the matter between the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan under the leadership of Shri P. D. Tandon and its president, Mahatma Gandhi, the father of the Hindi *prachar* movement.

21. In this session, Mahatma Gandhi suggested a second big step towards the goal of the movement, *viz.* he asked of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan for instituting another autonomous body like the Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha, Madras, to work in Western and Eastern India. And he collected about a lakh of rupees for the Madras Sabha.

22. The differences began with the creation of the new body. As we saw above, Mahatma Gandhi had advised to have an autonomous body for Western and Eastern India *prachar* work. That would give the body freedom to carry on its work independently of the changes that might be generally expected to come in the affairs of the H.S.S. The latter did not agree to the suggestion and appointed a committee to work under the guidance and control of the H.S.S. What is known as the Wardha Samiti was born accordingly. Kakasaheb Kalelkar was put in charge of the operations of the Samiti, which was to have its headquarters at Wardha, where Gandhiji had decided to stay at that time.

23. These were the years when the Indian political situation was rapidly changing. Provincial autonomy began to actualise under the Reforms Act of 1935. Congress Ministries in various provinces came into power. This meant a very great fillip to the national movement for the great Constructive Programme of the Congress, particularly the Hindi movement. Congress Ministries began to introduce the study of Hindi in *schools. The Bombay ministry under the enlightened leadership of Shri B. G. Kher became the spearhead of work in this second epoch. It was in Western India that the work started in right earnest. The result was the beginning of the process of clearing the meaning and implications of the fundamental two issues or principles noted above. The implementation of the nation's Hindi programme in Western India both by the people and the Congress Government put up in clear focus the vital importance of these two corner-stones of the movement as never before. So much so that Mahatma Gandhi had to part company with the U.P. Hindi Sahitya Sammelan in 1942, when the issues came to a decisive head. The story of this period from 1935 to 1945 is a sorry chapter of the movement, which I may not go into. Only the questions that continue to be relevant even under the new situation of freedom and Swaraj must be noted, as they form the background of the situation *vis-a-vis* Hindi today.

VIII

24. The work of Hindi Prachar during this epoch from 1935 was a two-pronged movement. Unlike the first period, the Government also began to take part in it. This official venture into the field was bound to be consequential. It gave edge to it, which in the nature of things, the non-official activity as a constructive measure could not do.

25. In 1935 the Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad, opened its Hindi Department. It was not only to organize and conduct Hindi-Hindustani teaching through both the scripts in its institutions, but also

*In Madras, Shri Rajaji introduced the teaching of Hindi in schools. The step met with very strong opposition from the people and this continues more or less to be the position till now.

to propagate its teaching in schools of Gujarat. It began the work of Hindi publications also with the special idea of meeting the needs of Gujarati speaking people.

26. The Wardha Samiti under Shri Kalelkar instituted graded Hindi examinations and began to hold them in Western India. The immediate plan was to teach through Devanagari script the Hindi language as defined by the Indore session. The introduction of the second script Urdu was phased to come in due time. The Gujarat Vidyapith, at this juncture, did not directly undertake the work of these examinations as it was not wholly according to its principles, but helped in organizing them. The work was directly looked after by Kakasaheb Kalelkar.

27. The Government of Bombay, under the enlightened leadership of its Chief Minister, Shri B. G. Kher, instituted a Hindustani Teaching Committee in 1937, under the chairmanship of Shri Kaka Kalelkar. It was to organize teaching of the language in schools of the State from Std. V onwards. The policy was laid down according to the Indore definition of Hindi; *i.e.* the Urdu style and script of Hindi also were given due place in the curriculum.

28. On the other side, as I said above, Shri Kakasaheb Kalelkar began his efforts to see that this policy was duly honoured and implemented by the popular agency for Hindi propagation, *viz.* the Wardha Samiti of the H.S.S. which had started to function in Gujarat and Maharashtra. This was the beginning of dividing the ranks of the Hindi *prachar* work that apparently appeared till then to be united. The H.S.S. refused to accept this policy. It declared itself for Hindi as distinct from Urdu and for Nagari script only and said that it would work for propagating such a policy only.

29. As a compromise, Gandhiji again suggested that the Wardha Samiti might be given an autonomous status so that it might be free to work on the line of a happy synthesis of Hindi and Urdu. The H.S.S. may, in that case, continue to help it as best as it could according to its own light and ideas. The issue hung fire till 1940-1, the H.S.S. ultimately deciding not to accommodate Mahatmaji's proposal in any manner. The H.S.S. was not prepared to let go the Wardha Samiti from its direct control on and guidance in policy matters. Hence Gandhiji along with Pandit Jawaharlal, Maulana Azad, Babu Rajendra Prasad and many others in the movement started a new organization, the Hindustani Prachar Sabha, Wardha, and he resigned from the H.S.S. of which he was an ex-officio member as its ex-president. The rupture was thus complete, though the H.S.S. and the Wardha Samiti even after that continued to exploit the name of Gandhiji as the Samiti's and the H.S.S.'s ex-president, for the purpose of propagating the Hindi of its conception as the राष्ट्रभाषा. Gandhiji described this conception as partial and truncated, and compared it with one eye of the body, the other being Urdu. The H.S.S. held and continues to hold up to this day that Hindi as distinct from Urdu is and should be the common language of India. Hence the efforts of Gandhiji for Hindustani were dubbed as spoiling the language of the Hindi-speaking population of U.P. by creating a bad mixture which was, according to the spokesmen of the H.S.S., neither here nor there.

30. I shall have occasion to refer to this observation of the H.S.S., which is, in another form, the beginning of the idea of "two Hindis" that we find in the Constitution of India. The observation conveyed that the Hindi of H.S.S. conception and the Hindi-Hindustani which Gandhiji stood for and propagated were different. The whole point of difference was well brought out in the definition of the national language which the Hindustani Prachar Sabha* adopted. It was to be a more broadbased and liberal movement than the Hindi of the H.S.S. conception which was restricted to U.P. mainly. The difference is similar, in its significance, to the present position of the Regional Hindi and the Union Hindi, two terms that have been in vogue in post-independence era from 1950, the year of the beginning of the 3rd epoch of the Hindi movement.

IX

**The 3rd Epoch of the Movement**

31. The third epoch of the Hindi movement began with the adoption of the language chapter by the Constituent Assembly in 1949. It was so to say the culmination of the first two epochs, crowning them with success. As Dr. M. S. Patel in his book (page 229) says:

> "The Constituent Assembly of India has resolved that Hindi will be the federal language of India. It will grow richer and fuller than it is today and will not be distinguishable from Hindustani.
>
> "It will be seen that the fundamental views of Gandhiji are acceptable to the Constituent Assembly as well as to the Radhakrishnan Commission which had on it some of the ablest educationalists of India, England and America...."

32. Article 351 of the Constitution directed the Union, *i.e.* the Government at the Centre and of the States to promote the spread of Hindi. Henceforth the Hindi *prachar* work would be an official job. Government was required to look after it in such a way that within the time-limit of 15 years Hindi would replace English as the official language of the Union.

33. Five years have already gone by. One cannot say that any appreciable work has been put in during the period. As Prof. Indra pointed out in his oral evidence to the O.L.C., there are various reasons for this slow progress.

34. There is, firstly, a deep-rooted infatuation for English language among the upper and ruling classes. English to them has become a vested interest—a class interest. As Sir Ivor Jennings in

---

*The definition is as follows :—

"हिन्दुस्तानी वह भाषा है, जिसे उत्तर हिन्दुस्तान के शहरों और गांवों में हिन्दू, मुसलमान आदि सब लोग बोलते हैं, समझते हैं और आपस के कारोबार में बरतते हैं, और जिसे नागरी और फारसी दोनों लिखावटों में लिखा पढ़ा जाता है और जिसके साहित्यिक (अदबी) रूप आज हिन्दी और उर्दू नाम से पहचाने जाते हैं ।

In view of Art. 351 of the C. of I., the following words were added (in 1950) at the end, in amplification thereof—

और जो अपनी शक्ति बढ़ाने के लिये प्रान्तीय भाषाओं में से जरूरी शब्द और मुहावरे अपनाती रहती है ।

his Waynflete Lectures at Oxford ('The Commonwealth in Asia' p. 43) in 1949 observed: "The use of English is a class distinction because it proves membership of a superior economic grade...."*

Therefore the classes are in no hurry to replace it with a language that would put them at a disadvantage and apparent inconvenience. They also harbour a feeling that the vast change cannot be negotiated so quickly and the time-limit would be extended. The Government also has not been so alert as it could be. There was lack of faith and enthusiasm among the officers who presided over the administration.

35. All these causes worked in the climate of a sort of fear complex of "Hindi domination" or "Imperialism" engendered by the attitude of the Hindi-speaking classes in the North. They propagated the idea that it was *their* language which was recognised as the Union language. The H.S.S. did not accept, or if it did, did so with mental reservations, the constitutional position of the Union Hindi. It categorically opposed the provision of the numerals. Shri K. M. Munshi, one of the most prominent protagonists of this school of thought, in his presidential address to the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Bombay, 1952, speaking about the development of Hindi literature said:

> "It is a queer story. The seeds of Hindi were sown a century ago by learned men, who in good conscience opposed Urdu which was current as the language of the educated in the North........Today Hindi has won and it is now the language of daily use of writing and speaking."

And in another connection he had also expressed himself to say that Gandhiji's Hindustani might now be taken to have been buried too deep to be a living factor. Obviously the Hindi which Shri

---

*Sir Ivor's other observations regarding English influence on Indian society are also interesting :

> " English education has had a smaller cultural influence than Macaulay and the Whigs had contemplated, for it caused a class divergence far greater than the Mugul Empire and dealt with ideas which were totally unrelated to the experience of the mass of the population. It has been an integrating factor, however, for it has created a politically conscious class speaking the same language and sharing common ideas. That it has also created communalism is incidental, for communalism arises from the application of common western ideas to the complex Indian society." (pages 17-18).

Regarding replacement of English by Indian languages he observed olution for it as follows :—

> " If English must be replaced by the vernaculars, the only solution is to divide up the great universities (Calcutta, Madras, Bombay) into smaller units, and India must have a much larger number of universities, most of them speaking different languages.
>
> " The result of such a diversification must inevitably be to break up not merely the Universities but also the professions, including trade and industry...... unless there was a common 2nd language, say Hindi."

What is noteworthy is that we should have Hindi as the second language of India to be a common link between the diversities that are naturally expected to exist in a country like ours. That way we can have unity even with the diversities. Sir Ivor does not say that Hindi should be only one language ; he says it should be a second language, the first being the regional.

Munshi refers to and for which the H.S.S. stands is not the Hindi which the Union will spread in India, as Art. 351 clearly says that it cannot be against Urdu or Hindustani.

36. Another new factor that was born in this third epoch is that the question of Hindi in Independent India assumed a political colour also. If the North thought that its language Hindi as distinct from Urdu, Hindustani, etc. was to be the language of the Union, it would work accordingly in the counsels of the Parliament and other bodies. The H.S.S., Allahabad, was working in non-Hindi areas for the propagation of this Hindi through its Wardha Samiti. Anti-Pakistan feelings were also rampant, easily to be exploited to keep up the Wardha Samiti work against the independent regional agencies that were built up, like the Maharashtra Rashtra Bhasha Sabha, Poona, the Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad, etc. And no one authoritatively spoke out that this position of Hindi according to the H.S.S. was wrong under the Constitution. Such a challenge first came forth from Bombay State which I shall deal hereafter.

37. The point is that, under such circumstances there came about a climate of fear and suspicion in non-Hindi areas about how the language policy under the Constitution will affect and shape things educational and cultural, and in particular how it will change the picture of recruitment to the services in view of the impending change from English to Hindi. The change was bound to be revolutionary in its effect upon the people socially also. It was more—as Sir Ivor Jennings remarked in his lectures noted below:—

> "If Hindi were the national language the Hindi-speaking peoples of the North would become as dominant a class as the English-speaking are now. English is at least neutral, a language which all can learn on equal terms. Hindi would give a preference to some and so would be anathema to others." (*ibid* p. 48).

38. The situation was sought to be met with two sorts of rejoinders specially from East and South India: (1) It began to be said that there was no loss of self-respect in retaining English; it must be retained as an alternative to Hindi for an indefinite time (2) We might better have Sanskrit as the Antar Bhasha so that all will be on equal terms. This had a sort of revivalist appeal in it also.

All this was obviously defeatist or escapist in nature and was no way really helpful to clear the climate. Rather it benumbed real efforts for progressive use and teaching of Hindi to begin in those regions. No all-India plan or concerted policy of work under Art. 351 could be devised, much less could function, under the circumstances, either at the Union or the States level.

## X

39. In Western India, thanks to the Congress Government under Shri B. G. Kher, things took a very welcome shape. As I noted above, teaching of Hindi in schools had already been begun in the State. Now the work was enjoined by the Constitution itself. It

had also formulated the language policy for free India. The Government of Bombay did not allow grass to grow under its feet in this matter. It instituted a Hindi Teaching Committee (May, 1950) "to make its recommendations to encourage the study of Hindi in this State." This the Committee was asked to do "having regard to Arts. 343-51, of the Constitution of India" which had now formulated the language policy. Even before the Constitution of India was passed, the Government of Bombay was worried about the Hindi policy and had almost taken the decision even before 1949 that not the regional Hindi propagated by the Wardha Samiti, but Hindi-Hindustani advised by Gandhiji and accepted by the Congress as the national language gave the right line. But its implementation was suspended in view of the Constituent Assembly's forthcoming decision in the matter. Having got it in 1950, the Government of Bombay lost no time and established the Committee referred to above.

40. The report of this Committee is the first and till now I think the only official document of its kind on the question of promoting the spread of Hindi according to the Constitution of India. The document deserves larger and closer attention than it has got. It recommends on a few very important matters that at present demand attention from the States and the Union, like (1) methods and principles of organising, particularly in non-Hindi areas, the teaching of Hindi in schools. (2) The nature of Hindi to be taught in schools, *i.e.*, nature or form of the Hindi language under the Constitution, (3) Question of training Hindi teachers and of proper text-books, curricula etc.

41. The Committee was additionally asked to recommend what were the principles for recognising non-official agencies working in the field of Hindi *prachar* in the State. It was also to recommend which non-official examinations may be prescribed for passing by Government servants of the State so that they may be able to do their work in Hindi whenever it was required under the Constitution.

42. The Committee's recommendations on all these questions were based on their cardinal finding that the Hindi of the Constitution as defined by its Arts. 343—351 does not mean Hindi that is noted in Schedule 8, the regional Hindi. It was this language which was to be taught in schools. It was those non-official Hindi *prachar* bodies that accepted and followed this policy that could or should be recognized by Government etc.

43. The Government of Bombay accepted all the recommendations of the Committee and began to reorganize Hindi work in the State accordingly. Teaching of Hindi was to be compulsory from Std. V up to Std. XI, the S.S.C.E. standard. Government servants were required to pass certain examination in Hindi. The Committee was further revived and asked to frame Hindi words for certain administrative terms. These were framed keeping in view Art. 351 which asked to assimilate words etc. from other languages without interfering with the genius of Hindi.

XI

44. The most important thing was the acceptance of the main recommendation regarding the Hindi of the Constitution. A summary of the Committee's findings on this main point is given in my book *Our Language Problem*, p. 26-41. As I have given a copy of the book to members of the O.L.C., I may not append it here, and request them to see it from the book.

45. The findings of the Committee had not merely local bearing and significance; they had all-India implications. The 'two Hindis' recommendation did have such notice, and it created a stir and a strong reaction among the Hindi protagonists of the North.

46. The Chief Minister of the State, Shri B. G. Kher, presiding over the *Pramanapatra Vitranotsava* at Tumkur (Mysore), on June 12, 1951, referred to the question of Hindi under the Constitution in the following words:—

"Fortunately, as I said, because of the provision in the Constitution the controversy about the name and script of our national language is now dead. But there is another danger against which we must guard.

"Because of the name of our national language is Hindi, certain Hindi-speaking provinces are trying to foist their special brand of Hindi on the whole country as its national language. But a part can never take the place of the whole; and these friends must realise that the Hindi which is contemplated by the Constitution will be a matter of slow growth and cannot be identical with the Hindi either of the Uttar Pradesh or Bihar or of Madhya Pradesh. All these will make a valuable contribution to the formation of the national language, but they are not the 'national' language. In order to make this distinction clear Mahatma Gandhi proposed to call the national language Hindi-Hindustani or Hindustani...." (Harijan, July 14-51, p. 170).

47. I had written in the Harijan of 23rd June, 1951 on this topic of 'the Hindi of the Constitution'. Referring to it, Shri Ghansyam Singha Gupta of C.P. wrote in the Harijan of 22nd September, 1951 and said:

"I have read carefully Shri M. P. Desai's article in the Harijan of 23rd June, 1951. I can at once say that I entirely agree with him that the Hindi of the Constitution has to be (as I have often termed it) सार्वदेशिक and not प्रादेशिक spoken either at Delhi, Lucknow, Allahabad or Raipur. It has to be all-embracing, drawing freely from all the great languages of India to enrich itself....".

48. A conversation between Shri P. D. Tandon and Shri Kaka Saheb Kalelkar is very revealing on this matter. It is reported by

Kakasaheb in his journal *Mangal Prabhat*, 1952. I reproduce it below:—

"कुछ ही दिन हुए, वर्धा में श्रद्धेय टंडनजी से मिलने का सौभाग्य प्राप्त हुआ। बहुत बरसों के बाद हम एकत्र बैठकर और दिल खोलकर बातें कर सके—

"इसी मुलाकात में टंडनजी ने एक सवाल उठाया। यह क्या पाखण्ड चंद लोगों ने चलाया है कि युक्त प्रान्त की प्रान्तीय हिन्दी अलग और सारे राष्ट्र की हिंदी अलग। राष्ट्रीय विधान के शब्द लेकर बाल की खाल निकालना और कहना कि हिंदी एक नहीं दो भाषायें हैं, कहां तक मुनासिब है ?

"मैंने कहा कि प्रान्तीय हिंदी और राष्ट्रीय हिंदी का भेद इन लोगों ने नहीं शुरू किया। वह तो कब का प्रो० धीरेन्द्र वर्मा ने चलाया था, जब वे कहने लगे कि राष्ट्रभाषा का मुकुट चढ़ाने के लिये अगर आप हमारी हिन्दी की शक्ल ही बदल देंगे, तो हमें वह मुकुट नहीं चाहिये। हमारी प्रान्तीय हिन्दी जैसी है वैसी ही रहने दीजिये। मुकुट के लोभ से हम अपना कलेवर किसी को बिगाड़ने नहीं देंगे। आप को राष्ट्रभाषा जैसी बनानी हो, बना लीजिये। हमारी हिन्दी को बिगाड़िये नहीं। उन दिनों गांधी जी ने हिन्दुस्तानी का नाम भी नहीं लिया था। वे सम्मेलन के अन्तर्गत ही थे। वे तो सिर्फ सर्वसमन्वय की ही बातें करते थे।

"महामहोपाध्याय पोतदार या महामात्र मगनभाई देसाई संविधान के नियम और आदेशों (Directives) का जो अर्थ करते हैं, उस का इन्कार नहीं हो सकता। प्रांतीय हिन्दी और भारतीय हिन्दी ऐसी दो हिन्दी की कल्पना वहां पर स्पष्ट है। तो भी मुझे विश्वास है कि इन दो हिन्दीयों में ऐसा फर्क नहीं होने वाला कि जिस से आप को या किसी को अस्वस्थ होना पड़े।"

49. There are many other important persons who, speaking about the form of Hindi, referred to this vital distinction between the Union Hindi and the regional Hindi. I may quote a few more which are categorically clear:.

A new all-India organization, Akhil Bharatiya Hindi Parishad, was started in 1950, with the distinct object of working for Hindi as contemplated by the Constitution in its Art. 351.. Late Shri G. V. Mavalankar, the speaker of the Lok Sabha had been its president. Speaking as the President of the Paschima Bharat Rashtra Bhasha Sammelan that met in Bombay on June 24, 25 and 26, 1950, he said:—

"दूसरी महत्वपूर्ण बात यह है कि यद्यपि राष्ट्रभाषा का नाम हिन्दी रखा गया है, तो भी वह उत्तर प्रदेश या राजस्थान आदि विभागों में जिस स्वरूप ढंग, या शैली में बोली जाती है, वही हमारी राष्ट्रभाषा हिन्दी ऐसा समझना या आग्रह रखना बड़ी गलती होगी। हिन्दी का स्वरूप और उस का उद्दिश्ट बताते हुए संविधान के अनुच्छेद में जो कहा गया है, वह देखिये :—

"हिन्दी भाषा की प्रसार वृद्धि करना, उसका विकास करना, ताकि वह भारत की (नहीं कि अमुक प्रान्त की) सामासिक संस्कृति (composite culture) के सब तत्वों की अभिव्यक्ति का माध्यम (medium of expression) हो सके ......।

"हर प्रान्त की जो कुछ प्रान्तीय विशेषता रहन सहन, खानपान, पोशाक, साहित्य, काव्य और कला में हो, उस को व्यक्त करने की ताकत भारतीय हिन्दी में होनी चाहिये। जब तक हिन्दी का वैसा व्यापक भारतीय स्वरूप नहीं होता तब तक पूर्ण रूप से भारतीय एकता असंभव है। हिन्दी भाषा भाषियों का अन्य प्रान्तिक भाषाओं पर आक्रमण हो रहा है ऐसी भावना कदापि न होने पावे। भारत के सम्पूर्ण संगठन में यह बड़ी बाधा होगी। इसलिये राष्ट्रभाषा हिन्दी का स्वरूप यू० पी० के बाशिन्दों की मातृभाषा हिन्दी से भिन्न होगा, अलग अलग प्रान्तिक भाषाओं का उस पर असर होगा, और संभव है भिन्न भिन्न प्रान्तों में इन का रूप कुछ अलग अलग हो। इस में डर की कोई बात नहीं। ऐसी भिन्नताओं की राष्ट्रभाषा हिन्दी में अवश्य गुंजाइश है। इससे इसके कुदरती विकास के साथ साथ परस्पर प्रेम और आदर बढ़ता रहेगा तथा प्रान्तीयता जड़ न पकड़ पायेगी।"

50. An important body like the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress had to speak out on the question during these years. In its meeting of April 4, 1954, it passed two very important resolutions on the question of language policy. They were intended to clear the atmosphere and give a lead to the country, particularly about the medium of instruction and that of public services examinations. They categorically said that this should be the regional languages. Incidentally the resolution referred to Hindi and its advancement in the following words:

> "It should be the objective of the Government, through the educational system and by other means, to encourage and develop Hindi, both as a regional language and as the all-India national language for official and other purposes. At the same time, the other regional languages named in the Constitution should also be given full encouragement. The object aimed at should be the development of an Indian literature through all these great languages of India, which should, therefore, have close contacts with each other. While Hindi, as the all-India national language, should be a compulsory subject at various stages in schools and colleges, it is necessary that people in the Hindi-speaking areas should learn at least one other Indian language."

51. During these days the subject came to be discussed in Parliament also. In April, 1954, Shri P. D. Tandon and Shri Govind Das raised it by strongly opposing Urdu saying that it was a foreign language and if encouraged it would injure Indian culture! This called forth a strong sense of dislike about such an approach to the language problem.

52. The press in these days reported that there was a 'close-door' discussion of the problem in the Congress Parliamentary Party. The Prime Minister spoke in it. He made various points bearing on this vast and crucial question. He described the constitutional provision for a common Union language as a "tremendous achievement of ours in getting this vast degree of support and agreement over a question which bristles with difficulties." And he cautioned that "it is no good for people in the North to shout too much and say

that you are not doing enough and all that". He referred to the nature and form of Hindi also at some length, wherein he clearly said "that Hindi had to be thought of in two ways, as a regional language on exactly the same footing as other regional languages and separately as an all-India official or other language. 'These two are somewhat different, although they overlap of course, naturally because as a regional language you want it to have the richness of a regional language. If you want to impose that richness on the all-India language, you make it too difficult for the others.'" This did not mean, the Prime Minister went on to say, that the all-India language was to be "a kind of amalgam of various languages". He said that "this idea of amalgam being created artificially is rather a dangerous idea from the linguistic or cultural point of view. I like an amalgam, I want them to come; but I want them to come rather by a process of growth and creativeness than to be imposed on each other in any artificial way."

(I have quoted the P.M. here from the version of his speech that appeared in the *Times of India*, 17th May 1954.)

## XII

53. This concludes the survey of the Hindi movement which ends with the appointment of the Official Language Commission in 1955 by the President. The work entrusted to it is immediate, very precise and practical. The President has asked it to prepare "a time-schedule according to which and the manner in which Hindi may gradually replace English as the official language of the Union and as a language for communication between the Union and State Governments and between one State Government and another". The official purposes will also include those mentioned in Art. 348 of the Constitution of India, *viz.* law and law-courts. The Commission will report on this for the next five years from 1956 to 1960 when another Official Language Commission will be set up to report further for carrying the work to its fruition in 1965. Educational questions form no part of the Official Language Commission's job. However, the realism of the problem which forms the background for its work and questions allied to the main topic of reference to it do come in its purview, but no more than that.

54. It must be noted that questions about education have been already examined and reported on by two special bodies by now, I mean the Radhakrishnan Commission for Higher Education and the Mudaliar Commission for secondary education. Again, education is essentially a State subject closely interlinked with the questions of regional languages. With States going to be shortly reorganised mainly on a linguistic basis, it is as well they should have their freedom to develop and enrich in all ways their languages. This is what the Constitution also desires. They also along with the Union language have to fight their battle of coming to their own in their respective fields, with English which language also we wish to study and avail of for our national advancement.

55. The question of introduction of Hindi as an *Antar Bhasha* for our national and official purposes does not touch or call for

efforts from the non-Hindi-speaking areas only. For them it is obvious that they should begin to learn Hindi. And when they do so they must be completely assured that their languages will have unrestricted liberty to enrich themselves by being allowed to be in use in entire State administration and education. They must be prepared to replace English with their languages in the State sphere and with Hindi as they come to be equipped with it through learning it.

56. There is an equally important need of efforts on the part of Hindi-speaking areas too. These may well develop their regional language Hindi in the way that they desire, as others. It is as well they heed to the advice contained in Art. 351. What is needed from them now for all-India purposes is that they should desist from the idea and the work of propagating their language in non-Hindi areas. Such kind of work is not needed now; and it is bound to be misunderstood and to be resented in the present position of our national mind. And is not every language of India called upon by the Constitution to play a role which requires all of them to mind their own house keenly and intensely? All languages have to arrive at the full status of a modern language that is enriched and developed enough to work in the entire field of human thought and activity. Well may they march in tune with one another and mutual help and regard.

**Prof. 'Dinkar's' view**

57. In this matter, Shri 'Dinkar' has well advised the Hindi world when speaking to the Bihar Hindi Sahitya Sammelan in February last:—

"Of late a feeling has grown throughout the non-Hindi speaking areas that as the Hindi-speaking people would be in a position of vantage with Hindi becoming the State language, they are out to impose it as such on the rest of the country with the help of their huge number. We of the Hindi-speaking areas know that we do not want to do it. But the suspicion is there and we should give a lie to it by remaining silent over the issue and by making the non-Hindi-speaking public believe that it is they and not we who are the guardian of the State language....

"We of the Hindi language will commit error if we thought ourselves superior to others as nationalists, only because they were not fast to take to Hindi. Shall we do so because we are in an advantageous position in this respect?..

"We may look at the problem from yet another angle, the angle of compulsion. Free India has taken to democracy......... In a democracy the majority generally rules; but on basic questions like language, religion, or culture the majority does not only accommodate the minorities, but gives them the fullest scope for self-development.... It will be difficult to bring the whole

of India under one language. We can, however, derive good hope from the fact that there is a desire and willingness among all sections of the people to live together under one State.... And there is also a general appreciation of the decision to replace English by Hindi as the State language. This decision has got to be carried into practice through the willingness of the people rather than by compulsion and imposition......"

"We shall be within our rights to serve and propogate Hindi as our mother-tongue, but we shall have well served the cause of Indian unity if we refrained from taking upon ourselves the leadership of Hindi as the Union language. The reason is that the State language is not the exclusive possession of those who own Hindi as their mother-tongue. It has passed into the hands of the whole nation. And evidently when we seek to assume its leadership, people in the non-Hindi regions begin to sense a danger about it. Then they begin to feel that Hindi is being imposed on them and that under its guise the North is trying to dominate the South."

58. The advice of Shri Dinkarji, the well-known Hindi poet and professor from Bihar, just matches well with the keen feeling about Hindi that is evinced in South and East that "any domination by a majority is felt to be an oppression by the minority, specially so when over and above political rule, a cultural compulsion is sought to be imposed". Such a feeling may be wholly unjustified and unwarranted; but so long as it is there it has to be noted and met with due regard and consideration. As the P.M. said, the language policy decided for us by the collective wisdom and statesmanship of our people in their Constituent Assembly is a 'tremendous achievement'. It must be jealously guarded as a rare prize and a happy end of the half-a-century old movement for the national language.

59. This great achievement is one of the ingredients that will make up the content of Swaraj. There are voices today saying that we should retain English as the working all-India common language of India. "We have it, we should not throw it away", they say. The Hindi movement in essence has stood for the effort to replace the English medium and not to lose the advantages of the knowledge of English *language*. Some few who know it should realise in good time that continuing it as our Antar Bhasha inflicts loss of self-respect on the masses of our people. Few amongst us who know English cannot afford to forget now that not even one per cent. in India knows it well. One of the chief planks on which Indian nationalism was based and stands till now was not only the removal of English *rule* but also the equally killing rule of the English language over our educational, social, political and public life. I may end with quoting Gandhiji, the Father of the Nation, who wrote on this point as follows in 'Young India' of 2nd February 1921.

"The highest development of the Indian mind must be possible without a knowledge of English. It is doing violence to the manhood and specially the womanhood of India to encourage our boys and girls to think that an entry into the best society is impossible without a knowledge of English. It is too humiliating a thought to be bearable. To get rid of the infatuation for English is one of the essentials of Swaraj."

M. P. DESAI,
Member,
Official Language Commission.

AHMEDABAD;
*July* 14, 1956.

## APPENDIX I

## SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

*Nota Bene.*—For the reasons explained in paragraph 3 of Chapter I, in the summary that follows are given both the specific 'recommendations' of the Commission in respect of the terms of reference, as well as their 'conclusions' on other aspects of the language question not falling strictly within the terms of reference but relatable to them. The recommendations are printed in italics.

The foot-notes below certain paragraphs in the Report and the three notes appended have not been summarised.

---

## CHAPTER II

## LANGUAGE IN THE MODERN WORLD

1. Language, in its spoken and written form, is an indispensable tool to all forms of social organisation and basic to the advancement of knowledge and human progress. In modern communities mass literacy is an indispensable means for technological progress and improvement of living standards. (Paragraph 1).

2. Language is generally an important element in the consciousness of nationality: since modern governments have to concern themselves intimately with numerous aspects of life in a community, the question of linguistic medium for 'official purposes' becomes an important matter for deliberate choice. (Paragraph 3).

3. In certain countries of the world like Switzerland, Canada, Belgium, the problem of languages, since it arises in respect of no more than three or four languages, is solved, generally speaking, by adoption of a widespread multi-lingualism; in the U.S.S.R., the outstanding position of the Russian language from all points of view in the linguistic map of the country simplifies the language problem in that country compared to the Indian situation.

In Japan and in Turkey deliberate programmes of language reform were undertaken and carried through as a measure of national policy; the outstanding issue of language reform in China is the alphabetisation of the script. (Paragraphs 4 and 5).

4. While the complexity of the Indian language problem exceeds that of other multi-lingual countries, a solution sought on pragmatic lines and in a spirit of tolerance, understanding and respect for diverse cultural expressions—which have been painfully learnt in certain countries of the world as amelioratives for linguistic difficulties—ought to be available. (Paragraph 6).

5. In many countries, for keeping abreast of scientific advances in the world, an advanced foreign language is systematically taught as a second language within the educational system: the English language is the foremost amongst such second languages in many parts of the world. (Paragraph 7).

---

## CHAPTER III

### THE INDIAN LINGUISTIC SCENE

6. As the vast sub-continent of India has been the meeting ground throughout history for people of diverse racial and demographic origin it is hardly to be wondered at that there should be a great multiplicity and variety in the forms of speech in this country. (Paragraph 1).

Although the number of languages and dialects registered as such in linguistic surveys in India is very large, the cultivated current languages are only a few; besides, there are close affinities and common elements amongst all these languages. The languages that require to be considered in relation to the 'language problem' in the country are only the important 13 regional languages (omitting Sanskrit) enlisted in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution. (Paragraph 6).

7. The system of public education introduced after the establishment of British rule in the country has had a profound influence on the Indian linguistic scene. Following the famous resolution passed by the Government of India in 1835 for imparting to Indians a knowledge of English literature and science, the policies laid down in Wood's Despatch of 1854 governed the educational system of the country for several decades thereafter. Although this Despatch embodied a clear recognition of the importance of the indigenous languages of the country in the educational system and envisaged literature in such languages as a necessary link in the 'percolation' theory of education, in practice, these languages did not feature to any significant extent in the educational system as media of instruction until very recently. Apart from any official neglect of these languages in these early years the demand from the politically conscious Indian opinion was insistently for greater opportunities for learning English which it deemed as a 'key' not only to scientific and other advance of the country but also as an instrument of political advance, and withal as a great liberalising social force. (Paragraphs 4 and 5).

8. Growingly, over the last 150 years, the English language came to supervene and finally eclipsed entirely the Indian languages in all important fields of public administration, higher education, the professions and public life. As a result of such supersession, these languages continued undeveloped and they are now not in a position to displace English in their appropriate fields until these deficiencies have been made up. (Paragraph 4).

9. Notwithstanding all this, Indian literatures still recorded a very impressive development during these decades. The period of the 19th century represents a great renaissance in Indian languages brought about by the advent of the printing press, the opening out of new vistas of literary forms and features through acquaintance of English literature and the impact of western civilisation on Indian conditions. Thanks to this efflorescence in the indigenous languages, we are now in a position to think in terms of switching over to Indian language media in all fields of activity, including those from which they have hitherto been excluded. (Paragraph 5).

10. It is suggested for the consideration of Census authorities that a question indicative of linguistic ability in the Hindi language on the part of speakers of non-Hindi mother tongues all over the country may be instituted at the next and subsequent censuses. (Paragraph 6).

---

## CHAPTER IV

## THE INDIAN LANGUAGE PROBLEM AND THE LINEAMENTS OF A SOLUTION

11. The enfranchisement of the regional languages in their appropriate fields and the forging of a common medium of expression for all relevant purposes, official and non-official, with reference to all aspects of pan-Indian intercourse, constitute the language problem of India. (Paragraph 1).

12. In the light of the fully democratic basis of the Indian polity as established under the Constitution, it is not possible to envisage English as the common all-India mass medium. About 1 per cent. of the population has presently anything like an adequate linguistic ability in English. The programme of compulsory elementary education, enjoined in the Constitution, can be conceived of only in terms of Indian languages. (Paragraphs 3 and 4).

13. This conclusion has been reached not on grounds of prejudice against a foreign language; or in disregard of the wealth of literature and scientific knowledge available in it; or merely on grounds of patriotic sentiment: it is also recognised that for the maintenance of high academic standards, particularly in respect of scientific knowledge and research; for maintaining a live communion with the progress of science and thought in the rest of the world; and for other specific purposes like international contacts, as language of diplomacy, etc., a knowledge of the English language will have to be cultivated by appropriate categories of persons. However, there is a vital distinction between the use of a foreign language for specific purposes or as 'a second language', and its use as the *principal or general medium* of education, administration, public life and the day-to-day business of the country. It is this aspect which is sought to be rectified. (Paragraph 3).

14. The obvious linguistic medium for pan-Indian purposes is the Hindi language. Hindi has been adopted as the Union language and the language for inter-State communication in the Indian Constitution having regard to the relative numbers of the population who speak and understand this language, compared to the other regional languages; and not because in point of development, or in point of literary wealth, other regional languages in India are in any way inferior to Hindi. (Paragraph 6).

15. It is not practicable to adopt two Union languages, one from the Indo-Aryan and the other from the Dravidian families; nor is it possible to think in terms of Sanskrit as such an all-India medium. (Paragraph 7).

16. In view of all this, the provisions made in the Constitution for adoption of Hindi for the purposes of the Union, Union-State and inter-State communication represent the only practicable course. (Paragraph 8).

17. On the displacement of the English language as a general medium in these various spheres of national life the 'succession' would accrue not wholly to the Union language but to the Union and regional languages in their appropriate spheres. (Paragraph 6).

18. The Hindi language will replace the English language only to a limited extent in one sense as it would not wholly 'step into the shoes' of the English language, the regional languages having been yielded their appropriate places: in another sense, however, having regard to the vast programmes of compulsory education and literacy ahead, the extent of coverage that would accrue to the Union language would be enormously in excess of the population served by the English language at present or of what could possibly be served by any such foreign linguistic medium. (Paragraphs 10 and 18).

19. While the Constitution properly limits itself to the question of replacing English by Indian linguistic media in the official business of the country, there are other fields of activity, within so to say the 'private sector of national life', wherein the question of a single linguistic medium for all pan-Indian levels of intercourse is of the highest significance. In these fields there is little or no scope for legislating with reference to any specific language policy; and the liguistic pattern must be allowed freedom to develop as it may by the voluntary choices of the people and in response to the needs and opportunities of the situation. After initiating necessary steps for the development of the Union language as well as of the regional languages, this sector may be left free for all the different linguistic media to attain their appropriate coverage with reference to the needs and opportunities in different fields, evolving in due course a general linguistic equilibrium. (Paragraph 15).

20. The constitutional provisions limit themselves to laying down the minimum requirements with reference to the sectors of activity relatable to official business; for our part also we have limited ourselves to this and the necessary consequential measures for sustaining the linguistic provisions for the official sector. (Paragraph 15).

21. Apart from these strict and minimum requirements of the situation, what the constitutional provisions envisage, and we wholeheartedly endorse, is a 'republic of letters' in which each language, including English, will find the place that properly belongs to it in the country's national life. (Paragraph 15).

22. The language provisions of the Constitution are wise and comprehending; while clearly enunciating the objectives, they make due provision for the need for developing the Union language, the special case of language for law courts and legislation, and the difficulties of the transitional period. They are viable and elastic, and it should be possible to accommodate the situation as it develops without amendment of the constitutional framework. (Paragraph 8).

23. Practically all responsible opinion accepts the constitutional settlement, although some persons have doubts as to the preparatory period of 15 years being ultimately found adequate; others are of the view that the period will be found adequate for a *general* changeover of the linguistic medium provided sufficiently energetic steps are taken in the meantime. However, this is not an issue on which it is necessary or possible for this Commission to pronounce. (Paragraph 9).

24. We have no opinion to express regarding the legitimacy of the demands for the inclusion of the Sindhi and the English languages in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution. The reason is that the question of inclusion of any more languages in that Schedule is not included within, and does not appear to be necessarily relatable to, our terms of reference; nor have we taken evidence with reference to these demands which were made to us only towards the end of our labours. (Paragraph 19).

25. Apart from the constitutional provisions regarding language of the Union and of the States, the Indian Constitution enacts certain general safeguards relating to languages and scripts as a part of the cultural and educational rights of minorities. These provisions are an extension of the same spirit of liberalism and catholicity which characterises the provisions of the Constitution relating to official languages and recognise and allow for the variety and multiform character of the Indian cultural inheritance. In different regions certain local problems arise relating to languages. While these fall outside our purview, we are convinced that all these local problems are capable of being resolved satisfactorily, if they are approached in the same spirit of tolerance and broadmindedness which informs the cultural and linguistic guarantees and other language provisions of the Constitution. (Paragraph 20).

---

## CHAPTER V

### TERMINOLOGY

26. The principal ground-work for the development of the Union language and the regional languages is the furnishing to them of an adequate technical terminology wherever it is deficient at present. (Paragraph 1).

27. *In adopting terminology, clarity, precision and simplicity should be primarily aimed at. Doctrinaire insistence on 'language purism' is deprecated.* (*Paragraphs* 2 *and* 5).

28. *Promising sources for adopting new terminology should be available in the indigenous terms current in the past, and the terms currently used in actual life amongst various categories of craftsmen, artisans, etc. These should be explored. In suitable cases, international terminology may be adopted or adapted to the genius of the Indian languages.* (*Paragraphs* 6 *and* 8).

29. *The maximum possible identity in evolving new terminology for all Indian languages should be aimed at.* (*Paragraph* 7).

30. *Suitable arrangements should be made for evolving terminology and for co-ordinating such work as between different authorities with reference to the Union language as well as the other regional languages.* (*Paragraph* 11).

31. *On a review of the work done so far in the Ministry of Education of the Government of India, there would seem to be room for greater acceleration in the work and need for achieving more effective co-ordination as between different terminological efforts.* (*Paragraph* 11).

32. Before the terminology evolved can be thoroughly assimilated into the corpus of the 'host' languages, two stages must be envisaged—(i) to start using the new terminology and (ii) to undertake its periodical re-standardization. **(Paragraph 12).**

---

## CHAPTER VI

## THE UNION LANGUAGE AND THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

33. The problem of language instruction and of language medium in the educational system is considered in this Report only in so far as it is relatable to the language question of the country. (Paragraph 1).

In view of article 45 of the directive principles of State policy in the Indian Constitution, under which 'the State shall endeavour to provide for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of 14 years', the educational system must be re-orientated to achieye the imparting of sufficient literacy in the Hindi language by the age-limit of 14 years; so that every citizen, if so inclined, may be in a position to comprehend and keep in touch with trends and movements in public life at pan-Indian levels including the activities of the Union Government. (Paragraph 3).

34. The children undergoing compulsory education up to the age of 14 years in terms of Article 45 of the Constitution would receive about 8 years of school education, during the whole of which they

would have studied the regional language both as a subject and as the medium of instruction for other subjects. It is essential to provide for a minimum of three or four years of instruction in Hindi during the later part of this period. (Paragraph 5).

35. Even when English ceases to be the medium of instruction in our Universities, it would be necessary, for a long time to come, to provide that the graduates emerging from our Universities, especially in the scientific subjects and professions, are equipped with a sufficient command of English (or other suitable advanced foreign language) to enable them to comprehend and follow further advances in their particular departments of study through journals and new publications available in such language. (Paragraph 6).

36. In view of the different purposes that English would now serve in the educational system of the country, it is necessary to review the present teaching methods and the content and character of instruction in English imparted presently. English should be taught hereafter principally as a 'language of comprehension' and not as a literary language, excepting when it is taken as a voluntary subject for special study. (Paragraph 9).

37. It will be for the appropriate authorities after a study of detailed pedagogic considerations to formulate the exact curricula for imparting to students, during the secondary school stage and after, the degree of knowledge in the English language that we consider necessary for Undergraduates and Graduates to possess. Tentatively, it would seem appropriate if instruction in the English language commenced in the secondary school at a stage about five years pre-S.L.C. (Paragraph 9).

38. There may be a suitable 'streaming off' of boys destined to follow further academic education from those who would leave off education at the end of the 14-year age-limit of compulsory education, the instruction in English suggested above being imparted, as a rule, only to the former. (Paragraph 10).

39. The quantum of instruction in the Hindi language which we consider indispensable for students in secondary schools could be imparted to them if instruction in the Hindi language commenced roughly at the close of the primary stage and continues up to the S.L.C. stage. (Paragraph 11).

40. In our view instruction in Hindi should be compulsory at the secondary school stage all over the country and the arguments for such a course of action are strong and decisive. However reasons of expediency might also have relevance within particular regions and the decision as to when compulsion should be introduced must be left to be made by the State Government concerned in whose jurisdiction the decision anyhow lies. (Paragraph 12).

41. The suggestion that there should be 'compensatory compulsion' to the students in Hindi-speaking areas in secondary schools to learn another Indian language (a South Indian language) is examined and negatived.

However, the educational authorities in the Hindi-speaking areas should be encouraged to provide facilities for the learning of other Indian languages to the maximum possible extent and, where necessary, special assistance should be made available from governmental sources for this purpose. (Paragraph 13).

42. For various reasons the English language must eventually be replaced by an Indian language or languages as a general medium of higher education. The waste of energy that the foreign medium involves, the burden that it imposes on the intellectual development of our youth, the general blighting effect that the whole situation has on independent and original thinking, and the resultant alienation of the educated classes from the rest of the community, make it imperative that the medium of instruction should be changed. Provided such a change-over is properly phased and made after complete and satisfactory preparations, it would not itself cause any fall in academic standards, and should indeed eventually open the way for their considerable improvement. (Paragraphs 7, 14, 15 and 17).

43. If English is to be displaced as a general medium of university education, the question arises whether it should be replaced by one single common medium, *i.e.* Hindi in all Universities, or by respective regional languages in the Universities in the different regions. There are certain advantages in a country-wide single medium of university education; at the same time there are strong and comprehensible reasons which urge people to seek to replace the English medium by the regional language.

It is not necessary that the change-over of medium should be simultaneous or uniform or monolithic. It may be that some courses of study, say, for instance the humanities, can be more appropriately taught in the regional languages; it may be that for other courses of study the advantages of a common medium in all Universities operate much more powerfully; in yet other faculties it may be preferable, particularly at higher levels, even to continue the English medium: it may also be that in some courses of study, the regional language medium may be adopted for lower levels and a common, *i.e.* the English or the Hindi language, medium adopted for post-graduate studies. Among other things, the decisions of Universities in this regard would depend upon availability of teachers, text books and other supporting literature in various branches of study.

The whole situation is still fluid and we would advocate that it may be left, in the first instance, to the Universities to judge it after mutual consultation through their customary channels and to decide for themselves what medium or media they would adopt for different courses of study and stages therein. (Paragraphs 17 and 18).

44. Certain minimum arrangements from the point of view of the Language Problem of the country, however, seem to us quite necessary. These may be as under:—

All Universities in any event be required to arrange to *examine* students offering themselves for any university examination with Hindi as the medium of instruction.

All affiliating Universities should also be under obligation to offer affiliation on equal terms to any colleges or institutions teaching through Hindi as the medium of instruction for any of their courses in the territorial jurisdiction of the University.

The establishing, in addition, of Central Universities in the non-Hindi-speaking areas, with Hindi as the medium of instruction and allowing Hindi medium institutions situate within jurisdiction of other universities to affiliate to them, would not be necessary if the above-mentioned arrangements are found sufficient to provide affiliation facilities to institutions adopting the medium of Hindi. (Paragraphs 18 and 19).

45. In the case of scientific and technical educational institutions, where students drawn from different linguistic regions avail of the instruction imparted, the common medium of the Hindi language will have to be adopted; where students are drawn exclusively or almost wholly from a single linguistic group, the medium will have to be the regional language concerned. All such cases must be decided pragmatically on the specific merits of each. (Paragraph 22).

46. So far as the question of the linguistic medium of instruction is concerned, the principle of 'autonomy of Universities' can, in the final analysis, have only a qualified bearing and the national language policy must ultimately prevail. (Paragraph 23).

47. The supply of text-books for various university courses in Hindi and the regional languages would of course tend to respond to the greater demand for them; nevertheless, it is necessary to provide for effective and co-ordinated action in this field. As for the production of 'reference literature' in these languages, special promotional efforts may be necessary and will have to be organised. (Paragraph 25).

---

## CHAPTER VII

## LANGUAGE IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—I

### Official Language of the Union

48. The programme chalked out by the Government of India for changing over the medium of business in the affairs of the Union is reviewed. The prerequisites of a change-over in the language for administration are:—

(1) Preparation and standardisation of the necessary special terminology used in the administrative field.

(2) Translation into Hindi of official publications embodying rules, regulations, manuals, handbooks and other procedural literature relating to the working of the administrative machinery.

(3) Training of administrative personnel of different categories in appropriate standards of linguistic competence for the purpose of using the new linguistic medium with the requisite efficiency and facility of expression.

(4) Development and furnishing in the new linguistic medium of the mechanical and service aids necessary for speeding up and facilitating office work, such as typewriters and typists, stenography and stenographers, printing and duplicating machines, teleprinters and other communication services adapted to the use of the new medium, etc. (Paragraphs 3 and 4).

49. Regarding (1) above, it is a part of the general problem of terminology considered in Chapter V.

*Regarding (2) above, it is necessary to ensure that a measure of uniformity is observed in the language used in the translations of all this procedural literature, and for that purpose it may be advisable to invest in a single agency of the Central Government the general responsibility for direction and superintendence over all such work. (Paragraph 5).*

50. *As regards (3) above, (training of personnel): the present arrangements made by the Government of India for training their employees on a voluntary basis in the Hindi language are reviewed.*

*If experience shows that adequate results are not forthcoming under such optional arrangements, it would be legitimate and necessary for Government to impose, in pursuance of their language policy, obligatory requirements on Government servants to qualify themselves in Hindi within a reasonable period to the extent requisite for the discharge of their duties. (Paragraph 10).*

51. *As regards (4) above schemes should be adopted whereunder stenographers and typists are granted special leave and accorded special facilities to enable them to undertake training in stenography and typing in the new linguistic medium and to acquire knowledge of the Union language. (Paragraph 14).*

52. *The standard of linguistic ability in the English language normally associated with the academic education prescribed as a qualification for purposes of recruitment to various categories of posts and services would furnish a guide as to the standard of linguistic ability in Hindi to be aimed at for the different categories of Government personnel. During earlier stages perhaps a slightly lower standard might suffice. (Paragraph 10).*

53. *Generally speaking, penalties would seem to be appropriate with reference to failure to attain the prescribed standard by the due date; incentives and rewards would seem to be appropriate with reference to performance* above *the minimum standard laid down. (Paragraph 10).*

54. *In certain segments of the administrative machinery of the Union Government, technical English terms might continue to be used for an indefinite time in the future at levels at which it is not considered necessary to evolve Indian terminology; similarly correspondence may be carried on in the English language where the work involves constant contact with foreign countries through that medium.* (Paragraph 6).

55. *Apart from the Ministries or departments of the Government of India, the linguistic medium will have to change over in the administrative agencies and organisations, such as the Railways, the Posts and Telegraphs, the Excise, Customs, Income-Tax Departments, and so on. Some of these organisations have units and branches located in different parts of the country and the language problem presents a special aspect in regard to them. It is necessary that these administrative organisations should evolve a measure of permanent bilingualism; that is to say, they will use the Hindi language for purposes of internal working and the respective regional languages in their public dealings in the respective regions.* (Paragraph 8).

56. *It is necessary that the staff structures of these administrative agencies and departments of the Government of India with a country-wide coverage should be reviewed and decentralised to conform to the requirements of such bilingualism. The recruitment methods and qualifications for recruitment may have also to be revised suitably.* (Paragraph 9).

57. *As employers, these all-India departments and organisations have certainly the right to prescribe the standards of Hindi qualification (as of qualification, where necessary, in the respective regional languages) necessary for purposes of recruitment to the different categories of their establishment. It may be that for zonal and regional requirements, the standard of Hindi qualification could be somewhat lower than what would be necessary for the headquarters organisation of these offices as the work in the latter, as distinguished from the former, would be carried on wholly in Hindi.* (Paragraph 9).

58. *In order that the employment opportunities in the different regions should not be curtailed during the transitional period, the requirements of Hindi knowledge may at the start be pitched somewhat lower having due regard to the progress of Hindi in the local educational system, any deficiency being made good by in-service training after recruitment. The standard may be progressively raised as facilities for instruction in the Hindi language improve in particular regions.* (Paragraph 9).

59. *The language policy of these all-India administrative agencies of the Central Government, like the Railways, Posts and Telegraphs, in their dealings with the public should be framed principally with a view to the convenience of the public whom they are designed to serve: the instrumentality of these departments should not be used as a 'lever' to force the pace of Hindi propagation at the cost of convenience to the public. Where Hindi terms and expressions are used on signboards, forms, etc. for the purpose of familiarising the public with them, the text should also be given in the regional language (or English where relevant) having regard to public convenience.* (Paragraph 8).

60. *It is necessary to examine all new Hindi terms and expressions, especially those used by these all-India administrative agencies which come into intimate contact with the public, so as to ensure that the terms and expressions are not discordant with local forms of speech and associations; where certain Sanskrit words have come to acquire in different languages different specialised meanings the employment of inept or unsuitable expressions in disregard or ignorance of these is apt to bring the attempt at 'Indianization' of the medium itself into disparagement and ridicule.* (Paragraph 8).

61. *It would not be correct, instead of training personnel in the new medium, to adopt the device of separate translation units or bureaux being maintained at additional cost to the public funds for translating the work done originally in the English language. While translation services would have their place in the administrative organisation both permanently and as an aid during the transitional stage, these cannot be a substitute for training the personnel to do its work* originally *in Hindi. In our view, the continuance of the original work in English and its translation at public expense at different stages into Hindi was not the sense in which the change-over of the linguistic medium for the business of the Union was enacted in the Constitution.* (Paragraph 10).

62. *The Union Government would be justified in prescribing a reasonable measure of knowledge of the Hindi language as a qualification for entry into their services by new entrants, provided a sufficiently long notice is given and the measure of linguistic ability prescribed is moderate, any deficit being made good by subsequent in-service training.* (Paragraph 12).

63. *In the case of officials of the age of 45 and above, the requirement to be prescribed should be for a 'comprehending knowledge' of Hindi rather than high levels of linguistic ability for purposes of expression corresponding to the levels of their ability in English. If necessary, separate tests may be devised for the purpose.* (Paragraph 13).

64. The statutory publications of the Government of India would necessarily be in the official language of the Union. It would seem advisable that as many of these as possible, particularly those intended for information of the public, should be published in the Hindi language from now on; translations of such publications should be published in other regional languages depending upon the public to whom they are addressed. (Paragraph 15).

65. *We do not recommend that any restrictions should be imposed for the present on the use of the English language for any of the purposes of the Union.* (Paragraph 16).

66. *It has not been possible for us to furnish a regular time-table by dates and stages as to how Hindi should be introduced into the business of the Union so as to accomplish the general change-over within the period fixed by the Constitution. Since the Ministries of the Government of India are components of a single organic unity, the phasing of the progressive use of Hindi must, in general, be lateral and coherent in the different Ministries and Departments. We have not had the benefit of a provisional 'plan of action' by the Government of India covering all its Ministries and Departments and*

*comprehending their special difficulties if any, estimates of work-loads of basic preparatory work involved, the present linguistic capacity of all the Government staff and approximate dates by which they could be trained in the new linguistic medium etc. While we have therefore indicated the prerequisites, the general sequence of the phasing and the principles covering various related issues, the actual drawing up of a plan of action and the setting up of time schedule therewithin must be left to the Government of India themselves to do after a study of the relevant factors. (Paragraphs 7 and 17).*

67. *The special case of the Indian Audit and Accounts Department under the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India is examined. After a State has adopted its regional language as the official language, it will be necessary to arrange that the staff of the Indian Audit and Accounts Department dealing with the affairs of the State is versed in that language sufficiently for the purpose of carrying cut its duties of compiling accounts and the exercise of audit. This implies that the Accountant General's/Comptroller's office in a State should be capable of compiling accounts from returns submitted in the regional language and conducting audit with reference to noting and administrative decisions recorded in the regional language. (Paragraphs 18 & 20).*

68. *'Provincialisation of audit' was mentioned as a possible way of resolving this difficulty; it is however not necessary to consider such an alternative which would involve a major change in the constitutional arrangements currently in force. We feel that it ought to be possible to devise a solution within the frame-work of the existing constitutional arrangement whereby, on the one hand the establishment of the Accountant-General's/Comptroller's office in each State would be able to carry out their duties in respect of transactions recorded in the State language, and on the other, the present system, wherein the accounts and audit responsibility in respect of the Union as well as of the States is centred in the Comptroller and Auditor-General working through a single Indian Audit and Accounts Department, is maintained. The organisation and methods of staffing of the Indian Audit and Accounts Department may have to be revised, somewhat similarly to the lines envisaged in respect of the Central Departments comprising activities spread over the whole country. (Paragraphs 22 and 23).*

---

## CHAPTER VIII

## LANGUAGE IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—II

### Progress made in the use of Hindi in State Administrations

69. In general, the progress in the adoption of the Indian language medium, in replacement of the English medium, has been more rapid in the States in the Hindi region than in the rest of the country: however, after the reorganisation of States on a more or less unilingual basis, we would expect the trend, for displacement of the English language by the respective regional language for the official purposes within such States, to intensify in non-Hindi-speaking areas as well. (Paragraphs 1 & 2).

70. *The States concerned will have to consider for themselves at what level administrative occasions would arise for their officers to enter into communication, oral or written, with officers of other States or of the Union. The State Governments must determine for themselves what staff would be affected and what precise steps should be taken for training their personnel at the appropriate levels for dealing with Hindi communications. (Paragraph 3).*

71. *As in the case of the Union Government, the State Governments would be justified in imposing obligatory requirements for the acquisition of qualifications in the Hindi language with reference to the staff embraced by the requirements of the new linguistic medium in the field of inter-State and State-Union communications. It would seem that acquisition of a knowledge of the Hindi language beyond these requirements should be on the basis of rewards and incentives rather than compulsion and penalties; however, this is an issue which must be decided by each State for itself. (Paragraph 4).*

72. *Arrangements may be made for outgoing communications from the Union Government to a Hindi-speaking State being accompanied by a Hindi translation of the English text, whenever such a State makes a request to this effect. The employment of Hindi in actual work of administration before 1965 in this manner will help in establishing forms of address, expressions etc. in that language. (Paragraph 5).*

**The form of numerals**

73. *The international form of numerals is itself of Indian origin and as such is nothing but yet another mutation of the ancient Indian numerals, analogous to the several forms of numerals developed, together with their separate scripts, by the modern Indian languages.*

*It is to be noted that in the South the international form of numerals is in current use in the four great Dravidian languages, sometimes and to a varying extent, alongside of the numerals of their respective scripts. (Paragraph 7).*

74. *In certain States in the Hindi-speaking region the Devanagari form of numerals is used either exclusively or in addition to the international form of numerals for internal purposes of the State administration.*

*It is for the respective State Governments to decide whether this should be so. So far as the Union Government is concerned, there should be a uniform basic policy depending on the public intended to be addressed as to the use of Devanagari numerals in addition to the international form of numerals in the publications of the different Ministries. (Paragraphs 8 & 9).*

75. *We have no recommendation to make for the issue of directions by the President for the use of the Devanagari form of numerals in addition to the international form of Indian numerals for any purposes of the Union between now and the time when the issue will be re-examined by the next Commission to be appointed in 1960. (Paragraph 9).*

# CHAPTER IX

## LANGUAGE OF LAW AND LAW COURTS—I

### Language of Legislation

76. A distinction must be made between the language to be adopted for the proceedings and deliberations of legislative bodies and the language of the enactments which they legislate. For the deliberative functions of legislatures, the requirements as to a language medium are facility of expression by the concerned speakers and convenience to the general assembly. For the linguistic medium of legislation, the governing considerations are different, namely that the language must be precise, concise and unambiguous and capable of standing up to the interpretations that will be sought to be put on it in the numerous law courts of the country. (Paragraph 3).

77. *The practice as regards answering interpellations appears to vary. In some cases, provision is made, for furnishing, for the information of the other Members, written translations of the questions and answers in the prescribed language(s) of the legislative body concerned when these have been rendered in another language. Such a practice might be generalised with advantage. (Paragraph 2).*

78. *It may happen that for a period of time after* (i.e., *after the 25th January,* 1965, *in the case of the Parliament) English has been replaced by Hindi in the Parliament and by the respective official languages of the States, in the State Legislatures, cases would arise in which a member may not be able to express himself adequately in Hindi/the State language concerned* or *in his own mother-tongue; and it would seem advisable that provision should be made to empower the presiding authorities in such cases to permit the members to address the House in English. (Paragrahph 2).*

79. We are of the view that the constitutional provisions in regard to language, relative to proceedings and deliberations of Parliament and legislative bodies of the States, are sufficient for the requirements of the situation. (Paragraphs 2 and 4).

80. *Apart from the authoritative enactment which, in our opinion, ought to be eventually in Hindi, both in respect of parliamentary legislation and State legislation, there may be need, for the sake of public convenience, to publish translations of the enactments in different regional languages. In respect of State legislation, this would be normally necessary in the regional language(s) prevalent in the State, whereas in respect of parliamentary legislation it may be necessary in all the important regional languages current in the country. (Paragraph 4).*

81. *We consider that it is essential, when the time comes for this change-over, that the entire statute book of the country should be in one language which cannot of course be other than Hindi. Therefore the language of legislation of the States as well as of Parliament and also of course consequently the language of all statutory orders, rules, etc., issued under any law, should be the Hindi language. (Paragraphs 5 and 6).*

# CHAPTER X

## LANGUAGE OF LAW AND LAW COURTS—II

### Language of Law Courts

82. In some States like Madhya Bharat, Rajasthan, Hyderabad, etc., the use of Hindi/regional language has been authorised for proceedings, other than judgments, decrees or orders, of the High Courts. (Paragraph 4).

83. The Country's judicial system used to function, ere the last few decades, in languages other than English. The change-over to Indian language media from English may appear novel to the present generation which sees before it the English language proliferated over the entire judicial system. However it is only natural that justice should be administered in a country in its indigenous languages and provided the change is brought about systematically the prospect should not provoke alarm or cause apprehension about its basic practicability. (Paragraph 6).

84. *So far as the language of the Supreme Court is concerned, eventually there can be only one language,* i.e. *Hindi, in respect of the entire court proceedings and records, including of course the judgments and orders. When the time comes for the change-over, the Supreme Court will have to function only in Hindi language. The authoritative texts of reported judgments of the Supreme Court will also be published in the same language. (Paragraph* 8).

85. *Processes issued in Hindi by the Supreme Court, when addressed to a non-Hindi region or against a person whose mother-tongue is not Hindi, should be accompanied by a translation for the convenience of the concerned party. (Paragraph* 8).

86. *Provision should also be made for reliable translations of Supreme Court decisions being available in the State languages in separate regional language series. (Paragraph* 8).

87. When the time comes for the change-over in the lower levels of the judiciary, that is to say, courts of panchayats, civil and criminal courts at the tehsil level, etc., the language of the courts must be the language best understood by the people which would be the regional language(s) of the different States. The same considerations might prevail in respect of civil and criminal courts at the district level. Even at present, in varying degrees, in the hierarchy of the judicial structure in the various States the regional languages are current at these levels. (Paragraph 9).

88. With the Supreme Court functioning in Hindi and the subordinate judiciaries of different States functioning in their respective regional languages, there has to be some stage where the multiple linguistic pattern has to be broken and integrated. The multiple linguistic circuit falls to be broken at the High Court level and it is at this stage that there has to be a 'facing of both ways'

*viz.*, Hindi as far as the Supreme Court is concerned and the respective regional language(s) so far as the concerned subordinate judiciary is concerned. (Paragraph 10).

89. *The pros and cons of the regional and Hindi languages are carefully examined so far as the linguistic medium of the High Court is concerned. There are several strong and, in our opinion, conclusive reasons in favour of deciding that when the time for the change-over arrives, the language of the judgments, decrees and orders of the High Courts must be a common linguistic medium for the whole country and therefore these should be in the Hindi language in all regions. (Paragraphs* 11, 12 *and* 13).

90. *Since subordinate courts are guided by the determination of law given in the High Court judgments, there will have to be translations into the respective regional languages of all reportable High Court judgments. It would be necessary, in our opinion, to ensure that these translations are sufficiently reliable and we would suggest, for consideration by the concerned authorities at the material time, that a 'translation unit' may be established in each High Court for such translation of judgments. (Paragraph* 11).

91. *So far as the processes, decrees and orders of High Courts are concerned, we would suggest that, wherever necessary, it may be provided that they would issue in regional languages in their 'authorised translations', in addition, to their original issue in Hindi. (Paragraph* 14).

92. *As in all other such cases, so in regard to the language of the law courts, we consider it important to concentrate on bringing about the* general *change-over in the linguistic medium for the system as a whole. Wherever it is necessary to make individual exceptions for a good reason,* e.g., *in order that we may continue to enjoy or to secure afresh the services of suitable personnel for the posts of judges in the Supreme Court and the several High Courts, dispensation as to the language should be readily granted. It may be that for a long time after such a general change-over in the language of the judiciary has taken place, there would still be individual judges, who would prefer to deliver their judgments in English. Such individuals must be accommodated. (Paragraphs* 8 *and* 15).

93. *Having regard to the recommendations made by the States Reorganisation Commission regarding transfer of High Court judges and the proposals about a single judicial service, it might be worth considering whether certain minimum language tests in appropriate regional languages and Hindi should not be adopted in the case of High Court judges. (Paragraph* 14).

94. *Apart from the option of delivering judgments in English, there may be an option to High Court judges to deliver judgments in their regional languages provided English or Hindi translations of such judgments are authenticated by them. (Paragraph* 15).

95. *Provision may be made for granting leave by presiding judges to Counsel, in suitable cases, to argue in English in the Supreme Court and in English or the regional languages in the several High*

*Courts even after the general change-over in the linguistic medium has taken place.* (*Paragraphs* 8, 14 *and* 15).

96. *We would recommend, for consideration by the States concerned at the appropriate time, the making of a provision (at any rate) at the district levels, whereunder it would be open to parties or counsel to resort to the Hindi language at their option. We expect that this would be particularly necessary in larger towns; but if it is found necessary at lower levels as well, the principle ought to be extended.* (*Paragraph* 16).

97. *So far as the language of special tribunals is concerned, wherever their decisions or orders have a bearing not confined to a single region, it should be prescribed that their judgments and orders shall be delivered originally in Hindi. A translation into another language may be made available to the parties where necessary. As in the case of High Courts, we would envisage the English language being allowed to be used as the language of the judgment or order by individual judges of such special tribunals for a considerable transitional period.* (*Paragraph* 17).

98. So far as the medium of instruction for purposes of legal education is concerned, the recommendations that we have made in this behalf in Chapter VI would cover the requirements of this field also and no special provisions are necessary in this behalf. The Universities should provide facilities for examination of law graduates both in the Hindi and the regional languages at the option of the candidates. So far as facilities for imparting instruction in the Universities or Colleges in Hindi/the regional language are concerned, the situation may be left to adjust itself in response to the demand for such instruction in Hindi or the regional language respectively. (Paragraph 18).

---

## CHAPTER XI

## LANGUAGE OF LAW AND LAW COURTS—III

### The dynamics of the change-over

99. In the field of law and administration of justice, a general change-over should not be made until the ground-work has been fully prepared. (Paragraph 1).

100. In accordance with our policy, with reference to similar other matters, of not indulging in prognostication as to the date by which any particular change-over would become practicable, we have not attempted to frame any estimates of the time-periods that would be required for completion of any of the preliminaries of the various phases through which the transition must pass. We have however indicated the particulars of such preliminaries and noticed the more important points in connection therewith that occurred to us; and also indicated the sequence in which the various phases must be articulated. (Paragraph 1).

101. We have carefully considered the arguments advanced by some people for English continuing for an indefinite period as the language of legislation and of superior tribunals in the judicial hierarchy. We have come to the conclusion that the change-over in the linguistic medium will have to come in the field of legislation and the law courts also (although possibly at a different date, since it is to come by virtue of special parliamentary legislation for the purpose, in the terms of Article 348 of the Constitution) in consonance with a similar change in the field of public administration and corresponding changes in the educational system. (Paragraph 2).

102. *The following preliminaries appear to us to be prerequisite to the accomplishment of a change-over of the linguistic medium in the fields of legislation and administration of justice:*

(i) *The preparation of a standard legal lexicon;*

(ii) *Re-enactment of the statute book in Hindi in respect of both the Central and State legislation.*
*(Paragraph 3).*

103. For the maintenance of the juridical and judicial unity of the country, it is essential that legal terms and expressions should be used in the same significance in all parts of the Country. (Paragraph 4).

104. *So far as evolving of legal terminology is concerned, it seems to us necessary to adopt the following plan of action and to carry it out as rapidly as possible:*

(1) *The present pace of evolving the necessary terminology for the Indian languages in the field of law must be greatly accelerated.*

(2) *Steps must be taken for the publication, from time to time as they get ready, of glossaries of such terminology, as standard and recognised expressions under the 'imprimatur' of a suitable authority.*

(3) *A rendering of the statute-book, both Central and State, into Hindi must be projected under the auspices of the Centre. It should be decided as to whether such Hindi versions of the law should not be enacted afresh by the appropriate legislative authority; precise arrangements in this behalf and a programme of action in respect of the Central as well as the State laws should be settled and pursued. (Paragraph 6).*

105. *In order that original drafting may commence being attempted in Hindi by persons competent to do so and drafting practices gradually develop in that linguistic medium, it seems to us necessary to allow those States, who may want to do so, to undertake authoritative enactment originally in Hindi itself. (Paragraph 9).*

106. *We envisage a transitional period of time during which the statute book as well as the case law would be partially in Hindi and in English, the Hindi language progressively assuming a larger proportion of the whole. During such a transitional period, resort may*

*be had to the device of texts being made available in both Hindi and the English language, one of them being the original text for purposes of the law and the other an authorised translation.* (*Paragraph* 9).

---

## CHAPTER XII

## THE UNION LANGUAGE AND PUBLIC SERVICES EXAMINATIONS

107. *For obvious reasons the linguistic media of the competitive examinations should be generally in keeping with the media of instruction in the educational system.* (*Paragraph* 2).

108. A distinction may be made between the competitive examinations intended for admission to further courses of training, such as the Indian Navy Entrance Cadets Examination or the National Defence Academy Admission Examination, etc., and competitive examinations held for purposes of recruitment on the results of the competition. (Paragraph 2).

109. *It seems there has not been yet an overhaul of the linguistic media of instruction in some of the training establishments; and probably most of such training continues to be in English, although it may be susceptible of replacement, to more or less extent, by the Hindi medium. Such a review should be made, and steps taken for the language media for the appropriate entrance examinations, being related on the one hand to the medium of instruction in the different training institutions, and, conforming on the other to the changes in the system of secondary education taking place in the country.* (*Paragraph* 3).

110. *If in view of this, English has to be displaced partly or wholly as the medium for these examinations, it might be necessary to introduce regional language media in place of English, as secondary education in most parts of the country has now switched over from the English language medium to the medium of the regional language. This might entail a region-wise decentralisation of the entrance examination and, consequentially, a quota system. There are, however, very important distinctions between the adoption of the quota system for admission to training establishments and the adoption of such a system for purposes of actual recruitment to all-India services at the highest level of the administrative cadres, where the issue arises.* (*Paragraphs* 2 *and* 3.)

111. *Having regard to the linguistic abilities that would be needed by members of the all-India and the central services in the future, it would be legitimate in our view to introduce a compulsory paper in Hindi after due notice. In order that non-Hindi students may not be unduly handicapped in the transitional period, the paper may, to start with, be of a fairly low standard and treated as only a 'qualifying paper' and later on after due notice again it may be raised to the status of other compulsory papers as a 'marking' and fully competitive paper. Further, candidates having one of the South*

*Indian languages as mother-tongue may be exempted from answering one or two stiffer questions in the Hindi paper which the candidates whose mother-tongues are closer to Hindi may be required to answer.* (*Paragraph* 6).

112. *To equate the Hindi candidates with the non-Hindi candidates, the former should be required to offer a paper, to be answered in their linguistic medium of the general examination, out of a variety of options including subjects of cultural interest bearing on South India and languages of the Eighth Schedule other than Hindi.* (*Paragraph* 7).

113. *We do not see sufficient justification for the suggestion that the 'compensatory provision' for Hindi candidates should be that they must offer a paper in a regional language (or a South Indian language) other than Hindi.* (*Paragraph* 7).

114. *Provision may be made for testing candidates for the all-India services examinations in English through specific papers even after the medium of the examination is changed to a different language or languages.* (*Paragraph* 8).

115. *As regards the language medium for the combined competitive examination through which candidates are recruited for the all-India and the higher Central services, the principal difficulty arises out of the fact that for obvious reasons it will be* prima facie *extremely difficult to attain satisfactory standards of 'moderation' if the competition is held in linguistic medium anything as numerous as the thirteen regional languages. If the number of linguistic media for the examination exceeds the limits of manageability with reference to satisfactory standards of moderation, quota system may become inevitable unless the character of the examination itself is changed.*

*A quota system would break up the character of the existing all-India services and would lead to a fragmentation of the all-India competition and to deterioration in the quality of recruits to the all-India as well as the higher Central services. Considering the present-day calls on the administrative personnel, we would strongly discountenance proposals leading to any such deterioration in the quality of the recruits to these services. In the case of the personnel of the all-India services, the chief consideration even from the point of view of each region exclusively regarding its own interest should be 'quality' and not proportionate share in the volume of employment. For like reasons quality is more important in the case of the higher Central services as well than a proportionate region-wise distribution of the employment available.*

*On the subject of the linguistic medium of the competitive examination for these services we, therefore, conclude as under:—*

*(a) So far as the all-India and Central Services are concerned (and this would apply, unless otherwise provided, also to other all-India services created hereafter), the alternative of the Hindi medium in addition to the existing English medium may be introduced after due notice. As and when other regional languages become a medium of instruction in the universities up to graduation*

*stage as Hindi has done, the admission of other linguistic media will have to be considered.*

*Suitable standards* will have to be laid down as to what degree of progress as a medium should have been made in university education in respect of any language before its eligibility as a linguistic medium for the competitive examination for recruitment to these services may be considered.*

*The medium of the English language may be continued as an alternative for as long as may be necessary: if, eventually, a position should arise when this alternative could be dispensed with, such dispensation should of course be made after a sufficiently long notice.*

(b) *While 'moderation' might still be practicable so long as the number of linguistic media is manageable, having regard to the availability of examiners with suitable bilingual or multi-lingual qualifications, a stage might arrive when the admission of further linguistic media would be found impracticable.*

*Before such a stage is reached the Union and State Governments must take mutual counsel and decide whether,* (1) *they would accept a change in the scheme of recruitment to the all-India services or, in the alternative,* (2) *agree upon a limitation in the number of the linguistic media or* (3) *make other appropriate changes in the system of the examination.*

(c) *We hope and trust that before the contingencies contemplated in (b) above eventuate, the progress of Hindi amongst non-Hindi-speaking university graduates generally would have advanced sufficiently to admit of their competing on equal terms with Hindi-speaking candidates at these examinations through the medium of the Hindi language:*

*And until then, the availability of the English medium would give to such of the non-Hindi-speaking candidates as may need it an alternative sufficient to safeguard their legitimate interests:*

*Some of us entertain the hope that it would not, in the upshot, be necessary for the Union and State Governments to make the difficult choice presented by the alternatives in the last sub-paragraph of item (b) above. (Paragraphs* 9—16).

116. *As a measure of general encouragement to linguistic studies so badly needed in the special circumstances of this country, the concerned authorities should revise the list of optional subjects tenderable at the various Public Service Commission examinations and consider whether greater scope should not be allowed for the subjects of languages and literatures in the different Indian languages. (Paragraph* 18).

117. In order that candidates preparing themselves for the U.P.S.C. competitive examinations with the Hindi medium may not be handicapped, the State Public Service Commissions might consider allowing the option of the Hindi medium also for their corresponding examinations. In that case the latter examinations would be held

in the regional language medium as well as the Hindi medium besides, until the transition is completed, the English medium. (Paragraph 19).

---

## CHAPTER XIII

### PROPAGATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF HINDI AND REGIONAL LANGUAGES

118. It is partly due to the patriotic and highly creditable work done by voluntary agencies in the field of Hindi propagation in the non-Hindi areas over the last 35 years that it was at all possible for the Constituent Assembly to think in terms of the adoption of an Indian language for the official purposes of the Union in place of English. (Paragraph 2).

119. *Since the adoption of the Constitution, this work has assumed a different aspect and it is now necessary that this responsibility is 'sponsored' officially.* (*Paragraph* 2).

120. *From what we have seen of the working of voluntary agencies in this field it appears to us that steps ought to be taken in the following directions for the more systematic organisation and expansion of the work of propagation of Hindi:*

(1) *Co-ordination of work among the various agencies, and where necessary demarcation of their activities.*

(2) *Survey of their requirements for the purpose of adequate expansion in their allotted fields of activity.*

(3) *The introduction of some measure of uniformity and comparability in standards of their examinations; and ensuring that proper methods are adopted and appropriate academic standards maintained in the conduct of the examinations.*

(4) *Provision of aids for improvement of teaching methods and greater facilities for teachers' training.*

(5) *Securing an appropriate and graded supply of suitable text books for the different regions of the country and for different categories of persons receiving Hindi instruction; supply of supporting reading matter and literature for the benefit of neo-literates and special classes of pupils, like children, women, etc.*

(6) *Ancillary to the propagation of the Hindi language the provision of reading room and library facilities for those recently made literate in Hindi.* (*Paragraph* 3.)

121. *We recommend that the Central Government should make liberal financial assistance available to the voluntary agencies for enlarging and improving their activities in the various ways referred to above.* (*Paragraph* 4.)

122. Organisationally the Government of India are assisted in discharging their responsibility to propagate Hindi in the non-Hindi areas by the Hindi Shiksha Samiti which comprises one representative from each of the non-Hindi-speaking States and two representatives in all from the Hindi States. (Paragraph 3).

123. The work done under the auspices of the Union and State Governments in the field of development and enrichment of Hindi (apart from terminological work) is reviewed. (Paragraph 6).

124. *A greater and growing* rapprochement *amongst the various Indian languages and a wider understanding and comprehension of the varied cultural inheritance of India would be promoted by the encouragement of studies in the field of linguistics and philology; and such studies and research deserve every encouragement at the hands of the Union and State Governments. (Paragraph* 6).

125. There are tremendous opportunities to linguists working in the field of Indological research to help in promoting a greater integration of the country. (Paragraph 7).

**Standardisation of Indian Scripts**

126. Almost all the Indian scripts have been derived from the Brahmi script. Practically all the Indian scripts, except for Tamil, have almost the same alphabet; in Tamil, the principal difference is the absence of aspirates. (Paragraph 8).

127. The Devanagari script accounts for an even larger proportion amongst the different scripts in India than the Hindi language accounts for amongst the speakers of the different languages in the Indian population. If, therefore, there is to be one script for the purpose of writing in all Indian languages, the best claimant, amongst the Indian scripts, would certainly be the Devanagari script. (Paragraph 9).

128. For a long time, thoughtful persons have been reflecting how powerfully it would make for the integration and unity of the country if a uniform script could be adopted for all the Indian languages, vastly facilitating the study of other languages and literatures in each region. Several eminent persons, including Lokmanya Tilak, Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, have advocated this view. (Paragraph 10).

129. The adoption of the Roman script as the common script for all Indian languages is advocated by some persons. The pros and cons of the Roman and the Devanagari scripts as the common script for Indian languages are examined, and we conclude that, on a balance of considerations, there are no particular advantages to be gained by adopting the Roman script, and that the case for Devanagari as the common script is conclusively stronger. (Paragraph 11).

130. Having regard to all these considerations, we would advocate the adoption of the Devanagari script *optionally* for the writing of other Indian languages besides the Union language. (Paragraph 11).

131. A script is only a convenience as distinguished from the language which in some way is a cultural embodiment; for the standardisation or reform of script, therefore, there is less room for objections comprehensible in the case of the language. (Paragraph 12).

## Reform of the Devanagari Script

132. In the field of Devanagari script reform vastly more useful than the 'perfect solution' to be evolved at an indefinite time in the future is a 'serviceable solution' presently commending itself to the largest number of interested parties. The Lucknow Conference represents such a laudable attempt to bring some of the issues to a conclusion in the matter of script reform and thus registers an advance. (Paragraph 14).

133. *It is urgently necessary to finalise the typewriter key-board and authoritatively adopt reforms to be made in the Devanagari script which can only be done on the leadership and under the auspices of the Centre.* (*Paragraph* 14).

134. As in the case of Hindi, so in the case of the regional languages to a more or less similar extent, we do not expect that there would be any insuperable difficulties in the way of adaptation of the script to the requirements of modern mechanical and multiplying aids. Also intrinsically there is no reason why there should be any difficulty about developing stenography in Hindi or any of the regional languages. (Paragraphs 13 and 16).

## Which Hindi?

135. The terms of Article 351 of the Constitution would be best fulfilled by carrying out programmes of development of the Hindi language along with similar programmes for other languages.

The agencies recommended in Chapter XIV would be sufficient for implementing the provisions of Article 351. (Paragraph 17).

136. While everybody agrees that the Hindi language to be developed should be as simple and intelligible as possible, there is a real difficulty in this regard in that, what is regarded as 'simple' in certain areas is found genuinely difficult in other areas and *vice versa*: where such a difficulty arises both words, deemed simple and familiar in the different parts, should be adopted in the vocabulary and to that extent variant styles developed in the Union language. (Paragraph 18).

137. Unless Hindi grammar is found susceptible of being, and is in practice actually, simplified for all persons including those whose mother-tongue is Hindi, any considerable amelioration of the difficulties of non-Hindi speaking persons in learning Hindi by virtue of such simplification of grammar, etc. could hardly be hoped for. (Paragraph 19).

### The Press and the Indian Languages

138. We recommend that the possibility may be explored of providing news services in Hindi and such other regional languages as it may be remunerative to do—this might be more practicable if the Devanagari script is used for transmissions in regional languages also—for the convenience of Indian language newspapers. Besides being a facility and an impetus to Indian language journalism, such a service might be of use for purpose of standardising terms and expressions in Hindi and the regional languages. (Paragraph 20).

---

## CHAPTER XIV

## AGENCIES ETC. FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE PROGRAMME

139. So far as the change-over in the Union administration is concerned, we would emphasise the need for locating the responsibility specifically in a single administrative unit of government to initiate, direct, superintend and co-ordinate the operations involved in all departments and agencies of the Union. Provided the unit is enabled to work with sufficient authority, whether it should be a Ministry or a department within a Ministry or merely a wing or a division of a Ministry would be for the Government themselves to determine. (Paragraph 2).

140. It would be of advantage, in our opinion, organizationally, to set up at the Centre an Advisory Board with representatives of States, to co-ordinate the activities of the Union and the State administrations so far as they impinge upon each other in the implementation of language policies in the fields of law and administration. (Paragraph 3.)

141. We feel that it would be best if a new single agency,—which may be called the National Academy of Indian languages,—is set up for carrying out the work relating to the development of the Union as well as the regional languages and for other appropriate and connected purposes including the production of text-books and books of reference. On the governing body of the Academy, representation should be accorded to the Union Government, the State Governments, the Universities and perhaps also recognised professional and literary associations drawn from all parts of the country and working in the different regional languages. (Paragraph 4).

142. While academic and literary opinion should be allowed to have full say in the evolution of new terminology and the schemes of development of the Union and regional languages of the country etc., it would be necessary for the Central Government to possess reserve powers for giving directives to the National Academy on matters of policy. (Paragraph 4).

143. As regards the location of the Academy, we would suggest for consideration the city of Hyderabad. (Paragraph 5).

144. A Central Library of literatures of all Indian languages and a National Institute for training of language teachers require to be established: it may be considered whether these institutions should be sited alongside of the National Academy of Indian Languages. (Paragraph 5).

145. We recommend that the Central Government should institute a practice of rendering to the Parliament annually a report of the progress made during the previous year in regard to the implementation of the language provisions laid down in the Constitution and connected matters, so far as they appertain to the Central field of authority. (Paragraph 6).

146. It is necessary to give wide publicity to the national policy about languages to inculcate a proper perspective in this matter amongst the people at large and to remove unfounded misconceptions. (Paragraph 7).

---

## CHAPTER XV

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

147. In spite of apparent diversities of Indian linguistic and cultural patterns, all the important Indian languages have close and strong affinities. These affinities are a reflection of a basic unity and a common 'Indian way of life'. (Paragraphs 1 and 2).

148. Indian unity is not merely the recent result of 'Pax Britannica'. The idea of an all-India political unity has always inspired Indian political thought: this urge for unification is only the political expression of the cultural identity of Indian life. (Paragraph 2).

149. The problem of a common pan-Indian linguistic medium is not unprecedented in Indian history. In the past the Sanskrit and the Persian languages and in recent decades the English language have served as such a medium. (Paragraph 3).

150. If energetic steps are taken for promoting a 'rapprochement' amongst the various regional languages of the country, within a period of a very few years the 'distances' between the different Indian languages would be considerably reduced. (Paragraphs 6 and 7).

151. As citizens of a polyglot country, it is essential for us to encourage widespread multilingualism amongst members of all linguistic regions and to this end to make appropriate provisions in the secondary and university systems of education. (Paragraph 7).

152. The language problem is principally one of the contemporary generation. Any reasonable policy steadily and determinedly

pursued would furnish an adequate solution as a new generation is brought up on it. Therefore for language policy what is important is not so much the *a priori* perfection of a solution but the general acceptance of it by all. (Paragraph 8).

153. In the solution of the language problem many agencies are concerned besides the Union and the State Governments and it is necessary to engage the ready co-operation of all of them. Apart from such agencies—official and non-official—ultimately it is the ordinary citizen who is the arbiter in the matter of new terminologies and new phrases and expressions evolved as a measure of 'development' of a language. (Paragraphs 9 and 10).

154. It is essential to make a beginning with the use of the new linguistic medium in actual life even as various developments and evolutions are taking place: there must be interplay of working use and coinage of vocabularies. (Paragraph 11).

155. Language in its official aspect is only a means for the convenient carrying on of the intercourse between the States and the Union: we have therefore considered the various issues arising in the subject-matter of our inquiry within the framework of the country's constitutional structure. (Paragraph 12).

156. In language policies it is necessary to be flexible as regards details and time-periods; firm as regards objectives; specific as regards proximate programmes. (Paragraphs 12 and 13).

157. The complex linguistic revolution envisaged in the language policy of the country cannot be brought about unless the objective is clearly comprehended, kept in view and steadily pursued under the general stewardship of a single authority. (Paragraph 14).

158. We were greatly impressed by the general concern for the unity of the country and the anxiety to consolidate it which characterised the greater part of the evidence in all regions; by and large, the issues were approached by all concerned with objectivity, realism and in a spirit of tolerance. (Paragraphs 15 and 16).

159. Language is only an instrumentality and there need be no heat or passion on the issue of language. While the complexities of the Indian language problem are unparalleled, we feel that, properly approached, reasonable solutions are available: and we feel confident that the problem will be successfully tackled and solved. (Paragraphs 17 and 18).

## APPENDIX II

(REFERENCE : *Chapter I, Paragraph 1*)

(1)

COPY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS NOTIFICATION No. 43/9/55-PUBLIC I, DATED NEW DELHI-2, THE 7TH JUNE, 1955.

In pursuance of the provisions contained in Article 344 of the Constitution, the President hereby constitutes a Commission (to be called the Official Language Commission) consisting of Shri B. G. Kher as Chairman and the following as members:—

1. Dr. Birinchi Kumar Barua,
   Head of the Assamese Department,
   Gauhati University, Gauhati,—Assam.
2. Dr. S. K. Chatterji,
   Chairman, West Bengal Legislative Council,
   Calcutta,—West Bengal.
3. Shri Maganbhai Desai,
   Gujrat Vidyapitha, Ahmedabad,—Bombay.
4. Shri D. C. Pavate,
   Vice-Chancellor, Karnatak University,—Bombay.
5. Professor P. N. Pushp,
   Amar Singh College, Srinagar,—Kashmir.
6. Shri M. K. Raja,
   Editor, 'Dinabandhu', Ernakulam,—Travancore-Cochin.
7. Dr. P. Subbarayan,
   Member, Rajya Sabha, Madras,—Madras.
8. Shri G. P. Nene,
   Rashtrabhasha Bhavan, Poona,—Bombay.
9. Dr. P. K. Parija,
   Pro-Chancellor, Utkal University, Cuttack,—Orissa.
10. Sardar Teja Singh,
    Ex-Chief Justice, PEPSU, Patiala,—PEPSU.
11. Shri M. Satyanarayana,
    Member, Rajya Sabha, Madras,—Madras.
12. Dr. Babu Ram Saksena,
    Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Allahabad,—Uttar Pradesh.
13. Dr. Abid Hussain, Jamia Milia, Delhi,—Delhi.
14. Dr. Amar Nath Jha,
    Chairman, Public Service Commission, Patna,—Bihar.
15. Dr. R. P. Tripathi,
    Vice-Chancellor, Saugor University, Saugor,—Madhya Pradesh.
16. Shri Balkrishna Sharma, M.P., Delhi,—Delhi.
17. Shri Mauli Chander Sharma, Delhi,—Delhi.

18. Dr. Hazari Prasad Dwivedi,
Head of the Department of Hindi, Banaras Hindu University, Banaras,—Uttar Pradesh.

19. Shri Jai Narain Vyas, Jaipur,—Rajasthan.

20. Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, Deputy Speaker, Lok Sabha, Delhi,—Madras.

It shall be the duty of the Commission to make recommendations to the President as to—

(*a*) the progressive use of the Hindi language for the official purposes of the Union ;

(*b*) restrictions on the use of the English language for all or any of the official purposes of the Union ;

(*c*) the language to be used for all or any of the purposes mentioned in Article 348 of the Constitution ;

(*d*) the form of numerals to be used for any one or more specified purposes of the Union ;

(*e*) the preparation of a time schedule according to which and the manner in which Hindi may gradually replace English as the official language of the Union and as a language for communication between the Union and State Governments and between one State Government and another.

2. In making their recommendations, the Commission shall have due regard to the industrial, cultural and scientific advancement of India, and the just claims and the interests of persons belonging to the non-Hindi speaking areas in regard to the public services.

3. The Commission may—

(*a*) obtain such information as they may consider useful for or relevant to any matter under their consideration whether by asking for written memoranda or by examining witnesses, or in such form and in such manner as they may consider appropriate, from the Central Government, the State Governments, the Supreme Court, the High Courts, the Legislatures and such other authorities, organisations or individuals as may, in the opinion of the Commission, be of assistance to them ;

(*b*) regulate their own procedure, including the fixing of places and time of their sittings and deciding whether to sit in public or in private ;

(*c*) appoint such and so many Sub-Committees from amongst their members to exercise such powers and perform such duties as may be delegated to them by the Commission ;

(*d*) visit or depute any of their Sub-Committees to visit such parts of the territory of India as they consider necessary or expedient ;

(*e*) act, notwithstanding the temporary absence of any member or the existence of any vacancy among the members.

4. The Commission shall consider the evidence obtained by them and make their recommendations to the President as soon as may be practicable but not later than the 30th day of April, 1956.

By order of the President.

V. VISWANATHAN,
Joint Secretary.

(2)

COPY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS NOTIFICATION No. 43/9/55-PUB.-I, DATED NEW DELHI-2, THE 22ND JULY 1955.

In pursuance of the provisions contained in Article 344 of the Constitution, the President hereby makes the following amendment in the notification of the Government of India in the Ministry of Home Affairs, No. 43/9/55-Public-I, dated the 7th June, 1955, namely :—

In paragraph 4 of the said notification for the expression " 30th day of April 1956 " the expression " 31st day of July 1956 ", shall be substituted.

By order of the President.

(Sd.) V. VISWANATHAN,
Joint Secretary to the Government of India.

---

(3)

COPY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS NOTIFICATION No. 43/9/55-PUBLIC-I, DATED NEW DELHI-2, THE 25TH NOVEMBER, 1955.

The President is pleased to appoint Professor Ram Dhari Sinha Dinkar, M. P., to be a Member of the Official Language Commission *vice* Dr. Amar Nath Jha deceased.

(Sd.) N. S. MANI,
Joint Secretary to the Government of India.

## APPENDIX III

(REFERENCE : *Chapter I, Paragraph* 2)

## QUESTIONNAIRE

**NOTE.—The questions framed are somewhat wide. It is requested that answers to such questions only may be given as you have special interest in or special knowledge of. Reasons may please be given in support of the views expressed in the answers.**

**The answers to the different sections may please be kept separate.**

**The answers may be given preferably in English.**

**The full name and address may be given at the end of the reply.**

---

### SECTION A

GENERAL

(1) (*a*) For what official purposes of the Union/your State, and to what extent is Hindi in use in addition to the English language?

(*b*) In your opinion, what steps would be necessary to facilitate the progressive use of the Hindi language and to put restrictions on the use of the English language (*i*) for all or any official purposes of the Union, (*ii*) for communication between one State and another State and between a State and the Union, and (*iii*) all or any official purposes of the State ?

(2) (*a*) In your State what is the extent in practice at present of the use of regional languages, Hindi and English for official purposes of the State, at different levels, for instance, village, taluka/tehsil, district and State?

(*b*) and also for purposes other than official?

(3) Will the progressive replacement of English by Hindi for the official purposes of the Union affect the (*a*) industrial, (*b*) cultural and (*c*) scientific advancement of India and, if so, in what way?

Will it affect in any way the relations of India with other countries and, in general, in the field of external affairs ? If it will, in what way ? If adversely, then what steps should be taken ?

---

### SECTION B

ADMINISTRATION—PUBLIC SERVICES

(4) (*a*) To what extent would the replacement of English by Hindi as the medium of the Union Public Service examinations place persons belonging to the non-Hindi speaking areas at a disadvantage as compared to those in the Hindi-speaking areas?

(*b*) In what manner should the just claims and interests of persons belonging to the non-Hindi speaking areas be safeguarded in regard to the public services with the progressive replacement of English by Hindi?

(5) Is it necessary, desirable or possible to have as media for public service examinations all the languages in use in the Union?

(6) When examinations are held through more languages than one, what steps would be necessary to ensure (*a*) uniform standards of examination, and (*b*) an adequate knowledge of Hindi ? What other suggestions do you make in this regard ?

(7) What should be the eventual pattern with regard to the language or languages of tests and examinations for public services in the Union/State ?

(8) The Constitution (Article 346) refers to "the official language of the Union and the language for communication between the Union and a State or between one State and another". Within a State with non-Hindi speaking areas, would it, in your opinion, be desirable to encourage the use of Hindi for official purposes in addition to the non-Hindi language ?

(9) In your opinion, what steps would be necessary to ensure that adequate standards of proficiency in Hindi are attained in the public services by 1965 and to ensure that these standards are maintained ?

(10) (*a*) What are the different categories of the "official purposes of the Union" ?

(*b*) Should the stages for the introduction of Hindi in the various categories be the same or different ?

(*c*) Would it be advisable to allow the continued use of English on an optional basis during the transitional period ?

---

## SECTION C

### COURT LANGUAGES ; LEGISLATION

(11) What are the difficulties in the introduction of Hindi as the language of the Supreme Court and of Hindi and/or regional language or languages in the High Courts ? How soon, and by what means and by what stages, can they be overcome ?

(12) What should be the relation of such stages to the stages of introduction of Hindi as the language for other official purposes ?

(13) (*a*) When English ceases to be the language of the Supreme Court, should the language of the High Court be the regional language or languages or Hindi ?

(*b*) If the languages of the High Courts are regional languages, what steps are necessary with regard to the proceedings in the Supreme Court ?

(14) Should the language of the Parliament and State Legislatures be the regional language or languages and/or Hindi ?

---

## SECTION D

### EDUCATION

(15) What is the extent of the teaching and the standard of examination in Hindi in (1) primary schools, (2) secondary schools, (3) Universities, (4) technical institutions, and (5) purely Hindi-teaching institutions in your State ?

(16) What is the relative position of Hindi, English and regional languages, in the various stages of education and in various educational institutions ?

(17) Are there any schools in your State in which the medium of instruction is only English and in which Hindi and regional languages are not taught ?

(18) Have any programmes been undertaken in your State for the furtherance of Hindi and/or regional languages in the educational field, and what difficulties are being or are likely to be experienced in implementing them ?

(19) Are you in favour of *requiring* or *encouraging* every student whose mother tongue is not Hindi to learn Hindi ? If so, at what stages ?

(20) In your State what training schemes exist or are planned for the training of teachers in Hindi ?

(21) What is the medium of instruction at the University level ? What should be the medium eventually ? What are the difficulties in regard to text books, availability of teachers and examiners, maintenance of proper standards and inter-University migration of students and teachers ? What should be the stages of introduction of the medium as decided upon ?

If Hindi is not the medium of education what place should it occupy in the University studies ?

Please give full reasons for your views

(22) (*a*) What is the progress of work of preparation of technical terminology and Hindi vocabulary in general in the Union and in the States ? What further steps should be taken for the speeding up of the work ? Is any standing organisation or machinery required for this purpose ?

(*b*) What steps should be taken for co-ordinating the work in regard to technical and scientific vocabulary in Hindi and regional languages ? Are you in favour of establishing a permanent Central body for the Union for this purpose ?

(23) What, if any, should be the co-relation between the language of the administration, including the language of courts and also the language for examinations for public services, and the medium of instruction at the University stage ?

(24) (*a*) To what extent has Hindi now spread in the non-Hindi-speaking areas ?

(*b*) What steps have the Union/State Government taken in this regard ?

(25) What is the extent of work already done by voluntary bodies, and what programmes have been outlined for further work? What is the assistance required by them (*a*) from the Centre, and (*b*) the State ?

(26) What steps would you suggest for making it easier for non-Hindi-speaking people to learn Hindi ?

(27) What steps have hitherto been taken, and may be taken hereafter, by the Centre and the State Governments for the propagation and enrichment of the Hindi language in the manner indicated in Article 351 of the Constitution ?

Are you in favour of establishing a permanent Central Body, statutory or otherwise, for purposes of Article 351 ?

> *Article* 351.—It shall be the duty of the Union to promote the spread of the Hindi language, to develop it so that it may serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India and to secure its enrichment by assimilating without interfering with its genius, the forms, style and expressions used in Hindustani and in the other languages of India specified in the Eighth Schedule, and by drawing, wherever necessary or desirable, for its vocabulary, primarily on Sanskrit and secondarily on other languages.

## SECTION E

### MISCELLANEOUS

(28) Is it necessary to provide for the use of the Devanagari form of numerals in addition to the international form of numerals ? If so, how far and for what purpose ?

(29) Would you suggest that every student whose mother tongue is Hindi or Urdu should be encouraged or required to learn any of the modern Indian languages (other than these two) mentioned in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution ?

(30) What steps would you suggest for the encouragement of the study of Sanskrit ?

(31) What is the progress in regard to Hindi shorthand, typewriters, teleprinters and Morse Code and what suggestions have you to make in regard to these ?

(32) Have you any suggestions to make with regard to Devanagari script reform and, in particular, with regard to the provision for letters or symbols for sounds peculiar to non-Hindi languages ?

(33) What suggestions have you to make regarding the time schedule according to which and the manner in which Hindi may gradually replace English as the official language of the Union and as a language for communication between the Union and State Governments and between one State Government and another ? Please indicate specifically and with reasons, if the proposed " replacement " programme should be different for different official purposes, *e.g.*, purposes of Union administration ; purposes of the Supreme and High Courts ; purposes of Legislature.

(34) Have you any other suggestions to make with regard to the terms of reference of the Commission ?

## APPENDIX IV

(REFERENCE : *Chapter I, Paragraph 2*)

LIST OF PUBLIC AUTHORITIES AND INSTITUTIONS WHO EITHER SENT WRITTEN MEMORANDA TO, OR TENDERED ORAL EVIDENCE BEFORE, THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE COMMISSION.

### Andaman and Nicobar Islands

The Chief Commissioner, Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

### Andhra

The Government of Andhra.
The Secretary, Education Department, Government of Andhra.
The Director of Public Relations, Government of Andhra.
The Director of Public Instruction, Government of Andhra.
The Andhra Legislative Assembly.
The Andhra High Court.
The Andhra Public Service Commission.
The Vice-Chancellor, Andhra University, Waltair.
The Vice-Chancellor, Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati.
The Principal, Government Arts College, Anantpur.
The Principal, Government Arts College, Rajahmundry.
The Principal, Government Arts College, Cuddapah.
The Principal, Government College for Women, Guntur.
The Principal, Government P. R. College, Kakinada.

### Assam

The Government of Assam.
The Judicial Secretary, Government of Assam.
The Director of Public Instruction, Government of Assam.
The Director of Information and Publicity, Government of Assam.
The Assam Legislative Assembly.
The Assam High Court.
The Assam Public Service Commission.
The Gauhati University.
The Member, District Council, Shillong.
The Superintendent, Government Hindi Training Centre, Missamari.
The Assistant Inspector of Schools for P. T. Education, Gauhati.

### Bhopal

The Government of Bhopal.

### Bihar

The Government of Bihar.
The Secretary, Law Department, Government of Bihar.
The Director of Public Relations, Government of Bihar.
The Director of Public Instruction, Government of Bihar.
The Bihar Legislative Assembly.
The Bihar Legislative Council.
The Patna High Court.
The Bihar Public Service Commission.
The Vice-Chancellor, Bihar University.
The Vice-Chancellor, Patna University.
The Accountant General, Bihar.
The Hindi Committee, Government of Bihar.

### Bombay

The Government of Bombay.
The Secretary, Legal Department, Government of Bombay

The Director of Publicity, Government of Bombay.
The Director of Education, Government of Bombay.
The Speaker, Bombay Legislative Assembly.
The Chairman, Bombay Legislative Council.
The Bombay High Court.
The Bombay Public Service Commission.
The Railway Service Commission, Bombay.
The Vice-Chancellor, Bombay University.
The Vice-Chancellor, Gujarat University.
The Vice-Chancellor, Poona University.
The Vice-Chancellor, Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda.
The Karnatak University.
The S. N. D. T. Women's University, Bombay.
The Director of Archives, Government of Bombay.
The Principal, Elphinstone College, Bombay.
The Principal, Gujarat College, Ahmedabad.
The Principal, Karnatak College, Dharwar.

**Coorg**

The Government of Coorg.
The Speaker, Coorg Legislative Assembly, Mercara.
The Principal, Government College, Mercara.
The District and Sessions Judge, Mercara.
The Special Officer for Education, Coorg, Mercara.

**Delhi (including the Central Government)**

The Ministry of Law, Government of India.
The Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply, Government of India.
The Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research, Government of India.
The Ministry of Transport, Government of India.
The Ministry of Communications, Government of India.
The Ministry of Finance (Department of Revenue and Expenditure), Government of India.
The Ministry of Finance (Defence Division), Government of India.
The Ministry of Finance (Delhi State Division), Government of India.
The Ministry of Finance (Revenue Division), Government of India.
The Ministry of Finance (Establishment Division), Government of India.
The Ministry of Finance (Department of Economic Affairs), Government of India.
The Ministry of Finance (Department of Company Law Administration), Government of India.
The Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India.
The Ministry of Defence, Government of India.
The Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Government of India.
The Ministry of Education, Government of India.
The Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India.
The Ministry of Railways (Railway Board), Government of India.
The Ministry of Health, Government of India.
The Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India.
The Ministry of Irrigation and Power, Government of India.
The Ministry of Labour, Government of India.
The Ministry of Production, Government of India.
The Ministry of Rehabilitation, Government of India.
The Ministry of Iron and Steel, Government of India.
The Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Government of India.
The Director General of Observatories, Government of India.
The Chief Election Commissioner.
The Deputy Comptroller and Auditor General of India.
The Assistant Comptroller and Auditor General (Administration) of India.
The Attorney General of India.
The Solicitor General of India.
The Director General of Posts and Telegraphs.
The Chairman, Central Board of Revenue.
The Director General, All-India Radio.
The Director, Organisation and Methods Division, Cabinet Secretariat, Government of India.
The Chairman, Central Board of Film Censors, Government of India.
The Principal, National Defence Academy, Khadakvasla.
The State Bank of India.

The Assistant Geologist, Geological Survey of India.
The Financial Adviser and Chief Accounts Officer, Hirakud Dam Project.
The Chief Accountant, Reserve Bank of India.
The Assistant Controller of Insurance, Department of Insurance, Government of India.
The Principal, I.A.S. Training School.
The Director, Council of Scientific and Industrial Research.
The Director, National Physical Laboratory.
The Assistant Director General, Health Services, Ministry of Health, Government of India.
The Lok Sabha Secretariat.
The Rajya Sabha Secretariat.
The Supreme Court of India.
The Union Public Service Commission.
The Government of Delhi State.
The Speaker, Delhi State Legislative Assembly.
The Vice-Chancellor, Delhi University.
The President, New Delhi Municipal Committee and Deputy Commissioner, Delhi.
The Language Committee, Government of Delhi State.

**Himachal Pradesh**

The Government of Himachal Pradesh.
The Himachal Pradesh Legislative Assembly.

**Hyderabad**

The Government of Hyderabad.
The Director of Information and Public Relations, Government of Hyderabad.
The Director of Public Instruction, Government of Hyderabad.
The Director of Technical Education, Government of Hyderabad.
The Speaker, Hyderabad Legislative Assembly.
The Hyderabad High Court.
The Hyderabad Public Service Commission.
The Vice-Chancellor, Osmania University, Hyderabad.

**Jammu and Kashmir**

The Government of Jammu and Kashmir.
The Secretary to the Government of Jammu and Kashmir, Education Department.
The Jammu and Kashmir High Court.
The Jammu and Kashmir University.
The Public Service Recruitment Board, Jammu and Kashmir.
The Accountant General, Jammu and Kashmir.

**Madhya Bharat**

The Government of Madhya Bharat.
The Finance Department, Government of Madhya Bharat.
The Secretary, Education Department, Government of Madhya Bharat.
The Secretary, Law Department, Government of Madhya Bharat.
The Director of Information, Government of Madhya Bharat.
The Director of Education, Government of Madhya Bharat.
The Speaker, Madhya Bharat Legislative Assembly.
The Madhya Bharat High Court.
The Madhya Bharat Public Service Commission.
The Comptroller, Madhya Bharat.

**Madhya Pradesh**

The Government of Madhya Pradesh.
The Director of Information, Government of Madhya Pradesh.
The Madhya Pradesh Legislative Assembly.
The Nagpur High Court.
The Madhya Pradesh Public Service Commission.
The Vice-Chancellor, Nagpur University.
The Saugar University, Sagar.

## Madras

The Government of Madras.
The Director of Public Instruction, Government of Madras.
The Speaker, Madras Legislative Assembly.
The Chairman, Madras Legislative Council.
The Madras High Court.
The Madras Public Service Commission.
The Chairman, Railway Service Commission, Madras.
The Accountant General, Madras.
The Director, Central Leather Research Institute, Madras.
The Principal, Government Victoria College, Madras.
The Principal, Government Arts College, Mangalore.
The Principal, Government Brennen College, Tellicherry.
The Principal, Government Training College, Komarapalayam.
The Principal, Government Training College, Vellore, Katpadi Township.
The Director, Central Electro-Chemical Research Institute, Karaikudi.
The Vice-Chancellor, Madras University.
The Annamalai University, Annamalainagar.

## Manipur

The Government of Manipur.

## Mysore

The Government of Mysore.
The Principal Information Officer, Government of Mysore.
The Deputy Director of Public Instruction, Government of Mysore.
The Speaker, Mysore Legislative Assembly.
The Mysore Legislative Council.
The Mysore High Court.
The Mysore Public Service Commission.
The Director of Literary and Cultural Development, Government of Mysore.
The Accountant General, Mysore.
The Vice-Chancellor, Mysore University.
The Director, Central Food Technological Research Institute, Mysore.

## Orissa

The Government of Orissa.
The Secretary to Government of Orissa, Education Department.
The Secretary to Government of Orissa, Law Department.
The Director of Publicity, Government of Orissa.
The Director of Public Instruction, Government of Orissa.
The President, Board of Revenue, Government of Orissa.
The Speaker, Orissa Legislative Assembly.
The Orissa High Court.
The Orissa Public Service Commission.
The Advocate General, Orissa.
The Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Utkal University.

## PEPSU

The Government of PEPSU.
The Secretary, Education Department, Government of PEPSU.
The Secretary, Law Department, Government of PEPSU.
The Director of Information, Government of PEPSU.
The Deputy Director of Education, Government of PEPSU.
The Director of Public Instruction, Government of PEPSU.
The Speaker, PEPSU Legislative Assembly.
The PEPSU High Court.
The PEPSU Public Service Commission.
The Comptroller, PEPSU.
The Advocate General, PEPSU.
The Director of Punjabi Department, PEPSU.

## Punjab

The Government of Punjab.
The Secretary, Education Department, Government of Punjab.
The Legal Remembrancer, Government of Punjab.
The Director of Public Relations, Government of Punjab.
The Director of Public Instruction, Government of Punjab.
The Director of Language Department, Government of Punjab.
The Speaker, Punjab Legislative Assembly.
The Chairman, Punjab Legislative Council.
The Punjab High Court.
The Punjab Public Service Commission.
The Accountant General, Punjab.
The Vice-Chancellor, Punjab University.
The Officer in charge, Nationalisation of Books, Punjab Education Department.

## Rajasthan

The Government of Rajasthan.
The Education Secretary, Government of Rajasthan.
The Law Secretary, Government of Rajasthan.
The Director of Public Relations, Government of Rajasthan.
The Director of Education, Government of Rajasthan.
The Speaker, Rajasthan Legislative Assembly.
The Rajasthan High Court.
The Rajasthan Public Service Commission.
The Accountant General, Rajasthan.
The Vice-Chancellor, Rajputana University.
The Chairman, Rajasthan Official Language Committee.

## Saurashtra

The Government of Saurashtra.
The Director of Information, Government of Saurashtra.
The Director of Education, Government of Saurashtra.
The Speaker, Saurashtra Legislative Assembly.
The Saurashtra High Court.
The Saurashtra Public Service Commission.
The Deputy Educational Inspector, Rajkot.

## Travancore-Cochin

The Government of Travancore-Cochin.
The Education Secretary, Government of Travancore-Cochin.
The Director of Public Relations, Government of Travancore-Cochin.
The Director of Public Instruction, Government of Travancore-Cochin.
The Speaker, Travancore-Cochin Legislative Assembly.
The Travancore-Cochin High Court.
The Travancore-Cochin Public Service Commission.
The Surgeon-General, Government of Travancore-Cochin.
The Chief Engineer, Government of Travancore-Cochin.
The Comptroller, Travancore-Cochin.
The Vice-Chancellor, Travancore University.
The District Educational Officer, Travancore-Cochin State.

## Tripura

The Government of Tripura.

## Uttar Pradesh

The Government of Uttar Pradesh.
The Speaker, Uttar Pradesh Legislative Assembly.
The Chairman, Uttar Pradesh Legislative Council.
The Allahabad High Court.
The Uttar Pradesh Public Service Commission.
The Accountant General, Uttar Pradesh.
The Principal, Government Higher Secondary School, Banaras.
The Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University.

The Vice-Chancellor, Agra University.
The Vice-Chancellor, Lucknow University.
The Vice-Chancellor, Roorkee University.
The Vice-Chancellor, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh.
The Banaras Hindu University, Banaras.

**Vindhya Pradesh**

The Government of Vindhya Pradesh.
The Vindhya Pradesh Legislative Assembly.
The Judicial Commissioner, Vindhya Pradesh.

**West Bengal**

The Government of West Bengal.
The Director of Public Instruction, Government of West Bengal.
The Speaker, West Bengal Legislative Assembly.
The Deputy Chairman, West Bengal Legislative Council.
The Calcutta High Court.
The West Bengal Public Service Commission.
The Director of Health Services, Government of West Bengal.
The Director, Indian Institute of Technology, Kharagpur.
The Principal, Bengal Engineering College, Calcutta.
The Calcutta University.
The Visva-Bharti University, Shantiniketan. (West Bengal).
The Administrator, Chandernagore.

## APPENDIX V

(REFERENCE : *Chapter I, Paragraph 2*)

STATEMENT OF OFFICIAL LANGUAGE COMMISSION'S SITTINGS HELD AT VARIOUS PLACES TO TAKE ORAL EVIDENCE

| Day | Date | Place where sitting was held by the Commission | Number of sittings held (Timings for forenoon and afternoon sittings were generally from 10 a.m. to 1 p.m. and 3 p.m. to 6 P.M. respectively) |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Monday and Tuesday | 10th and 11th October, 1955. | RAJKOT | Evidence was taken in the forenoon and afternoon of 10th and 11th October, 1955 (4 sittings). |
| Wednesday and Thursday. | 12th and 13th October, 1955. | AHMEDABAD | Evidence was taken in the forenoon and afternoon of 12th and 13th October, 1955 (4 sittings). |
| Saturday and Sunday. | 15th and 16th October, 1955. | POONA | Evidence was taken in the forenoon and afternoon of 15th and 16th October, 1955 (4 sittings). |
| Wednesday to Friday. | 19th to 21st October, 1955. | NAGPUR | Evidence was taken in the forenoon and afternoon of 19th and 20th and in the forenoon of 21st October, 1955 (5 sittings). |
| Saturday to Wednesday. | 19th to 23rd November, 1955. | CALCUTTA | On 19th the Commission met to settle certain internal procedural matters and evidence was taken in the forenoon and afternoon of 21st and 22nd November, and in the forenoon of 23rd November, 1955 (5 sittings). |
| Thursday to Saturday. | 24th to 26th November, 1955. | BHUBANESWAR | Evidence was taken in the forenoon and afternoon of 24th and 25th November, and in the forenoon of 26th November, 1955 (5 sittings). |
| Tuesday to Thursday. | 29th November to 1st December, 1955. | SHILLONG | Evidence was taken in the forenoon and afternoon of 29th and 30th November, and 1st December, 1955 (6 sittings). |
| Monday to Wednesday. | 12th to 14th December, 1955. | BOMBAY | Evidence was taken in the forenoon and afternoon of 12th, 13th and 14th December, 1955 (6 sittings). |

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Friday to Sunday | 16th to 18th December, 1955. | HYDERABAD | Evidence was taken in the forenoon and afternoon of 16th and 17th December, and in the forenoon of 18th December, 1955 (5 sittings). |
| Tuesday to Thursday. | 20th to 22nd December, 1955. | KURNOOL | Evidence was taken in the forenoon and afternoon of 20th and 21st December, and in the forenoon of 22nd December (5 sittings). |
| Monday to Thursday. | 9th to 12th January, 1956. | MADRAS | Evidence was taken in the forenoon and afternoon of 9th, 10th and 11th January and in the forenoon of 12th January, 1956 (7 sittings). |
| Friday to Sunday | 13th to 15th January, 1956. | BANGALORE | Evidence was taken in the forenoon and afternoon of 13th and 14th January and in the forenoon of 15th January, 1956 (5 sittings). |
| Monday and Tuesday. | 16th and 17th January, 1956. | ERNAKULAM | Evidence was taken in the afternoon of 16th January and in the forenoon of 17th January, 1956 (2 sittings). |
| Wednesday and Thursday. | 18th and 19th January, 1956. | TRIVANDRUM | Evidence was taken in the forenoon and afternoon of 18th and 19th January, 1956 (4 sittings). |
| Friday to Tuesday. | 10th to 21st February, 1956. | NEW DELHI | Evidence was taken in the forenoon and afternoon of 10th, 11th, 13th to 18th, 20th and 21st February, 1956 (20 sittings). |
| Thursday and Friday. | 23rd and 24th February, 1956. | GWALIOR | Evidence was taken in the forenoon and afternoon of 23rd and 24th February, 1956 (4 sittings). |
| Monday and Tuesday. | 27th and 28th February, 1956. | JAIPUR | Evidence was taken in the forenoon and afternoon of 27th and 28th February 1956 ( 4 sittings). |
| Saturday to Monday | 10th to 12th March, 1956. | PATNA | Evidence was taken in the forenoon and afternoon of 10th and 11th March and in the forenoon of 12th March, 1956 (5 sittings). |
| Tuesday to Thursday. | 13th to 15th March, 1956. | LUCKNOW | Evidence was taken in the afternoon of 13th March |

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | and in the forenoon and afternoon of 14th and 15th March, 1956 (5 sittings). |
| Saturday and Sunday | 17th and 18th March, 1956. | CHANDIGARH | Evidence was taken in the forenoon and afternoon of 17th and 18th March, 1956 (4 sittings). |
| Monday and Tuesday. | 19th and 20th March, 1956. | PATIALA | Evidence was taken in the afternoon of 19th and forenoon of 20th March 1956 (2 sittings). |
| Saturday to Wednesday. | 11th to 20th June, 1956. | SRINAGAR | Evidence was taken in the forenoon and afternoon of 15th June and in the forenoon of 16th June, 1956 (3 sittings).<br>The Commission met on 11th to 14th June and in the afternoon of 16th June, and on the 18th to 20th June, 1956 to consider and finalise the report. |

# APPENDIX VI

## *Statement showing action taken by the Union and State Governments under the various Articles of the Constitution relating to Official Language.

### *Union Government*

### Article 343

The President has authorised the use of :—

(A) The Hindi language in addition to the English language and of the Devanagari form of numerals in addition to the international form of Indian numerals for warrants of appointment of—

(*i*) Governors,

(*ii*) Judges of Supreme Court and

(*iii*) Judges of High Courts ; and

(B) the Hindi language in addition to the English language for the following official purposes :—

(*i*) Correspondence with members of the public.

(*ii*) Administration reports, official journals and reports to Parliament.

(*iii*) Government resolutions and legislative enactments.

(*iv*) Correspondence with State Governments which have adopted Hindi as their official language.

(*v*) Treaties and agreements.

(*vi*) Correspondence with Governments of other countries and their envoys and international organisations.

(*vii*) Formal documents issued to diplomatic and consular officers and to Indian representatives at international organisations.

State Governments

| Name of the State | Article 345 | Article 346 | Article 348 |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Andhra . . . | Nil | Nil | Nil |
| Assam . . . | Nil | Nil | Nil |
| Bihar . . . | (1) Hindi has been adopted as the official language under the Bihar Official Language Act, 1950. The provision has been partially implemented.<br>(2) The Bihar Language of Laws Act, 1955, provides that all Bills introduced in and Acts passed by the Legislature, Ordinances promulgated by the Governor and any order, rule, regulation or bye-law issued by the State shall be in Hindi. The provision has not, however, been implemented. | Agreements have been made with the Governments of Madhya Bharat, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh to use Hindi for inter-State communications. | Nil |
| Bombay . . . | Nil | Nil | Nil |
| Madhya Pradesh . | (1) Hindi and Marathi have been adopted as the official languages under the Madhya Pradesh Official Language Act, 1950. The provision has been partially implemented.<br>(2) The same Act provides that all Bills introduced in and Acts passed by the Legislature, Ordinances promulgated by the Governor and any order, rule, regulation or bye-law issued by the State shall be in Hindi and Marathi. The provision has not, however, been implemented so far. | Agreements have been made with the Governments of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Bharat, Rajasthan, Bhopal and Vindhya Pradesh to use Hindi for inter-State communications. | Nil |

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Madras | Nil | Nil | Nil |
| Orissa | (1) Oriya has been adopted as the official language under the Orissa Official Language Act, 1954. The provision has not, however, been implemented so far.<br><br>(2) The same Act provides that all Bills introduced in and Acts passed by the Legislature, Ordinances issued by the Governor and any order, rule, regulation or bye-law issued by the State shall be in Oriya. This provision also has not been implemented so far. | Nil | Nil |
| Punjab | Nil | Nil | Nil |
| Uttar Pradesh | (1) Hindi has been adopted as the official language under the Uttar Pradesh Official Language Act, 1951. The provision has been implemented.<br><br>(2) The Uttar Pradesh Language (Bills and Acts) Act, 1950, provides that all Bills introduced in and Acts passed by the Legislature, Ordinances promulgated by the Governor and any order, rule, regulation or bye-law issued by the State shall be in Hindi. The provision has been implemented. | Agreements have been made with the Governments of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Madhya Bharat to use Hindi for inter-State communications. | Nil |
| West Bengal | Nil | Nil | Nil |
| Hyderabad | Nil | Nil | The Rajpramukh has authorised the use of Urdu in the proceedings of the High Court. |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jammu and Kashmir | Nil | Nil | Nil |
| Madhya Bharat . | (1) Hindi has been adopted as the official language under the Madhya Bharat Official Language Act, 1950. The provision has been implemented.<br>(2) The same Act provides that all Bills introduced in and Acts passed by the Legislature, Ordinances issued by the Rajpramukh and any order, rule, regulation or bye-law issued by the State shall be in Hindi.<br>This provision has also been implemented. | Agreements have been made with the Governments of Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan and Ajmer to use Hindi for inter-State Communications. | The Rajpramukh has authorised the use of Hindi in the proceedings of the High Court. |
| Mysore . . . | Nil | Nil | Nil |
| PEPSU . . . | Nil | Nil | The Rajpramukh has authorised the use of Hindi and Punjabi in the proceedings of the High Court. |
| Rajasthan . . | (1) Hindi has been adopted as the official language under the Rajasthan Official Language Act, 1952. The provision has been implemented.<br>(2) The same Act provides that all Bills introduced in and Acts passed by the Legislature, Ordinances promulgated by the Rajpramukh and any order, rule, regulation or bye-law issued by the State shall be in Hindi. This provision has also been implemented. | Agreements have been made with the Governments of Ajmer, Madhya Pradesh and Madhya Bharat to use Hindi for inter-State communications. | The Rajpramukh has authorised the use of Hindi in the proceedings of the High Court. |
| Saurashtra . . | Gujarati has been adopted as the official language under the Saurashtra Official Language Act, 1950. The provision has been implemented. | Nil | Nil |
| Travancore-Cochin . | Nil | Nil | The Rajpramukh has authorised the use of Malayalam in the proceedings of the High Court. |

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ajmer . . . | Hindi has been adopted as the official language under the Ajmer Official Language Act, 1952. The provision has been partially implemented. | Agreements have been made with the Governments of Rajasthan and Madhya Bharat to use Hindi for inter-State communications. | Nil |
| Bhopal . . . | Nil | Agreement has been made with the Government of Madhya Pradesh to use Hindi for inter-State communications. | Nil |
| Coorg . . . | Nil | Nil | Ni |
| Delhi . . . | Nil | Nil | Nil |
| Himachal Pradesh . | The Himachal Pradesh Language (Bills and Acts) Act, 1952, provides that all Bills introduced in and Acts passed by the Legislature shall be in Hindi. The provision has been implemented. | Nil | Nil |
| Kutch . . . | Nil | | Nil |
| Manipur . . | Nil | Nil | Nil |
| Tripura . . . | Nil | Nil | Nil |
| Vindhya Pradesh . | Nil | Agreement has been made with the Government of Madhya Pradesh to use Hindi for inter-State communications. | Nil |
| Andaman and Nicobar Islands. | Nil | Nil | Nil |

*Prepared on the basis of the information furnished by the Union and State Governments in reply to the questionnaire.

# APPENDIX VII

(REFERENCE : *Chapter X, Paragraph* 3)

*STATEMENT SHOWING LANGUAGES IN USE IN THE HIGH COURTS/JUDICIAL COMMISSIONERS' COURTS AND SUBORDINATE COURTS.

| Sr. No. | Name of State | Languages used in High Courts/Judicial Commissioners' Courts | Languages used in Subordinate Courts |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| | | *Part 'A' States* | |
| 1 | Andhra . . | English . . . | Court language is Telugu. Both English and Telugu are used in proceedings. Judgments, Decrees and Orders are in English. |
| 2 | Assam . . | English . . . | Court language is English for all purposes. Assamese is used in proceedings in Courts in districts of Kamrup, Nowgong Sibsagar and Lakhimpur ; and Bengali in the district of Cachar. Both Assamese and Bengali are used in Goalpara. |
| 3 | Bihar . . | English . . . | Court language is Hindi. Bengali has been retained as additional Court language in Sadr A Sub-division of Manbhum and Sadr, Pakur, Rajmahal and Jamatra Sub-divisions of Santhal Parganas district. Proceedings are in regional languages. Judgments and Orders are in English. Decrees are both in English and Hindi. |
| 4 | Bombay . . | English . . . | Proceedings are in regional languages, *viz.* Marathi, Gujarati and Kannada and, in Bombay City, in English. Judgments and orders are in English. Decrees are in regional languages and, in Bombay City, in English. |
| 5 | Madhya Pradesh | English . . . | Court languages are Hindi and Marathi. English is generally used for Judgments, Decrees and Orders ; also for recording of charge against accused, charge to jury, deposition of medical and other expert witnesses. |

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|---|---|---|---|
| 6 | Madras | English | Court languages are the regional languages, *viz.* Tamil, Malayalam, Kanarese and Telugu except in Madras City where it is English. Both English and regional languages are used in proceedings. Judgments, Decrees and Orders are in English. |
| 7 | Orissa | English | Both English and Oriya are used in proceedings. |
| 8 | Punjab | English | Court language is Urdu. Both English and Urdu are used in proceedings. Majority of Judgments and Orders are in English and Decrees usually in Urdu. |
| 9 | Uttar Pradesh | English | Court language is Hindi. Hindi is used in proceedings. Judgments and Orders are in English. Decrees are in Hindi. |
| 10 | West Bengal | English | Both English and Bengali (the latter more universally) are used in proceedings. Judgments and Orders are in English, and Decrees both in English and Bengali. |
| | | *Part 'B' States* | |
| 11 | Hyderabad | Urdu, except for Judgments, Decrees and Orders which are in English. | Court languages are the regional languages, *viz.*, Telugu, Marathi, Kannada and Urdu. Proceedings are in English and regional languages. Judgments and Orders are in English. |
| 12 | Jammu and Kashmir. | English | Proceedings are recorded in Urdu or English. |
| 13 | Madhya Bharat | Hindi, except for Judgments, Decrees and Orders which are in English. | Court language is Hindi. Hind is used in proceedings. Judgments, Decrees and Orders are in Hindi except Judgments of Courts of District and Sessions Judges in cases relating to offences punishable with death or imprisonment for life or in suits the value of which is Rs. 20,000 or more and in cases in which an important question of law is involved and which is likely to go to the Supreme Court, which are in English. |

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|---|---|---|---|
| 14 | Mysore . . | English . . . . | Court language is English. Both English and regional language, Kannada, are used in proceedings. Judgments, Decrees and Orders are in English. |
| 15 | PEPSU . . | Hindi and Punjabi, except for Judgments, Decrees and Orders which are in English. | Court languages are Hindi and Punjabi, the regional languages. Proceedings are usually in regional languages. Judgments, Orders and Decrees are generally in English. |
| 16 | Rajasthan . . | Hindi except for Judgments, Decrees and Orders which are in English. | Court language is Hindi. Proceedings are in Hindi. Judgments, Orders and Decrees are in Hindi except those of District and Sessions Judges and Civil and Additional Judges which are in English. Decrees and formal orders are in Hindi. |
| 17 | Saurashtra . . | English . . . . | Proceedings are generally in Gujarati. Judgments, Decrees and Orders are generally in Gujarati, except in Courts of District and Sessions Judges and Assistant and Additional Sessions Judges which are generally in English. |
| 18 | Travancore-Cochin | Malayalam except for Judgments, Decrees and Orders which are in English. | Court languages are the regional languages, Malayalam and Tamil. The regional languages are used in proceedings. Judgments and Orders are in English. Decrees are invariably in Malayalam. |
| | | *Part 'C' States* | |
| 19 | Ajmer . . | English . . . . | Proceedings are in Hindi. Judgments, Decrees and Orders are in English. |
| 20 | Bhopal . . | English . . . . | Both English and Hindi are used in proceedings. Judgments, Decrees and Orders are in English. Hony. Magistrates sometimes use Urdu. |
| 21 | Coorg . . | English . . . . | Both English and Kannada are used in proceedings. |
| 22 | Delhi . . | English . . . . | Court language is Urdu. Hindi is additional Court language. English, Urdu and Hindi are used in proceedings. Judgments, Decrees and Orders are in English. |

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|---|---|---|---|
| 23 | Himachal Pradesh . | English . . . | Court language is English. Proceedings are in Hindi. Judgments, Decrees and Orders are generally in English, except that some Magistrates write Judgments and Orders in Hindi. |
| 24 | Kutch . . | Gujerati, except for Judgments, Decrees and Orders which are in English. | Proceedings are in Gujerati. Judgments, Decrees and Orders are in Gujerati, except that Judgments and Orders of District and Sessions Courts are in English. |
| 25 | Manipur . . | English and Manipuri. English for Judgments, Orders and Decrees. | Manipuri is mostly used in proceedings. Judgments, Orders and Decrees are in English. |
| 26 | Tripura . . | English . . | English is the language of Courts of District and Sessions Judges and of Subordinate and Assistant Sessions Judges. Bengali, the regional language, is used in all Civil Courts. Both Bengali and English are used in writing Judgments, Orders and Proceedings as also in the transactions of other business in the Courts of Senior Deputy Magistrates and all other Magistrates. Only English is used in the Courts of District Magistrates and Additional District Magistrates. |
| 27 | Vindhya Pradesh . | Hindi, except for Judgments, Orders and Decrees which are in English. | Court language is Hindi. Proceedings are in Hindi. Judgments, Decrees and Orders are in Hindi. |
| | | *Part 'D' Territories* | |
| 28 | Andaman and Nicobar Islands. | .. | Court language is English but, at village and tehsil levels, Urdu is being used for certain purposes. |

*Note.*—Judicial Commissioners' Courts exist only in the Part 'C' States of Ajmer, Bhopal, Himachal Pradesh, Kutch, Manipur, Tripura and Vindhya Pradesh. There is no such court in the Part 'D' territories.

*Prepared on the basis of the information furnished by the different High Courts and the Courts of the Judicial Commissioners in the country.

# APPENDIX VIII

## STATEMENT SHOWING THE LANGUAGES IN USE IN THE LEGISLATURES

(REFERENCE : *Chapter IX, Paragraph 2*)

| Sr. No. | Name of Legislature | Whether any official language has been adopted by the State under Article 345 of the Constitution | Percentage of speeches delivered in various languages in the Legislatures during 1954 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | English | Hindi | Other languages | |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4(*a*) | 4(*b*) | 4(*c*) | |
| 1 | Lok Sabha | Subject to provisions of Article 348 of the Constitution, business in Parliament is normally transacted in Hindi or English, provided the presiding authority may permit any member, who cannot adequately express himself either in Hindi or English, to speak in his mother-tongue. | 83·2 | 16·2 | Urdu<br>Bengali<br>Telugu<br>Tamil | 0·4<br>0·1<br>0·1<br>0·1 |
| 2 | Rajya Sabha | Ditto | 85·0 | 13·1 | Urdu<br>Malayalam | 1·84<br>0·06 |
| 1 | *Andhra* | | | | | |
| | Legislative Assembly | No provision has been made under Article 345 to adopt any official language for the Legislature. | 10·0 | Nil | Telugu | 90·0 |
| 2 | *Assam* | | | | | |
| | Legislative Assembly | Ditto | 89·67 | 0·18 | Assamese<br>Bengali | 9·97<br>0·18 |

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4(a) | 4(b) | 4(c) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3 | *Bihar* | | | | | |
| | (a) Legislative Assembly . . | Hindi in Devanagari script has been adopted under the Bihar Language of Laws Act, 1955, as the official language of the State Legislature for discussions and also for Bills introduced in and Acts passed by it. | 5·0 | 95·0 | Nil | |
| | b) Legislative Council . . | Ditto . . . . | 27·67 | 72·33 | Nil | |
| 4 | *Bombay* | | | | | |
| | (a) Legislative Assembly . . | No provision has been made under Article 345 to adopt any official language for the Legislature. | 50·4 | 3·2 | Marathi<br>Gujarati<br>Kannada | 40·9<br>4·5<br>1·0 |
| | (b) Legislative Council . . | Ditto . . . . | 89·6 | 1·7 | Marathi<br>Gujarati | 7·3<br>1·4 |
| 5 | *Madhya Pradesh.*<br>Vidhan Sabha . . . . | Hindi in Devanagari script and Marathi in Balbodh script have been adopted, under the Madhya Pradesh Official Languages Act, 1950, as official languages of the Vidhan Sabha; but the official texts of Bills introduced in and Acts passed by the Vidhan Sabha are in English as also reports of Select Committees, Financial Committees and Committees on delegated legislation. | 1·5 | 83·0 | Marathi | 15·5 |
| 6 | *Madras* | | | | | |
| | (a) Legislative Assembly . | No provision has been made under Article 345 to adopt any official language for the Legislature. | 52·4 | Nil | Tamil<br>Malayalam | 42·2<br>5·4 |
| | (b) Legislative Council . . | Ditto. . . . | 82·2 | Nil | Tamil<br>Malayalam | 17·6<br>0·2 |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7 | *Orissa* | | | | | |
| | Legislative Assembly | Oriya has been adopted, under the Orissa Official Language Act, 1954, as the official language of the Legislative Assembly for discussion as well as for Bills introduced in and Acts passed by it. | 5·0 | Nil | Oriya | 95·0 |
| 8 | *Punjab* | | | | | |
| | (*a*) Vidhan Sabha | No provision has been made under Article 345 to adopt any official language for the Legislature. | 0·27 | 56·7 | Punjabi | 43·03 |
| | (*b*) Legislative Council | Ditto | 34·6 | 35·6 | Punjabi | 29·8 |
| 9 | *Uttar Pradesh* | | | | | |
| | (*a*) Legislative Assembly | Hindi in Devanagari script has been adopted, under the Uttar Pradesh Language (Bills and Acts) Act, 1950, as the official language of the State Legislature for discussion as well as for Bills introduced in and Acts passed by it. | Nil | 100·0 | Nil | |
| | (*b*) Legislative Council | Ditto | 3·0 | 97·0 | Nil | |
| 10 | *West Bengal* | | | | | |
| | (*a*) Legislative Assembly | No provision has been made under Article 345 to adopt any official language for the Legislature. | 50·4 | 0·5 | Bengali | 49·1 |
| | (*b*) Legislative Council | Ditto | 69·3 | Nil | Bengali | 30·0 |
| 11 | *Hyderabad* | | | | | |
| | Legislative Assembly | No provision has been made under Article 345 to adopt any official language for the Legislature. | 5·0 | 21·0 | Urdu<br>Telugu<br>Marathi<br>Kannada | 63·0<br>8·0<br>2·0<br>1·0 |

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4(a) | 4(b) | 4(c) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 12 | *Jammu and Kashmir* | | | | | |
| | Constituent Assembly . . | Under the provisions of its old Constitution, the State Constituent Assembly is using Urdu as its official language. | 6·0 | 0·5 | Urdu<br>Persian<br>Ladakhi | 94·0<br>0·4<br>0·4 |
| 13 | *Madhya Bharat* | | | | | |
| | Vidhan Sabha . . . . | Hindi in Devanagari script has been adopted, under the Madhya Bharat Official Language Act, 1950, as the official language of the Vidhan Sabha for discussion as well as for Bills introduced in and Acts passed by it. | Nil | 100·0 | Nil | |
| 14 | *Mysore* | | | | | |
| | (*a*) Legislative Assembly . . | No provision has been made under Article 345 to adopt any official language for the Legislature. | 45·0 | Nil | Kannada | 55·0 |
| | (*b*) Legislative Council . . | Ditto . . . . | 35·0 | Nil | Kannada | 65·0 |
| 15 | *Pepsu* | | | | | |
| | Legislative Assembly . . | No provision has been made under Article 345 to adopt any official language for the Legislature. | 2·7 | 33·5 | Punjabi | 63·8 |
| 16 | *Rajasthan* | | | | | |
| | Legislative Assembly . . | Hindi in Devanagari script has been adopted, under the Rajasthan Official Language Act, 1952, as the official language of the Legislative Assembly for discussion as well as for Bills introduced in and Acts passed by it. | 1·3 | 98·2 | Rajasthani | 0·5 |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 17 | *Saurashtra* | | | | | |
| | Legislative Assembly | Gujarat has been adopted, under the Saurashtra Official Language Act, 1950, as the official language by the Legislative Assembly for discussion as well as for Bills introduced in and Acts passed by it. | Nil | Nil | Gujarati | 100·0 |
| 18 | *Travancore-Cochin* | | | | | |
| | Legislative Assembly | No provision has been made under Article 345 to adopt any official language for the Legislature. | 19·0 | Nil | Malayalam<br>Tamil | 78·0<br>3·0 |

## APPENDIX IX

### An Appraisal of the Existing Position regarding Hindi, English and the Regional Languages in the Educational System of the Country

There is no uniformity in the country as to the terms used to denote the different stages of education; before we survey the existing position of Hindi, English and the regional languages of the country in the present educational system, it is necessary to fix the terms which we will use to denote the different stages.

First there are nursery classes for children below the age of six. These classes do not really aim to teach any subject substantively, but merely aim at inculcating in the children habits of good social behaviour and at teaching them to learn through play. Nursery institutions are extremely few in the country, and they have not so far formed an integral part of the public system of education.

The education of children, generally speaking, starts from the primary classes, when they have attained the age of six. The duration of the primary stage varies from State to State, but generally the first four classes of the child's schooling constitute the primary stage of his education. This stage comprises of boys ranging in the age-group 6—10 or 11 years. In some States the 'basic' system of education has been introduced in these classes, and consequently these classes are called Junior Basic Classes. For our reference here we shall call these classes 'primary' and the stage of education 'the primary stage'.

The next four years of our children's education is done in classes which are usually termed 'the middle classes'. These comprise of boys ranging in the age-group, generally speaking, 10—14 or 15 years. These middle classes are also sometimes sub-grouped into the lower middle and the upper middle classes. The lower middle classes consist of classes V and VI, while the upper middle classes of VII and VIII. In the States where the basic system has been accepted for these middle classes, they are called 'Senior Basic Classes'. We shall refer to these classes here as 'middle classes', and the stage of education as the 'middle stage of education'.

In fact 'basic' is only a method of instruction. It does not denote any stage of education, while the words 'primary' and 'middle' denote specific stages of education. Preference has, therefore, been given here to these latter terms against the former

In the next two or three classes are taught courses leading to an examination which has been variously termed as the University Entrance Examination, the Admission Examination, the Matriculation Examination, the S.S.C. Examination, the S. L. C. Examination or the High School Examination. This examination previously served as a qualifying examination for admission to the University, hence the first two names referred to above. But later; when in some of the States the next two classes were taken away from the University on the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission of 1917, more commonly known as the Sadler Commission, these names became obsolete. Now the term most in use for the examination being 'the High School Examination', we shall refer to the classes pertaining to this examination as the 'High School Classes' and the stage as 'the High School Stage'. The age-group generally found in these classes is 14—16 or 17 years.

The next two classes now end at an examination which is generally termed as the Intermediate Examination, though the classes are referred to as Intermediate Classes or Higher Secondary Classes, and the institutions as Intermediate Colleges or Higher Secondary Schools. It would, therefore, seem that it will be better to refer to these here as 'Intermediate Classes' and to the stage of education as 'the Intermediate stage'. The age-group in these two classes, generally speaking, consists of students of 16—18 or 19 years.

Though the recent Committees and Commissions on Education have generally recommended that the second year of these classes be taken over by the Universities and included with the two years' course of the Bachelor's Degree Examination and the first be taken to the High School, abolishing the Intermediate Examination, so far the recommendation has not been given effect to by most of the Universities and the States, and the Intermediate Classes, examinations and colleges continue nearly throughout the country.

The first Degree Examinations of the Indian Universities presently consist of, as already pointed out, a teaching course of two years and are termed uniformly as the Bachelor's Degree Examination in Arts, Science, Commerce, Agriculture etc. as the case may be, and the classes are composed of students in the age-group, broadly speaking, of 18—20 or 21 years. We shall refer to these classes here as the 'first' or 'Bachelor's Degree Classes' in the Universities and the stage of education as the 'first' or 'Bachelor's Degree stage of education'.

There is also a Bachelor's degree in Teaching, Law, Medicine and Engineering. But the courses are differently framed, and so wherever we shall have to refer to these, we shall refer with their full names, *e.g.* Bachelor's Degree in Teaching, or Law, as the case may be.

The last of these classes are those which pertain to a two-year course of post-graduate studies and lead to the Master's Degree of the Indian Universities. These are composed of students, generally speaking, of the age-group 20—22 or 23 years. We shall refer to these classes as 'post-graduate classes' and the stage of education as 'the post-graduate stage'.

There is a Master's Degree in Teaching, Law, Medicine and Engineering also. But these courses, like those of the Bachelor's Degree in these, are framed differently. Therefore, we shall refer to these, wherever we have to, with their full names, *e.g.*, Master's Degree in Teaching, or Law, as the case may be.

## PRIMARY CLASSES

### The medium of instruction

In the States in the Hindi-speaking areas of the country, Hindi being the mother-tongue as well as the regional language there, it is the medium of instruction, except in the Anglo-Indian Schools. In the bilingual states of Madhya Pradesh, Punjab and PEPSU, Hindi is the medium for Hindi-speaking students while the regional languages are the media for those speaking the regional languages.

In the States in the non-Hindi-speaking areas the mother-tongue or the regional language is the general medium of instruction, except in the Anglo-Indian Schools (as in the Hindi-speaking areas) where the medium is English.

But in many of these States as in the West Bengal, Bombay, Saurashtra, Madras; Hyderabad, Andaman and Nicobar, there are some Hindi medium schools for those pupils whose mother-tongue is Hindi

### Language-teaching as a subject of study—Hindi

In the States in Hindi-speaking areas, Hindi is also a compulsory subject of study in the Primary classes except for those whose mother-tongue is not Hindi. In the case of the latter class of students Hindi becomes a compulsory subject generally after class III, *i.e.* from the last class of the Primary stage. In the bilingual State of Madhya Pradesh Hindi is a compulsory subject of study for Hindi-medium students only, just as the regional language is for the students of that medium. In the Punjab and PEPSU, Hindi, however, is a compulsory subject of study for the Punjabi-speaking students just as Punjabi is a compulsory subject of study for the Hindi-speaking students.

In the non-Hindi-speaking areas, Hindi is a compulsory subject in the Hindi-medium schools from the beginning, while in the regional-language-medium schools it is not a compulsory subject in this stage except in Assam and Andaman and Nicobar where it becomes so from the IV class, and in Hyderabad where it becomes so only for the non-Hindi-speaking students from the III class.

### English

In the Hindi-speaking areas, English is not a compulsory subject of study except in the Anglo-Indian Schools.

In the non-Hindi-speaking areas also the position of English as a compulsory subject is the same, except in Vishva-Bharati where English is so taught in the last two years of the primary stage, and in Assam where it is so introduced in class IV.

### The Regional Languages

As regards the respective regional languages, they are everywhere a compulsory subject of study in the States in the non-Hindi areas. In the Punjab and PEPSU, however, Punjabi becomes a compulsory subject of study for Hindi-speaking students from the last class of the Primary stage just as Hindi becomes a compulsory subject of study for Punjabi-speaking students from the last class of the Primary stage.

Neither Hindi, nor English, nor again the regional languages other than one's own are taught as optional or elective subjects in this stage anywhere in the country, except in Orissa where Hindi is so taught in the IV class of the Primary Schools.

## MIDDLE STAGE

### The medium of instruction

Hindi being the regional language in the Hindi-speaking-States of the country, it is the medium of instruction there.

In the bilingual States of Madhy Pradesh and Punjab and PEPSU also Hindi is the medium for those speaking Hindi.

In the States in the non-Hindi-speaking areas, their respective regional languages are the media with few exceptions. Hindi is the medium of instruction in some schools only where Hindi is the mother-tongue of the pupils generally.

A general exception, however, exists in respect of English which is the medium in Anglo-Indian Schools all over the country.

### Language-teaching as a subject of study—Hindi

In the States in the Hindi-speaking areas, Hindi is also taught as a compulsory subject of study. In Delhi, it is a compulsory subject of study for non-Hindi speaking students only and that too down from class III.

In the bilingual State of Madhya Pradesh Hindi is a compulsory subject of study for the Hindi-medium students, as Marathi is a compulsory subject of study for Marathi-medium students; while in Punjab and PEPSU. more or less like Delhi, Hindi is a compulsory subject of study from the last class of Primary stage for Punjabi-speaking students, as Punjabi is a compulsory subject of study for the Hindi-speaking students.

In the States of Bombay and Saurashtra, while Hindi is a compulsory subject for Hindi-medium students from lower down the primary stage, it becomes so for the non-Hindi medium students only from class V onwards.

In West Bengal, Hindi features as a compulsory subject only for those whose mother-tongue it is, as the respective regional languages are compulsory subjects of study for those whose mother-tongues they are. In Travancore-Cochin Hindi is a compulsory subject of study from Form I with option for the regional languages.

In Hyderabad, Hindi is a compulsory subject of study for Hindi-speaking students from down below in the primary stage, but for those whose mother-tongue is a regional language, Hindi becomes so only from class III of the primary stage and continues to be so in this stage also.

In Orissa, Hindi is a compulsory subject of study in classes VI to IX while it is an optional subject there in classes IV and V. In Madras State Hindi is a 'third language' with option for an additional craft or some other approved activity. In Mysore Hindi is an optional subject for three years in the senior primary schools.

In Andaman and Nicobar, Hindi is taught from Class IV onwards as a compulsory subject. In Jammu and Kashmir, Hindi is an optional subject with option for Punjabi and Urdu.

### English

Except in the Anglo-Indian schools, where it forms a compulsory subject of study even lower below in the primary stage, English is introduced as a subject of study in the middle stage nearly in all States either as a compulsory or as an optional subject. In the States in the Hindi-speaking areas, generally speaking, it is an optional subject while in the States in the non-Hindi-speaking areas, generally speaking, it is a compulsory subject of study.

### Regional Languages

In the States in Hindi areas the position of other regional languages is only that of an optional subject of study.

In the States in non-Hindi areas as also in the regional-language-medium schools of bilingual states, generally speaking, the regional language is a compulsory subject of study.

## HIGH SCHOOL STAGE

### The medium of instruction

In the States in Hindi areas, generally speaking, Hindi is the medium of instruction. English medium is permitted only as a special case. In the bilingual State of Madhya Pradesh, Hindi forms an optional medium of instruction, while in Punjab, PEPSU, Bombay and Saurashtra Hindi, along with English, features as an optional medium.

In the non-Hindi speaking areas, generally speaking, the respective regional languages are the media but English also is there as an optional medium.

In the Anglo-Indian Schools English is the medium of instruction all over the country.

### As a subject of study—Hindi

Hindi is a compulsory subject of study in all the Hindi States as also in Bombay, Hyderabad and Andaman and Nicobar. In Mysore and in the Vishva-Bharati University at Shantiniketan it is taught as a non-public examination compulsory subject of study.

In Orissa it is taught up to class IX only as a compulsory subject of study.

In the States of Madhya Pradesh, Assam and Travancore-Cochin Hindi is a compulsory subject of study with option for the respective regional languages.

In Madras State, Hindi is a 'third language' with option for learning an additional craft or occupying oneself in any other approved activity. Besides, it is a non-examination subject.

### English

English is a compulsory subject of study except in U. P., Bihar and Saurashtra where it is only an optional subject of study.

### Regional languages

In the States in Hindi-speaking areas as well as Hindi-medium institutions of bilingual States the regional languages form an optional subject of study.

Elsewhere the respective regional languages generally form compulsory subjects of study except in the Southern States of Andhra and Madras where they have been made compulsory with option for a number of other languages as also a few non-language subjects. In Madhya Pradesh, Assam and Travancore-Cochin, however, the regional language is compulsory with an option only with Hindi.

## INTERMEDIATE STAGE

### Medium of Instruction

In the States in Hindi-speaking areas Hindi is the medium of instruction. English also, generally speaking, is there as the optional medium. In the bilingual States of Madhya Pradesh, Punjab and PEPSU both Hindi and the respective regional languages are the media along with English as the optional medium. In the States in non-Hindi-speaking areas, the position of the medium is not uniform. Gujarat, Baroda, S. N. D. T. and Vishva-Bharati Universities allow Hindi as an optional medium. In Karnatak, Poona, Calcutta, Hyderabad, and Jammu and Kashmir Universities, both the regional languages and English feature as alternative media. In the rest of them only English is the medium. In the Anglo-Indian Institutions English is the medium.

### Language teaching subject—Hindi

In the States in Hindi-speaking areas, generally speaking, Hindi forms a compulsory subject of study. In Delhi, Punjab and PEPSU it forms a compulsory subject of study with option for certain other languages.

In the bilingual state of Madhya Pradesh, while the Saugor University has made it a compulsory subject for its Intermediate Commerce and with option for Marathi, Urdu or supplementary English for its Intermediate Arts and Science examinations, the Nagpur University has made its study compulsory with option for Marathi, Urdu, French and German, for the Intermediate Arts Examination, while making it singly compulsory for the Intermediate Science and Commerce Examinations.

In the State of Bombay, the Bombay, Gujarat and Karnatak Universities have made its study compulsory with option for many other modern Indian languages, including the regional languages and English (additional study), for the Intermediate Arts and Science, while they have made it a compulsory subject of study with option for certain other Modern Indian languages for the Intermediate Commerce Examination. In the Baroda University Hindi is a compulsory subject of study while in S. N. D. T. University it is compulsory for those only whose mother-tongue it is. In the Universities of Calcutta, Gauhati and Utkal it is a compulsory subject only for those whose mother-tongue it is.

In Jammu and Kashmir University its study is optional with two of the regional languages, *viz*. Urdu and Punjabi. In all the Southern Universities, including Osmania University, it forms one of the options of a compulsory group of subjects.

Besides, Hindi forms one of the independent optional subjects for the Intermediate examination in Arts in all the Universities in the Hindi-speaking areas except U. P., as also in most of the Universities in the non-Hindi-speaking areas.

### English

Except in Uttar Pradesh, English forms a compulsory subject of study for the Intermediate Examination in all the States and Universities. In the Universities of Uttar Pradesh, it forms an optional subject of study.

### Regional languages

In the States in Hindi-speaking areas and the Hindi medium institutions of bilingual States, the other regional languages feature only as independent optional subjects of study for the Intermediate Examination in Arts. In the Universities of Delhi and the Punjab, the regional languages feature as compulsory subjects of study with option for Hindi and various other languages.

In the University of Nagpur, Marathi features as a compulsory subject of study with option for Hindi, Urdu, French and German for the Intermediate Arts Examination, with Hindi, Urdu or Supplementary English being optional for composition for the Intermediate Commerce and Inter. Science Examinations. In Saugor, Marathi similarly features with option for Hindi, Urdu or supplementary English for composition for Intermediate Arts as well as Science Examinations. In Bombay, Gujarat and Karnatak Universities the respective regional languages form compulsory subjects of study with option for Hindi or certain other modern Indian languages as also English (additional study) fo the Intermediate Examination in Arts and Science, with option for composition in a modern Indian language for the Intermediate Examination in Commerce.

In S. N. D. T. University it is optional with the mother-tongue only.

In Osmania the study of regional language is optional with Hindi or a classical language. In Utkal and Jammu and Kashmir Universities its study is optional with another regional language or Hindi.

In the rest of the Universities, the regional languages feature as compulsory subjects of study with option for several others.

## BACHELOR OF ARTS

### The Medium of Instruction

In all the Universities in the Hindi-speaking areas except Aligarh, Saugor and Delhi, Hindi is an optional medium with English.

In Patna Bengali and Urdu also are allowed as optional media along with Hindi and English.

In the Universities of Nagpur, S. N. D. T. University of Bombay and Osmania, it is an optional medium with English and the regional languages.

In Vishva-Bharati and Calcutta, the regional language medium s there along with English as the optional medium but in Calcutta it is allowed only for some subjects.

The Gujarat, Poona, and Karnatak Universities have decided to adopt the respective regional language medium soon and have with this end in view started the First Year Classes through that medium.

The rest of the Universities have English only as their medium of instruction.

### Language-teaching as a subject—Hindi

As a compulsory subject of study Hindi is taught only in Agra, Lucknow and Saugor Universities. At Aligarh, though it features as a compulsory subject of study, it is optional with Urdu. So also in Jammu and Kashmir, where its study is optional with Urdu and Punjabi. At Banaras, Bihar, Delhi, Patna, Calcutta, Vishva-Bharati, Utkal and Gauhati Universities, it is a compulsory subject of study with option for several other modern Indian languages.

At Osmania it features as a compulsory subject of study but with option for the regional and classical languages.

At Andhra, Annamalai, Madras, Mysore, Travancore and Shri Venkateswara Universities it is prescribed as an optional 'second language' subject.

Hindi is also an independent optional subject of study in all the Universities except in Baroda, Gujarat, Gauhati, Annamalai, Travancore and Shri Venkateswara Universities.

### English

English is everywhere a compulsory subject of study and also an independent optional subject of study in almost all the Indian Universities.

### Regional languages

At Aligarh, Banaras, Bihar, Patna, Delhi, Calcutta, Vishva-Bharati, Utkal, Gauhati and Osmania Universities regional languages, with option for Hindi or other modern Indian languages, feature as compulsory subjects of study.

At Andhra, Annamalai, Madras, Mysore, Travancore and Shri Venkateswara, the regional languages are prescribed as the compulsory 'second language' subjects with option for Hindi.

In the rest of them they are not taught as compulsory subjects of study.

As independent optional subjects, they are taught in most of the Universities.

## BACHELOR OF SCIENCE AND COMMERCE

### Medium of instruction

For Bachelor of Science and Commerce degrees English is broadly speaking the medium except in Banaras, Bihar, Lucknow, Patna, Saugor and Nagpur Universities, where it is optional with Hindi, and in Osmania, where it is optional with Hindustani to a limited extent. At Allahabad option for Hindi has been given for B.Sc. only and at Rajputana for B.Com. only.

### Language-teaching as a subject—Hindi

Hindi does not appear as a subject of B.Sc. anywhere in the Universities except in Saugor, and here it is a compulsory subject of study.

At Aligarh it is optional with Urdu, and at Osmania it is optional with regional and classical languages.

In B.Com. examination, however, Hindi appears as a compulsory subject of study in Agra, Delhi, Saugor and Osmania Universities, while in Madras University it features as a compulsory subject of study with option for several others.

In Bihar University it is optional with Maithili.

It is nowhere an independent optional subject of study for the Bachelor's Degree in Science or Commerce.

### English

English forms a compulsory subject of study for B.Sc. in Aligarh, Delhi, Lucknow, Punjab, Nagpur, Bombay, Jammu and Kashmir, Andhra, Annamalai, Mysore, Osmania, Travancore and Shri Venkateswara Universities.

It does not form an independent optional subject except in Aligarh and Banaras Universities.

For B.Com. it is compulsory everywhere except in a few Universities like Banaras and Shri Venkateswara.

It forms an extra optional subject in Agra and Allahabad Universities and with a number of options in the Punjab University also.

### Regional languages

These do not appear anywhere in the curricula either for B.Com. or B.Sc. examinations, except at Aligarh and Osmania with option for certain other languages for the B.Sc. examination, and similarly in the Bihar and Utkal Universities for the B.Com examination.

## POST-GRADUATE AND OTHERS

### Medium of instruction

In the Post-Graduate and Technical studies in all the Universities, English is the exclusive medium of instruction except for some language-subjects. The only exceptions in this respect are Agra and S. N. D. T. Universities, which have allowed respectively Hindi and the mother-tongue as the optional medium, the former having allowed it for M.A. and M.Com. examinations only and the latter for all its examinations.

### Language-teaching as a subject

Hindi, English and respective regional languages are taught as full subjects for the M.A. Degree in all the Universities except in the following in which Hindi is not so taught :—

Gauhati, Jammu and Kashmir, Annamalai, Travancore and Shri Venkateswara.

In the University of Jammu and Kashmir also the regional language (Kashmiri) is not so taught.

# APPENDIX X

(Reference : Chapter VIII, Paragraph 7)

| INTERNATIONAL FORMS OF INDIAN NUMERALS | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 0 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

SETS OF NUMERALS USED IN THE LANGUAGES MENTIONED IN THE EIGHTH SCHEDULE TO THE CONSTITUTION

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *SANSKRIT* | १ | २ | ३ | ४ | ५ | ६ | ७ | ८ | ९ | ० |
| *MARATHI* | १ | २ | ३ | ४ | ५ | ६ | ७ | ८ | ९ | ० |
| *HINDI* (AS ACCEPTED AT LUCKNOW CONFERENCE) | १ | २ | ३ | ४ | ५ | ६ | ७ | ८ | ९ | ० |
| *GUJARATI* | ૧ | ૨ | ૩ | ૪ | ૫ | ૬ | ૭ | ૮ | ૯ | ૦ |
| *PUNJABI* | ੧ | ੨ | ੩ | ੪ | ੫ | ੬ | ੭ | ੮ | ੯ | ੦ |
| *KASHMIRI* (WHEN WRITTEN IN THE SHARADA SCRIPT) | 𑇑 | 𑇒 | 𑇓 | 𑇔 | 𑇕 | 𑇖 | 𑇗 | 𑇘 | 𑇙 | 𑇐 |
| *BENGALI* | ১ | ২ | ৩ | ৪ | ৫ | ৬ | ৭ | ৮ | ৯ | ০ |
| *ASSAMESE* | ১ | ২ | ৩ | ৪ | ৫ | ৬ | ৭ | ৮ | ৯ | ০ |
| *ORIYA* | ୧ | ୨ | ୩ | ୪ | ୫ | ୬ | ୭ | ୮ | ୯ | ୦ |
| *KANNADA* | ೧ | ೨ | ೩ | ೪ | ೫ | ೬ | ೭ | ೮ | ೯ | ೦ |
| *TELUGU* | ౧ | ౨ | ౩ | ౪ | ౫ | ౬ | ౭ | ౮ | ౯ | ౦ |
| *TAMIL* | ௧ | ௨ | ௩ | ௪ | ௫ | ௬ | ௭ | ௮ | ௯ | ௰ |
| *MALAYALAM* | ൧ | ൨ | ൩ | ൪ | ൫ | ൬ | ൭ | ൮ | ൯ | ൦ |
| *URDU* | ۱ | ۲ | ۳ | ۴ | ۵ | ۶ | ۷ | ۸ | ۹ | ۰ |

## APPENDIX XI

(REFERENCE : *Chapter XII, Paragraph* 10.)

# A NOTE ON QUOTA SYSTEMS

## in the All-India Public Services ; an analysis of their implications.

1. A possible quota system in the all-India services, recruitment to which is normally by a single all-India competitive examination is presented below :

The total number of vacancies to be filled in a particular year should be allotted *pro rata* to candidates offering different languages as their media in proportion to the recorded population according to the last census of each such linguistic group. Only the regional languages mentioned in the VIII Schedule and the populations returned as having these Languages as their mother-tongues would be considered in this connection.

An open general list will be prepared arranging all candidates according to the total number of marks secured by them disregarding that the marks have been assessed on the basis of papers answered in different linguistic media. If 50 vacancies are to be filled in a particular year, it will be laid down that in no case a candidate ranking in the open general list lower than the hundredth rank will be selected even if he is within the linguistic quota of his language group. Any vacancies so remaining will be filled by drawing from the general open list regardless of linguistic quota. Any vacancies of a particular language group not filled in a particular year as a result of this provision will be carried over to the next year and a corresponding addition allowed to the language group in default in the previous year.

(*N. B.*—This last provision is a further device which may be adopted in this or some other form).

These linguistic quotas will apply to the *recruitment* of candidates but it does not necessarily follow that candidates will be allotted to those States in the language group of which they sat for the examination.

The *allotment* of candidates is a different process altogether from that of *recruitment*. It would be quite practicable not only to achieve the ratio $\frac{1}{3}$ or $\frac{1}{2}$ the number of new all-India Service personnel allotted to States being from other linguistic groups (which has been recommended as a desideratum) but even to achieve an arrangement whereby such personnel can be cent per cent from other language groups : *e.g.* only non-Marathi candidates are posted to Maharashtra, non-Telugu candidates to Andhra and so on.

It may be noted that the allotment of vacancies to linguistic groups is proposed above in proportion to population and not according to the actual needs in a particular year in the different State cadres. This however would not present any difficulty in practice and the position will even out over years.

It may further be noted that the allotment of vacancies is by languages offered for the examination as the medium and *not* by domicile in the linguistic State or any other such restrictive criterion. It would therefore be open to a non-Telugu to offer Telugu as the medium for the examination (if he knows it well enough) and to compete for a vacancy in that group. To consider the more likely cases, it would be open to a non-Hindi candidate to offer Hindi as the language for examination and compete for the proportionately larger number of seats that would be available for the Hindi language group.* Quite possibly, if Tamilians do specially well in these competitive examinations, since in the proportion of respective populations the Tamil vacancies will probably be one-sixth or so of the Hindi vacancies, Tamil candidates might prefer to answer papers in Hindi, having prepared themselves for doing so.

(*N. B.*—It may be noted that under the educational arrangements contemplated in the Report Hindi as an optional examination medium will be available all over the country.)

The position may be made clear by giving an illustration.



220 M. of H.A.—30

Suppose there are 50 vacancies. Then on the basis of languages the vacancies will be as under in respect of the Tamil, Assamese and Hindi languages.

| | Linguistic population (1951 Census) | Vacancies |
|---|---|---|
| Tamil . . . . . . . | 27 million | 4 |
| Assamese . . . . . . | 5 „ | 1 |
| Hindi . . . . . . . | 170 „ | 25 |
| Marathi . . . . . . . | .. | .. |
| | 345 million | 50 |

At the rate of 1 vacancy for 6·8 millions of the population, the above will be the vacancies allottable with rounding off.

*N. B.*—In the above calculations against "Hindi" the figures given for Hindi, Urdu, Hindustani and Punjabi (although three of these languages are shown separately in the schedule) have been shown as the population of the linguistic group.

Now suppose no Assamese candidate qualifies in the open list, that is to say, there is no Assamese candidate until the rank 100, the vacancy will be carried over to the next year and the following year if the total of vacancies is again 50, Assamese will have two vacancies instead of one to fill. The distribution of vacancies to the rest will then be out of 49 instead of 50.

In place of the Assamese candidate, the highest rejected candidate in the general list will be selected. If Tamil candidates so desire they may offer Hindi as the medium and compete for the 25 seats in this group instead of the 4 in their own language group.

2. Various other schemes have been suggested, some of them by the Members of the Commission themselves, purporting to solve the problem of moderation in respect of answer-books being rendered in the different regional languages by the candidates.

In the main all these schemes hinge upon bifurcating the all-India examination into two sections. One section would be the preliminary tests to be held in different regional languages (whether under the auspices of the State Public Service Commissions or of the U.P.S.C. is a detail). A large number of candidates would be weeded out at these tests and a small number, perhaps twice or thrice the number of vacancies to be filled, would be sent up for a competition at the Centre which would be held in the common linguistic medium of the Hindi language or with the alternative of English.

It is suggested in one variant of this scheme that, after the preliminary selection at the State level, candidates may be given training for a period of a year or so in Hindi in the case of all non-Hindi candidates. The final examination in these schemes is suggested to be a much simpler one with interviews and 'personality' tests having a greater importance. To cope with the problem of the 'rejects' of this final examination (particularly if there is to be an interval of training between the preliminary and the final test) it was suggested in this scheme that they may be absorbed in the provincial services of the States.

In yet another scheme it was suggested that the preliminary competition should be held not State-wise or region-wise but zone-wise, that is to say, combining three or four allied linguistic media together into a zonal examination of candidates coming from all these regions.

While other particulars of these schemes might be variously conceived and while any defects on these accounts could easily be rectified, the crucial thing to consider is whether or not by a system of bifurcation of a single all-India competition into two stages as suggested in these different schemes the problem of moderation is solved.

It is important to remember in this context that the difficulty of moderation is created not so much by the numbers of candidates that have to be handled as by *the number of the different* linguistic media in which answers would be rendered by the candidates, the

limiting factor in this respect being set by the knowledge simultaneously of the subject and of the different linguistic media by the examiners. Numbers of candidates by themselves cannot render moderation impossible ; large numbers would only make moderation more complicated and elaborate. Moderation is in fact being achieved in spite of numbers running into tens of thousands in various University examinations. It is the number of linguistic media in which answers are rendered compared to the knowledge of such linguistic media on the part of examiners which is the crucial point as regards moderation in this context.

By the bifurcation of the examination into two parts this problem is not solved. The preliminary part would weed out candidates with the result that only a few hundred answer-books would have to be handled instead of the figure running into a few thousands as at present. Unless the final test is only something like a 'qualifying test' and not a truly competitive test, the problem of moderation would arise in that test and would be just as intractable in spite of the smaller number of answer-books to be handled. Unless the latter test to be conducted in a common linguistic medium, say Hindi (or with the alternative of English) is only 'a personality test', the linguistic ability of the candidate in that medium would enter into the quality of his answers depending upon the degree to which the examination is intended to approximate to the present stiff test in the written papers of the combined examination. Either the final test is decisive or not : if it is a decisive test, candidates must necessarily render answers in the several linguistic media having learnt their subjects through the media of different languages and at once the same question of "moderation" arises ; if it is only a qualifying test or a test of factors into which linguistic ability does not enter significantly such as 'personality test' (although for *viva voce* linguistic ability would be a factor of considerable importance unless the media for the *viva voce* are the numerous languages of the candidates) then the selection on merit has actually been done in the States or the zones and the system in its essentials boils down to a quota system, whether the quota is fixed by zones or States or by linguistic regions. The candidates have learnt up all their subjects through different regional languages : If they are to be tested in those subjects and their ability therein compared in the case of each with that of all others, there must be a single competition ; and at a single competition where answers are rendered in a number of linguistic media far exceeding the knowledge of different languages that the generality of examiners would have, effective moderation cannot be achieved. Any system under which numbers are reduced by screening at a preliminary test would not still get round this dilemma.

# APPENDIX XII

STATEMENT SHOWING ID OF 'LITERACY IN ENGLISH' IN THE VARIOUS STATES OF THE INDIAN UNION ON THE BASIS OF 1951 CENSUS FIGURES.

(*Vide Chapter IV, Paragraphs* 4 *and* 18)

| States | Population | Literates | Literates in English (S.L.C. or equivalent) | Percentage of column 4 to column 3 | Percentage of column 4 to column 2 | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| All India . . . . | *35,66,91,760 | 5,92,29,862 | * 37,96,408 | 6·41 | 1·06 | *Excluding Chandernagore and Sikkim. |
| 1. Andhra . . . . | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | |
| 2. Assam . . . . | 90,43,707 | 16,33,753 | 73,496 | 4·49 | 0·81 | |
| 3. Bihar . . . . | 4,02,25,947 | 49,21,634 | 2,63,625 | 5·35 | 0·65 | |
| 4. Bombay . . . . | 3,59,56,150 | 88,29,528 | 4,58,307 | 5·19 | 1·27 | |
| 5. Madhya Pradesh . . | 2,12,47,533 | 28,59,187 | 1,41,185 | 4·93 | 0·66 | |
| 6. Madras . . . . | 5,70,16,002 | 1,09,96,348 | 5,69,851 | 5·19 | 0·10 | |
| 7. Orissa . . . . | 1,46,45,946 | 23,13,431 | 63,178 | 2·73 | 0·43 | |
| 8. Punjab . . . . | 1,26,41,205 | 20,38,699 | 3,24,855 | 15·93 | 2·56 | |
| 9. Uttar Pradesh . . . | 6,32,15,742 | 68,25,072 | 5,18,326 | 7·59 | 0·82 | |
| 10. West Bengal . . . | 2,48,10,308 | 60,87,797 | 5,97,424 | 9·81 | 2·41 | |
| 11. Hyderabad. . . . | 1,86,55,108 | 17,08,308 | 99,033 | 5·79 | 0·53 | |
| 12. Jammu and Kashmir . . | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | |

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 13. Madhya Bharat . . . | 79,54,154 | 8,60,402 | 45,197 | 5·25 | 0·56 | |
| 14. Mysore . . . . | 90,74,972 | 18,67,492 | 1,31,319 | 7·03 | 1·44 | |
| 15. Pepsu . . . . | 34,93,685 | 4,18,797 | 38,022 | 9·07 | 1·08 | |
| 16. Rajasthan . . . . | 1,52,90,797 | 12,85,693 | 68,311 | 5·31 | 0·44 | |
| 17. Saurashtra . . . | 41,37,359 | 7,64,107 | 29,072 | 3·80 | 0·70 | |
| 18. Travancore-Cochin . . | 92,80,425 | 43,07,360 | 1,62,170 | 3·76 | 1·75 | |
| 19. Ajmer . . . . | 6,93,372 | 1,39,210 | 18,260 | 13·11 | 2·63 | |
| 20. Bhopal . . . . | 8,36,474 | 68,335 | 3,611 | 5·28 | 0·43 | |
| 21. Coorg . . . . | 2,29,405 | 62,430 | 2,857 | 4·57 | 1·24 | |
| 22. Delhi . . . . | 17,44,072 | 6,69,075 | 1,62,678 | 24·30 | 9·32 | |
| 23. Himachal Pradesh . . | 11,09,466 | 85,509 | 6,776 | 7·92 | 0·61 | |
| 24. Kutch . . . . | 5,67,606 | 96,816 | 1,570 | 1·62 | 0·27 | |
| 25. Manipur . . . . | 5,77,635 | 65,895 | 1,638 | 2·49 | 0·28 | |
| 26. Tripura . . . . | 6,39,029 | 99,197 | 5,559 | 5·60 | 0·86 | |
| 27. Vindhya Pradesh . . | 35,74,690 | 2,17,809 | 9,628 | 4·42 | 0·27 | |
| 28. Andaman and Nicobar Islands . . . . | 30,971 | 7,980 | 460 | 5·76 | 1·48 | |
| South India *i.e.* Madras, Mysore, Travancore-Co- n and Coorg . . | 7,56,00,804 | 1,72,33,630 | 8,76,095 | 5·08 | 1·15 | |

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Madras (after separation of Andhra) . . . | 3,57,34,849 | 178,00,030 | 4,00,175 | 5·13 | 1·12 | |
| Andhra . . . . | 2,05,07,801 | 31,07,958 | 1,65,256 | 5·32 | 0·81 | |
| Mysore (including talukas of Bellary) . . . | 198,48,684 | 19,55,852 | 1,35,739 | 6·94 | 1·38 | |

## APPENDIX XIII

## SPECIFIC PROVISIONS IN THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA RELATING TO LANGUAGE

### PART III

### CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL RIGHTS

29. *Protection of interests of minorities.*—(1) Any section of the citizens residing in the territory of India or any part thereof having a distinct language, script or culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same.

(2) No citizen shall be denied admission into any educational institution maintained by the State or receiving aid out of State funds on grounds only of religion, race, caste, language or any of them.

30. *Right of minorities to establish and administer educational institutions.*—(1) All minorities, whether based on religion or language, shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice.

(2) The State shall not, in granting aid to educational institutions, discriminate against any educational institution on the ground that it is under the management of a minority, whether based on religion or language.

### PART V

### CHAPTER II.—ARTICLE 120

120. *Language to be used in Parliament.*—(1) Notwithstanding anything in Part XVII but subject to the provisions of article 348, business in Parliament shall be transacted in Hindi or in English :

Provided that the Chairman of the Council of States or Speaker of the House of the People, or person acting as such, as the case may be, may permit any member who cannot adequately express himself in Hindi or in English to address the House in his mother-tongue.

(2) Unless Parliament by law otherwise provides, this article shall, after the expiration of a period of fifteen years from the commencement of this Constitution, have effect as if the words " or in English " were omitted therefrom.

### PART VI

### CHAPTER III.—ARTICLE 210

210. *Language to be used in the Legislature.*—(1) Notwithstanding anything in Part XVII, but subject to the provisions of article 348, business in the Legislature of a State shall be transacted in the official language or languages of the State or in Hindi or in English :

Provided that the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly or Chairman of the Legislative Council, or person acting as such, as the case may be, may permit any member who cannot adequately express himself in any of the languages aforesaid to address the House in his mother-tongue.

(2) Unless the Legislature of the State by law otherwise provides, this article shall, after the expiration of a period of fifteen years from the commencement of this Constitution, have effect as if the words " or in English " were omitted therefrom.

# PART XVII

## OFFICIAL LANGUAGE

ARTICLES 343 TO 351.

### CHAPTER I.—*Language of the Union*

343. *Official Language of the Union.*—(1) The official language of the Union shall be Hindi in Devanagari script.

The form of numerals to be used for the official purposes of the Union shall be the nternational form of Indian numerals.

(2) Notwithstanding anything in clause (1), for a period of fifteen years from the commencement of this Constitution, the English language shall continue to be used for all the official purposes of the Union for which it was being used immediately before such commencement :

Provided that the President may, during the said period, by order authorise the use of the Hindi language in addition to the English language and of the Devanagari form of numerals in addition to the international form of Indian numerals for any of the official purposes of the Union.

(3) Notwithstanding anything in this article, Parliament may by law provide for the use, after the said period of fifteen years, of—

(*a*) the English language, or
(*b*) the Devanagari form of numerals,

for such purposes as may be specified in the law.

344. *Commission and Committee of Parliament on official language.*—(1) The President shall, at the expiration of five years from the commencement of this Constitution and thereafter at the expiration of ten years from such commencement, by order constitute a Commission which shall consist of a Chairman and such other members representing the different languages specified in the Eighth Schedule as the President may appoint, and the order shall define the procedure to be followed by the Commission.

(2) It shall be the duty of the Commission to make recommendations to the President as to—

(*a*) the progressive use of the Hindi language for the official purposes of the Union ;

(*b*) restrictions on the use of the English language for all or any of the official purposes of the Union ;

(*c*) the language to be used for all or any of the purposes mentioned in article 348 ;

(*d*) the form of numerals to be used for any one or more specified purposes of the Union ;

(*e*) any other matter referred to the Commission by the President as regards the official language of the Union and the language for communication between the Union and a State or between one State and another and their use.

(3) In making their recommendations under clause (2), the Commission shall have due regard to the industrial, cultural and scientific advancement of India, and the just claims and the interests of persons belonging to the non-Hindi speaking areas in regard to the public services.

(4) There shall be constituted a Committee consisting of thirty members, of whom twenty shall be members of the House of the People and ten shall be members of the Council of States to be elected respectively by the members of the House of the People and the members of the Council of States in accordance with the system of proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote.

(5) It shall be the duty of the Committee to examine the recommendations of the Commission constituted under clause (1) and to report to the President their opinion thereon.

(6) Notwithstanding anything in article 343, the President may, after consideration of the report referred to in clause (5), issue directions in accordance with the whole or any part of that report.

CHAPTER II.—*Regional Languages*

345. *Official language or languages of a State.*—Subject to the provisions of articles 346 and 347, the Legislature of a State may by law adopt any one or more of the languages in use in the State or Hindi as the language or languages to be used for all or any of the official purposes of that State :

Provided that, until the Legislature of the State otherwise provides by law, the English language shall continue to be used for those official purposes within the State for which it was being used immediately before the commencement of this Constitution.

346. *Official language for communication between one State and another or between a State and the Union.*—The language for the time being authorised for use in the Union for official purposes shall be the official language for communication between one State and another State and between a State and the Union :

Provided that if two or more States agree that the Hindi language should be the official language for communication between such States, that language may be used for such communication.

347. *Special provision relating to language spoken by a section of the population of a State.*—On a demand being made in that behalf, the President may, if he is satisfied that a substantial proportion of the population of a State desire the use of any language spoken by them to be recognised by that State, direct that such language shall also be officially recognised throughout that State or any part thereof for such purpose as he may specify.

CHAPTER III.—*Language of the Supreme Court, High Courts, etc.*

348. *Language to be used in the Supreme Court and in the High Courts and for Acts, Bills, etc.*—(1) Notwithstanding anything in the foregoing provisions of this Part, until Parliament by law otherwise provides—

(*a*) all proceedings in the Supreme Court and in every High Court,

(*b*) the authoritative texts—

(*i*) of all Bills to be introduced or amendments thereto to be moved in either House of Parliament or in the House or either House of the Legislature of a State,

(*ii*) of all Acts passed by Parliament or the Legislature of a State and of all Ordinances promulgated by the President or the Governor or Rajpramukh of a State, and

(*iii*) of all orders, rules, regulations and bye-laws issued under this Constitution or under any law made by Parliament or the Legislature of a State,

shall be in the English language.

(2) Notwithstanding anything in sub-clause (*a*) of clause (1), the Governor or Rajpramukh of a State may, with the previous consent of the President, authorise the use of the Hindi language, or any other language used for any official purposes of the State, in proceedings in the High Court having its principal seat in that State :

Provided that nothing in this clause shall apply to any judgment, decree or order passed or made by such High Court.

(3) Notwithstanding anything in sub-clause (*b*) of clause (I), where the Legislature of a State has prescribed any language other than the English language for use in Bills introduced in, or Acts passed by, the Legislature of the State or in Ordinances promulgated by the Governor or Rajpramukh of the State or in any order, rule, regulation or bye-law referred to in paragraph (*iii*) of that sub-clause, a translation of the same in the English language published under the authority of the Governor or Rajpramukh of the State in the Official Gazette of that State shall be deemed to be the authoritative text thereof in the English language under this article.

349. *Special procedure for enactment of certain laws relating to language.*—During the period of fifteen years from the commencement of this Constitution, no Bill or amendment making provision for the language to be used for any of the purposes mentioned in clause (1) of article 348 shall be introduced or moved in either House of Parliament without the previous sanction of the President, and the President shall not give his sanction to the introduction of any such Bill or the moving of any such amendment except after he has taken into consideration the recommendations of the Commission constituted under clause (1) of article 344 and the report of the Committee constituted under clause (4) of that article.

## CHAPTER IV—*Special Directives*

350. *Language to be used in representations for redress of grievances.*—Every person shall be entitled to submit a representation for the redress of any grievance to any officer or authority of the Union or a State in any of the languages used in the Union or in the State, as the case may be.

351. *Directive for development of the Hindi Language.*—It shall be the duty of the Union to promote the spread of the Hindi language, to develop it so that it may serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India and to secure its enrichment by assimilating without interfering with its genius, the forms, style and expressions used in Hindustani and in the other languages of India specified in the Eighth Schedule, and by drawing, wherever necessary or desirable, for its vocabulary primarily on Sanskrit and secondarily on other languages.

---

# EIGHTH SCHEDULE

[ARTICLES 344 (1) AND 351]

*Languages*

1. Assamese.
2. Bengali.
3. Gujarati.
4. Hindi.
5. Kannada.
6. Kashmiri.
7. Malayalam.
8. Marathi.
9. Oriya.
10. Punjabi.
11. Sanskrit.
12. Tamil.
13. Telugu.
14. Urdu.

# APPENDIX XIV

(Reference: chapter XIII, Paragraph 8)

*Scripts used in writing the languages mentioned in Eighth Schedule to the Constitution of India.*

| | |
|---|---|
| SANSKRIT | अ आ इ ई उ ऊ ऋ ॠ ऌ ॡ ए ऐ ओ औ अं अः क ख ग घ ङ च छ ज झ ञ ट ठ ड ढ ण त थ द ध न प फ ब भ म य र ल व श ष स ह ळ क्ष ज्ञ |
| MARATHI | अ आ इ ई उ ऊ ऋ ॠ ऌ ॡ ए ऐ ओ औ अं अः क ख ग घ ङ च छ ज झ ञ ट ठ ड ढ ण त थ द ध न प फ ब भ म य र ल व श ष स ह ळ क्ष ज्ञ |
| HINDI (AS ACCEPTED AT THE LUCKNOW CONFERENCE) | अ आ इ ई उ ऊ ऋ ॠ ऌ ए ऐ ओ औ अं अः क ख ग घ ङ च छ ज झ ञ ट ठ ड ढ ण त थ द ध न प फ ब भ म य र ल व श ष स ह ळ क्ष ज्ञ |
| GUJARATI | અ આ ઇ ઈ ઉ ઊ ઋ ૠ ઌ ૡ એ ઐ ઓ ઔ અં અઃ ક ખ ગ ઘ ઙ ચ છ જ ઝ ઞ ટ ઠ ડ ઢ ણ ત થ દ ધ ન પ ફ બ ભ મ ય ર લ વ શ ષ સ હ ળ ક્ષ જ્ઞ |
| PUNJABI | ਅ ਆ ਇ ਈ ਉ ਊ ਏ ਐ ਓ ਔ ਅਂ ਅਃ ਕ ਖ ਗ ਘ ਙ ਚ ਛ ਜ ਝ ਞ ਟ ਠ ਡ ਢ ਣ ਤ ਥ ਦ ਧ ਨ ਪ ਫ ਬ ਭ ਮ ਯ ਰ ਲ ਵ ਸ਼ ਸ ਹ |
| KASHMIRI | [illegible] |
| BENGALI | অ আ ই ঈ উ ঊ ঋ ৠ ঌ ৡ এ ঐ ও ঔ অং অঃ ক খ গ ঘ ঙ চ ছ জ ঝ ঞ ট ঠ ড ঢ ণ ত থ দ ধ ন প ফ ব ভ ম য র ল ব শ ষ স হ ক্ষ |
| ASSAMESE | অ আ ই ঈ উ ঊ ঋ ৠ ঌ ৡ এ ঐ ও ঔ অং অঃ ক খ গ ঘ ঙ চ ছ জ ঝ ঞ ট ঠ ড ঢ ণ ত থ দ ধ ন প ফ ব ভ ম য ৰ ল ৱ শ ষ স হ ক্ষ |
| ORIYA | ଅ ଆ ଇ ଈ ଉ ଊ ଋ ୠ ଌ ୡ ଏ ଐ ଓ ଔ ଅଂ ଅଃ କ ଖ ଗ ଘ ଙ ଚ ଛ ଜ ଝ ଞ ଟ ଠ ଡ ଢ ଣ ତ ଥ ଦ ଧ ନ ପ ଫ ବ ଭ ମ ଯ ର ଲ ବ ଶ ଷ ସ ହ କ୍ଷ |
| KANNADA | ಅ ಆ ಇ ಈ ಉ ಊ ಋ ೠ ಎ ಏ ಐ ಒ ಓ ಔ ಅಂ ಅಃ ಕ ಖ ಗ ಘ ಙ ಚ ಛ ಜ ಝ ಞ ಟ ಠ ಡ ಢ ಣ ತ ಥ ದ ಧ ನ ಪ ಫ ಬ ಭ ಮ ಯ ರ ಲ ವ ಶ ಷ ಸ ಹ ಳ ಕ್ಷ ಜ್ಞ |
| TELUGU | అ ఆ ఇ ఈ ఉ ఊ ఋ ౠ ఌ ౡ ఎ ఏ ఐ ఒ ఓ ఔ అం అః క ఖ గ ఘ ఙ చ ఛ జ ఝ ఞ ట ఠ డ ఢ ణ త థ ద ధ న ప ఫ బ భ మ య ర ల వ శ ష స హ ళ క్ష ఱ |
| TAMIL | அ ஆ இ ஈ உ ஊ எ ஏ ஐ ஒ ஓ ஔ ஃ க ங ச ஜ ஞ ட ண த ந ப ம ய ர ல வ ஷ ஸ ஹ ள க்ஷ ழ ற ன |
| MALAYALAM | അ ആ ഇ ഈ ഉ ഊ ഋ ൠ എ ഏ ഐ ഒ ഓ ഔ അം അഃ ക ഖ ഗ ഘ ങ ച ഛ ജ ഝ ഞ ട ഠ ഡ ഢ ണ ത ഥ ദ ധ ന പ ഫ ബ ഭ മ യ ര ല വ ശ ഷ സ ഹ ള ക്ഷ ഴ റ |
| URDU | ا ب پ ت ٹ ث ج چ ح خ د ڈ ذ ر ڑ ز ژ س ش ص ض ط ظ ع غ ف ق ک گ ل م ن و ہ ھ ء ی ے |

230 H.A.—31

## APPENDIX XV

(REFERENCE : *Concluding portion of paragraph 5 of Chapter XII*)

STATEMENTS SHOWING ROUGHLY THE VOLUME OF EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN DIFFERENT CLASSES OF POSTS UNDER THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ANNUALLY.

The two statements below give *inter alia* figures of the vacancies filled during, and those outstanding at the end of, each of the years 1954 and 1955, in different classes of posts under the Central Government. These figures give a rough idea of the volume of employment opportunities available annually under the Central Government.

While furnishing this data, the Director-General, Resettlement and Employment, New Delhi, has observed as follows:—

> "...........Central Government employment is fairly evenly spread over the country as a whole and......only a percentage of it is in Delhi itself. From a recent survey, the number of Central Government employees in Delhi State is about 90,000 (out of a total of 7,34,000) plus about 11,000 in the Northern Railway who are located in Delhi. The balance of the employees........ are located and, generally, recruited elsewhere except in the case of those who are recruited through the Public Service Commissions or public examinations on an all-India basis."

## STATEMENT I

STATEMENT SHOWING (*i*) VACANCIES FILLED (THROUGH THE EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGES AND OTHERWISE) IN CENTRAL GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHMENTS DURING 1954, (*ii*) VACANCIES OUTSTANDING AT THE END OF 1954, AND (*iii*) STAFF STRENGTH OF CENTRAL GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHMENTS/OFFICES ON 31-12-1954.

| Nature of posts | Number of vacancies filled during 1954* | Number of vacancies outstanding at the end of 1954* | Total staff in post (Civilians only) at the end of 1954† |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 1. *Gazetted Officers*— | | | |
| (*a*) Administrative . . . . . | 792 | 545 | 6,145 |
| (*b*) Executive . . . . . . | 1,266 | 543 | 7,042 |
| 2. *Non-Gazetted Officers*— | | | |
| (*a*) Administrative . . . . . . | 633 | 94 | 9,677 |
| (*b*) Executive . . . . . . | 3,028 | 1,712 | 33,816 |
| 3. *Ministerial*— | | | |
| (*a*) Assistants and Senior clerks . | 3,838 | 740 | 85,999 |
| (*b*) Junior clerks and Typists . . . | 6,451 | 3,086 | 73,390 |
| (*c*) Stenographers and Stenotypists . | 645 | 101 | 4,678 |
| 4. *Unskilled Labour* . . . . . . | 11,788 | 7,300 | 2,52,707 |
| 5. *Technical staff* . . . . . . | 8,438 | 7,810 | 1,59,282 |
| TOTAL . | 36,879 | 21,931 | 6,32,736 |

*Excluding Indian Audit and Accounts Department, Railways and non-regular establishments.

†Including Indian Audit and Accounts Department, but excluding Railways and non-regular establishments.

NOTES :— (1) Information contained in this statement is based on 1,775 returns (on an average per month) received from Civil and Defence establishments. Roughly 25 to 30 per cent. establishments do not submit returns regularly and therefore, the information about vacancies filled and outstanding is not complete.

(2) The number of vacancies filled in the Railways through Employment Exchanges during 1954 is 17,506. This information is based on Employment Exchange returns.

(3) The staff strength estimate given in column 4 is for all Central Government establishments (other than non-regular establishments) but excluding Railways and Indian Missions abroad. It includes Civilian staff in Defence establishments.

STATEMENT II

STATEMENT SHOWING (*i*) VACANCIES FILLED (THROUGH THE EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGES AND OTHERWISE) IN CENTRAL GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHMENTS DURING 1955, (*ii*) VACANCIES OUTSTANDING AT THE END OF 1955, AND (*iii*) STAFF STRENGTH OF CENTRAL GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHMENTS/OFFICES ON 31ST DECEMBER, 1955.

| Nature of posts | Number of vacancies filled during 1955* | Number of vacancies outstanding at the end of 1955* | Total staff in post (civilians only) at the end of 1955 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Excluding Civilians in Army and Air Force establishments† | Civilians in Army and Air Force establishments | Total Cols. 4 and 5 |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| *A. Regular Establishments.* | | | | *A. Regular Establishments.* | |
| 1. *Gazetted Officers*— | | | | | |
| (*a*) Class I | 1,129 | 775 | 5,444 | 1. Administrative and Executive 12,768 | |
| (*b*) Class II | 1,367 | 819 | 8,252 | | |
| 2. *Non-Gazetted Officers Class II*— | | | | | |
| (*a*) Ministerial | 979 | 424 | 15,199 | 2. Ministerial 20,238 | |
| (*b*) Executive | 230 | 201 | 1,686 | | |
| (*c*) Technical | 332 | 343 | 1,152 | | |
| 3. *Non-Gazetted Officers Class III*— | | | | | |
| (*a*) Ministerial | 14,325 | 6,140 | 1,63,116 | 3. Skilled and semi-skilled 42,778 | |
| (*b*) Executive | 3,718 | 2,379 | 24,785 | | |
| (*c*) Technical | 6,973 | 7,133 | 72,613 | | |
| 4. *Class IV*— | | | | | |
| (*a*) Office workers | 7,643 | 5,155 | 91,178 | 4. Un-skilled 1,00,012 | |
| (*b*) Semi-skilled workers | 2,859 | 3,292 | 33,884 | | |
| (*c*) Others | 5,033 | 5,405 | 54,736 | | |
| TOTAL | 44,588 | 32,066 | 4,72,045 | 1,75,796 | 6,47,841 |

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *B. Non-Regular Establishments.* | | | | *B. Non-Regular Establishments* 8,700 | |
| (*a*) Persons paid from contingencies . . . . . | 3,795 | 111 | 10,088 | | |
| (*b*) Work-charged staff . . | 1,894 | 1,508 | 16,349 | | |
| (*c*) Daily paid . . . . | 3,001 | 1,974 | 29,028 | | |
| (*d*) Others . . . . | 651 | 334 | 11,538 | | |
| TOTAL . . | 9,341 | 3,927 | 67,003 | 8,700 | 75,703 |
| GRAND TOTAL (A AND B ABOVE) . | 53,929 | 35,993 | 5,39,048 | 1,84,496 | 7,23,544 |

*Excluding Indian Audit and Accounts Department and Railways.

†Including Indian Audit and Accounts Department but excluding Railways.

NOTES :—(1) Information contained in this statement is based on 1,896 returns (on an average per month) received from Civil and Defence establishments. Roughly 25 to 30 per cent. establishments do not submit returns regularly and therefore, the information about vacancies filled and outstanding is not complete.

(2) The number of vacancies filled in the Railways through Employment Exchanges during 1955 is 14,261. This information is based on Employment Exchange returns.

(3) The staff strength estimates given in columns 4 and 5 are for all Central Government establishments excluding Railways and Indian Missions abroad.

# A NOTE BY THE SECRETARY, OFFICIAL LANGUAGE COMMISSION, OF HIS OBSERVATIONS DURING HIS SHORT VISIT OF DEPUTATION TO THE U. S. S. R. FOR A STUDY OF THE LANGUAGE PROBLEM.

**Prefatory**

1. The Official Language Commission decided, with the concurrence of the Government of India, that the Secretary of the Commission should visit the U.S.S.R. for a short period to observe how issues similar to those that had arisen for consideration in India had been tackled in that country. The U.S.S.R., in which numerous languages are current as in India, furnishes the most important instance of what is reputed to be a successful tackling of the problems of multilingualism : and it was thought that a study of the methods adopted therein might be of help in the consideration of the problems that arise in this connection in our country. It was decided, having regard to the convenience of the Commission, that I should go on this deputation for a period of two to three weeks in the intervening period available between the penultimate meeting of the Commission at Srinagar and the last meeting of the Commission to be held on the 25th July. I left Bombay on the 3rd July and reached Moscow on the 5th evening. I left Moscow on the 20th morning and arrived back in Bombay on the 21st afternoon in time for the last meeting of the Commission held on the 25th July. I went as the guest of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. and all arrangements for my travel to the places I visited in the U.S.S.R. and for meetings and discussions with various persons and authorities were made by the Academy.

2. I spent altogether about a week in Moscow itself ; I also visited Leningrad, Kiev and Tashkent for a day or two each. Kiev is the capital of the Union Republic Ukraine in which the language is Ukrainian, the most developed language after Russian, and spoken by the most numerous linguistic group after the Russian language. At Leningrad there is a special institute (Faculty of the People of the North) which concerns itself with the development of the numerous backward languages in the northern territories in the U.S.S.R. Tashkent is the capital of Uzbekistan and a general centre of cultural importance amongst the five Asiatic Republics of the Union, *viz.* the Uzbek, Kazakh, Kirghis, Tajik and Turkmen Union Republics. After my preliminary discussions at the Institute of Linguistics, Moscow (an organ of the Academy of Sciences, U.S.S.R., specialising in this and allied subjects), it was considered that, having regard to the nature of the language problem in India and the limited time at my disposal for its study, the period available to me would be best laid out if it included, apart from discussions in Moscow at the concerned specialised institutions, a visit to these places to obtain a view, in the field, of a representative cross-section of the different types of linguistic difficulties. In Moscow, apart from meetings with professors and members of the Institute of Languages, I visited and met in conference the authorities of the Institute of National Schools of the U.S.S.R. and the Institute of Oriental Studies. It was also arranged that I should have a discussion with the representatives of the Sector of Law of the Academy of Sciences in Kiev about the special aspects of the language problem in the fields of legislation and administration of justice. At Leningrad I had discussions at the Faculty of the People of the North with specialists in the different 'backward' languages of the North studied there. At Kiev, apart from discussions at the Sector of Law, I held discussions at the Institute of Linguistics and Literature of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukraine Republic. At Tashkent similarly, I had discussions at the Academy of Sciences, Tashkent. To all these discussions the Soviet authorities had asked their highest available officers and specialists : every information I asked for was very readily given to me. Supplemental to the discussions I held at Moscow at the Institute of Linguistics and the Institute of National Schools, I had drawn up a brief questionnaire and requested for written replies to be given so that there may not be any misunderstanding left with me on important points owing to the process of interpretation through which the discussions had to be conducted. This also they were good enough to comply with.

A brief note of my observations in the U.S.S.R. was circulated to the members of the Commission at the meeting on the 25th July : further to this I also gave an oral account of my observations supplementary to this note at the Commission's meeting on the same day. The present note, which could not be prepared for want of time earlier, is a fuller account of the same.

**General background**

3. As I was informed, in Russia under the Czars, a consistent policy of disregard, discouragement and even suppression of languages other than Russian had been followed. Russian used to be the sole language for purposes of law, administration, and as a medium of instruction for higher education and for the greater part of secondary education as well. There was very little attempt to help develop any of the backward languages in the territories of the Russian Empire. Even in the regions of the present-day Republics of Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Byelo-Russia in the European part of the Russian territories (where the people were quite advanced and the languages well-developed and with strong and old literary traditions), the Russian language used to be imposed upon the people as against the local languages. This was, of course, even more true of the present-day territories of the Asiatic Republics and the other still more backward and undeveloped regions of the country.

4. The general situation about the progress of education in the territories of the U.S.S.R. under the Czars and the present position in those territories appear in sharp contrast on the basis of official statistics. The educational system was apparently not widespread or progressive or very advanced outside of the metropolitan territories of Russia previous to the Revolution of 1917. Reference was made in conversations to a decree said to have been issued in 1887 by the then Minister of Education which banned from secondary schools "the children of coachmen, footmen, cooks, washer-women, and of other lower classes" on the ground that there was "really no need" for such people "to aspire to a secondary and higher education". The overall percentage of literacy, according to the census of 1897 was 24%: the literacy percentages in the Asiatic and other more backward territories were very much lower, being of the order of one or two per cent. As against this, universal literacy is said to have now been attained all over the country, including all such backward regions. At present universal, compulsory and free education obtains up to and including the 7th grade for all people in the U.S.S.R. It has been decided that the limit of free and compulsory education should be extended up to and inclusive of the 10th grade in the course of the current Five-Year Plan ; and already compulsory education up to the 10th grade has been enforced and prevails in the cities and urban areas where a beginning has been made. Against only a few universities in pre-Revolution times serving mainly the great Russian region there are now 33 Universities to serve all parts of the country, many of them situate outside of metropolitan Russia. In 1914 Czarist Russia had 91 institutions of higher learning with an enrolment of 112,000 students ; in 1939 there were 750 such institutions in the U.S.S.R. with a student body of 620,000 : in 1953 more than 900 with an aggregate student body of 1,500,000.

It is stated that a total of 57 million pupils are at present attending different schools and institutes in the U.S.S.R. It is claimed that " the Soviet State has created the conditions that make for the truly mass character of higher education."

There has been brought into existence what is claimed to be a vast network of libraries, clubs, museums, lecture halls, etc. 'so as to bring culture within reach of the masses of all nationalities comprising the U.S.S.R'.

5. This expansion of public education appears fully to comprehend all the territories of the country, including the regions which were formerly very backward. According to statistics there has been a manifold expansion of educational facilities more particularly in the formerly neglected areas with a view to making up their special deficiencies. Thus, for instance, I was told that in Uzbekistan there was no university at all formerly and not even a single secondary school. Muslim ecclesiastical schools conducted by Mullahs (badly, according to my informants) were the principal educational institutions available. Now there are two universities, apart from numerous other institutions for higher education and a widespread network of secondary (as well as of course middle and elementary) schools. I was also told that previous to the Revolution there was not a single Uzbek who was a university graduate. As against this, they said in Tashkent, that they were now self-sufficient in respect of all higher-educated personnel, and there were Uzbek specialists in practically all fields even at the metropolitan university at Moscow and at other institutions at the capital of the U.S.S.R. several Uzbek scholars and specialists now held important positions. There are about a hundred scientific institutes within Uzbekistan now. I was informed that what is true of Uzbekistan was just as true of all the five Asiatic Republics and also typical of the position as it obtained elsewhere in the formerly neglected territories. Thus, for instance, against the numerous universities and institutes now flourishing in them, there was not a single institution of higher learning in pre-Revolution times in the Trans Caucasus or the entire Central Asia in which regions the republics of Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Kazakastan, Uzbekistan, Kirghizia, Tajikistan and Turkmenia are now situated.

Certain figures as a sample of the progress made were quoted to me from an authoritative account of public education in the U.S.S.R.

The census for 1926 showed the following percentages of literacy for some of the backward nationalities of the U.S.S.R. :—

| | |
|---|---|
| Kazakhs . . . . . . | 7·1% |
| Yakuts . . . . . . | 6·3% |
| Kirghiz . . . . . . | 6·4% |
| Uzbeks . . . . . . | 3·8% |
| Tajiks . . . . . . | 2·3% |
| Turkmenians . . . . . | 2·3% |

As against this, now practically universal literacy had been attained, and illiteracy has now been completely eradicated in all the regions of the Soviet Union ; that is to say, the 'Union Republics' as well as 'autonomous Republics', 'regions' and 'national areas,. The following figures regarding "general educational schools" were quoted as another indication of the progress made :

| *Place* | 1914-15 | 1928-29 | 1938-39 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Tajikistan . . . . . . . . | 10 | 382 | 4,628 |
| Uzbekistan . . . . . . . . | 160 | 2,320 | 4,684 |
| Georgia . . . . . . . . . | 1,762 | 2,569 | 4,383 |

There has been a corresponding increase in the number of children in the secondary schools and of persons undergoing higher education in the universities as well as, what are called in Russia, 'higher institutes of learning'.

6. At all levels of the educational system there is no distinction between men and women, and it is maintained by the Soviet authorities that the proportion of women undergoing secondary and higher education in the U.S.S.R. (which approximates to their proportion in the total population) is significantly larger than comparable figures even in the advanced countries of the West or the U.S.A.

7. As against the policies previously followed with reference to the languages and cultures of the nationalities other than the Russian, it would appear that since the Revolution of 1917 very liberal and progressive policies have been followed and a great deal has been done for the development of the backward languages and for the encouragement of literary and other cultural expressions of the different nationalities, besides the me expansion of education in all these territories. The languages of the nationalities have now found their proper place in the systems of local administration, and as a medium of instruction/subject of study, in educational institutions of the respective nationalities, which was in the past totally denied to them. A saying of Lenin that 'we must always talk to the people in their own languages' was frequently quoted to me. Full freedom and autonomy to the various nationalities comprising the U.S.S.R. to develop their own cultures and languages was announced as one of the fundamental principles of Soviet polity soon after the Revolution. Large numbers of universities and diverse institutions of higher learning have been set up in the regions where higher education had not penetrated beforehand. Independent Academies of Sciences have been set up in several Union Republics, and branches of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. have been opened in others. For instance, languages of 23 backward peoples of the North are studied in the institute at Leningrad, and many of these (and other undeveloped languages studied elsewhere) have now been furnished with scripts and they are in use up to appropriate stages of the educational system according to the degree of development and literary effort possible in them. Special steps have been taken for the provision of schooling in these areas, and pedagogical institutions have been established to make special studies of methods of teaching with reference to the communities of the different backward peoples. Special text-books have also been written up specifically for the use of such backward regions both in their own languages and for their instruction in Russian in the Russian language.

8. Certain important factors to note in connection with a common linguistic medium for the whole country, are the following. In the circumstances that obtained in Czarist Russia, owing to the Russian language being practically the exclusive medium for administration, law, higher education, etc., for the entire territories,—whatever other deleterious effects this might have had,—a legacy seems to have been inherited by the Soviet Government of a fairly widespread acquaintance with the Russian language (although the degree of this varied, being more intensive in the older territories and less so in the newer additions to the Czarist Empire) and the habit of using it at all significant levels of society. Secondly, the Russian language, considered overall, is unquestionably the best developed and most advanced of the languages of the U.S.S.R. in respect of scientific and other literature. I was told that in regions, such as for instance, Ukraine, Latvia, Byelo-Russia, a significant amount of original work even in scientific subjects is currently done in the respective languages by indigenous scholars, which is subsequently translated into the Russian language for more general use. By and large, however, it is incontrovertible that over-all the Russian language has been—and of course continues to be—by far the outstanding language medium of the country as compared to all others in respect of the availability of scientific and other literature.

Numerically also the position of the Russian language is very strong. Of a total population of the order of 200 millions about a hundred millions have Russian as their mother-tongue.

The latest available statistics of the larger language groups on the basis of the census of 1939 (with additions for the territorial changes in the Baltic Republics etc.) are as follows :

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Russian | 99 | million. |
| 2. | Ukrainian | 36·5 | ,, |
| 3. | Bielorussian | 8·7 | ,, |
| 4. | Uzbeks | 4·9 | ,, |
| 5. | Tartars | 4·3 | ,, |
| 6. | Kazakhs | 3·1 | ,, |
| 7. | Jews | 3·0 | ,, |
| 8. | Azerbaijanians | 2·3 | ,, |
| 9. | Georgians | 2·2 | ,, |
| 10. | Armenians | 2·2 | ,, |
| 11. | Lithuanians | 2·0 | ,, |
| 12. | Moldavians | 1·8 | ,, |
| 13. | Esthonians | 1·7 | ,, |
| 14. | Latvians | 1·5 | ,, |
| 15. | Mordvinians | 1·5 | ,, |
| 16. | Tchoovasha | 1·4 | ,, |
| 17. | Tajiks | 1·2 | ,, |
| 18. | Kirghizs | 890 | thousand |
| 19. | Dagestanian Peoples | 850 | ,, |
| 20. | Bashkirs | 840 | ,, |
| 21. | Turkmen | 812 | ,, |
| 22. | Poles | 630 | ,, |
| 23. | Udmurtians | 600 | ,, |
| 24. | Marians | 480 | ,, |
| 25. | Komi | 410 | ,, |
| 26. | Ossetinians | 360 | ,, |
| 27. | Greeks | 290 | ,, |
| 28. | Karelians | 250 | ,, |
| 29. | Karakalpakians | 190 | ,, |

Besides, the Ukrainian and the Byelo-Russian languages are close to the Russian, and I was told that the speakers of any of these languages understand the speakers of the other two without much difficulty. This factor further reinforces strongly the numerical preponderance of the Russian and near-Russian language group. The remaining language

of the U.S.S.R. are spoken by relatively small numbers of people as will be seen from the above statement.

Consequently the Russian language occupies a position in the linguistic set-up of the U.S.S.R. much more outstanding than that of Hindi in India.

9. In the educational system there is a strong emphasis on the compulsory teaching of Russian from a very early stage. It is indeed one of the claims of Soviet educationists that as contrasted with the previous regime, the Soviet school gives considerably more hours to the study of the Russian language and literature. In some regions the teaching of the Russian language as a subject of study commences from the second term of the 1st grade (that is to say 7-8 years of age), and in others it commences from the 2nd grade. The teaching of the Russian language/literature continues up to the 10th form, that is to say, the end of the secondary school stage. It is claimed "that by the time they finish elementary school, that is to say the first four classes (7-11 years of age), children of all nationalities in the U.S.S.R. are able to speak, read and write in Russian." At the stage at which boys and girls enter upon university education or education in higher technical schools or professional institutes after their school leaving examination at the end of the secondary course, the pupils of non-Russian nationalities, I was assured, are nearly as well familiar with the Russian language and literature in all respects as Russian pupils themselves. They would, of course, know the languages of their respective nationalities also equally well. This circumstance, *viz.* that the Russian language is invariably available as "a second string to the bow" at all educated levels including higher studies within the educational system, entirely changes the picture of language difficulties in the U.S.S.R. as compared to those in this country. The following answers were rendered to two questions I asked in this respect in writing :

| *Question* | *Answer* |
|---|---|
| Would it be correct to say that by the time a student of another nationality comes to the university he is so familiar with Russian that he can talk/write/comprehend it as well as the Russian student himself? | Absolutely correct. The boys and girls of non-Russian schools master Russian to such a degree that they pass their entrance examinations together with those who completed Russian schools. They have only slight privileges on the programme of Russian literature. |
| Do most persons in all walks of life at the higher levels all know Russian very well? Thus do members of Soviet top administration, doctors, engineers, advocates, journalists, etc., all know Russian as a rule? | Unquestionably. |

*N. B.*—The terms 'Russian schools' and 'non-Russian schools' are used with reference to the language medium of instruction.

With reference to the school leaving examination it is stated as under in an authoritative account :—

"Pupils finishing secondary school sit for their school-leaving certificates. They are examined in the following subjects : Russian language and literature, mathematics, physics, chemistry, and the history of the U.S.S.R. ."

* * * * * *

"For example, at the written Russian language and literature examination the examinee must demonstrate a correct understanding of the theme and an ability to express his thoughts clearly, consecutively, in good literary language. At the oral examination he must show his understanding of the historical development of Russian literature, his knowledge of the leading works of literature, the biographies of the greatest Russian writers, the features of their art, and also his knowledge of the fundamentals of the theory of literature".

No problems therefore relating to difficulty of medium of instruction arise at universities or institutes of higher learning owing to the mother-tongues of professors and students being different. I was quoted numerous personal instances by Russian professors of their visiting mofussil universities and institutions to deliver courses of lectures in the Russian language where the general medium of instruction of the students was their local or regional language.

11. All intercourse between the different Republics and between the Republics and the Union (most of which at all significant levels under Russian conditions is necessarily

"official") is carried on in the Russian language without any difficulty or handicap being felt and all contacts and correspondence between the personnel of Union agencies and the local staffs in the different Republics are conducted in the medium of the Russian language : and since every educated person knows it very well (and under compulsory education it means every adult), no difficulty is experienced. Besides, the U.S.S.R. maintains at the Headquarters a special department for translations.

All local administration is carried on at the Republic level in the language of the Republic and at lower levels in the local language where it is different. Stenographic assistance and typewriters (based on the Russian typewriter generally as the scripts are substantially identical) are available for all their requirements.

The linguistic medium of notices and signboards, forms to be filled etc., are decided according to the pragmatic needs of the situation. In Kiev most public notices were in both Ukrainian and Russian ; on the other hand signboards of shops were in either language or in both sometimes. A general bilingualism apparently makes the issue of the linguistic medium as between the two languages a wholly eclectic issue to be resolved according to objective convenience and not sentiment.

When within a Union Republic there are language groups of other nationalities—for instance, the Karakalpak people of the Karakalpak autonomous republic—the problem is solved by introducing a further dimension of multi-lingualism. In elementary schools of this area the boys are taught Russian as well as Uzbek language (though the latter not compulsorily I was told) in addition to their mother-tongue Karakalpak. Public notices are published according to the language or languages of the region to whom they are addressed. In Uzbekistan for instance, the district authorities would republish the notices and orders from the Union Republic in the local languages, as well as Uzbek as well as Russian. Often the official publications run into four or five different languages.

There are Russian newspapers run in non-Russian Union Republics besides newspapers in the language of the Republic. Sometimes one newspaper may give columns in both linguistic media. There may be newspapers, below the Union Republic level, even in the smaller languages of the autonomous republics and regions.

12. Article 121 of the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the U.S.S.R. announces :

"Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to education".

It is maintained by the Soviet authorities that this right is real in their country (and not illusory as they suggest it is elsewhere) due to a system of extensive State stipends for students of universities and higher educational establishments, above the stage of free and compulsory education.

All schools in the country are opened and maintained by the State. While there are, of course, differences of detail, it appears that the U.S.S.R. has a generally uniform school system for all the Republics of the Union. The study plans and school curricula in the different Union Republics are also basically uniform.

I must say a word about the political organisation of the country so far as it is relevant as a frame-work of reference to the issues with which I was concerned.

The Constitution of the U.S.S.R. states that 'the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics is a federal State formed on the basis of a voluntary union of equal soviet socialist republics............'.

Sixteen republics headed by the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist republic are designated as 'Union republics'.

Within the Union republics there are 'autonomous republics' and 'autonomous regions'. Each Union Republic has its own Constitution in full conformity with the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. but designed to take account of the specific features of the republics.

The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. comprising two Chambers is the highest organ of State power in the U.S.S.R.

The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. elects the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. consisting of a President and sixteen Vice Presidents. The Presidium has power to annul the decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and of the Councils of Ministers of the Union Republics if they do not conform to law.

The Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. is the highest executive and administrative organ of the State power of the U.S.S.R. : it is responsible and accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and in the intervals between sessions of the Supreme Soviet to the Presidium.

The Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. has the right in respect of these branches of administration and economy which come within the jurisdiction of the U.S.S.R. to suspend decisions and orders of the Councils of Ministers of the Union republics and annul orders and instructions of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.

Article 14 of the Constitution lays down that the jurisdiction of the U.S.S.R. (*i.e.* of the Federal Centre) as represented by its higher organs of State power and organs of State administration, embraces :

" (*r*) Determination of the basic principles in the spheres of education and public health ;

* * * *

" (*u*) Legislation concerning the judicial system and judicial procedure ; crimina and civil courts ".

It would seem that higher education is entirely controlled by the authorities in the Central Government. In an authoritative account of Public Education in the U.S.S.R. it is stated as under :—

" The Ministry of Higher Education of the U.S.S.R. is responsible for the general organizational, educational and methodological work of all secondary vocational schools and institutions of higher learning. The majority of the institutions of higher learning (all the universities, higher technical, agricultural educational establishments, and certain others) are subordinated to this Ministry not only with regard to their organizational, educational and methodological work, but also financially and economically. Other institutions of higher learning (pedagogical, art, medical, and certain others), as well as all secondary technical schools (technicums) are financially and economically subordinate to the corresponding ministries and government departments ".

Bodies, like the Institute of Linguistics at Moscow, under the Academy of Sciences ·ie U.S.S.R. and other like bodies in the Union Republics carry out their programmes of :lopment " autonomously " under the general direction of the Education Ministry and er programmes laid down and included in the five-year plans. It would seem that on whole while the basic organisation is uniform and the main principles firmly laid down rally, a great deal of autonomy in detail and responsiveness to local views within the :rent Republics is available in the implementation of the general policies.

**cational System**

13. There is a wide-spread system of pre-school educational establishments to cater hildren of the ages three to seven.

Above this stage there are three types of educational schools ; the elementary, the ·lle and the secondary. The elementary school consists of 4 grades (ages 7 to 11 ap- imately), the middle school of 7 grades (ages 7 to 14 approximately) and the secondary ols of 10 grades (ages 7 to 17) approximately. The curricula and programme of teach- are identical for the grades which overlap amongst all the three *i.e.* the elementary, middle and secondary schools. At the end of the secondary school there is a School ·ing Examination after which higher education commences. This is provided by ersities, institutes and professional establishments which graduate highly skilled ex- s in different branches of technique. The term of study in these institutions is of years.

There are elementary and secondary vocational training schools side by side and ar- ated into the general educational system. But we are not concerned with them directly

14. I was concerned with the educational system principally with reference to the : of the Russian and national languages in it as subjects of study and as media of ins- ;ion. So far as an analysis of the situation from the point of view of medium of ins- tion is concerned, broadly speaking, the position would appear to fall under the follow- categories :

(1) Regions in which *all instruction* including higher education, *i.e.* in universities and institutions of higher learning and in all faculties, is available in the local language as the general medium. This would apply to the Republics of Ukraine, Byelo-Russia, Georgia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, etc.

Here also, while there are institutions in which the medium is the local language, other institutions exist side by side in which at all stages of the educational system the medium is Russian. The two media may also be mixed up in the same institution or within different faculties particularly in institutions in the field of higher education. Where the medium is not Russian but a local language, the Russian language is studied compulsorily as a subject of study in secondary schools from the first or second form at the rate of at least one hour's instruction a day.

(2) The second category would be of regions in which education is conducted as a general rule in local languages up to *the seventh form.* This applies, for instance, to the Ugro-Finnish group of languages. In these regions, beyond the seventh form the medium of instruction is exclusively Russian. Within this stage during the seventh to the tenth form the local language is studied as a subject in these regions.

(3) In the third group the local language is the medium up to the *fourth form only.* Beyond this the medium is exclusively the Russian language. The people of the North Caucasus region, of the Soviet Mongolian Republic, etc. fall in this category.

(4) The last class relates largely to the North Siberian and other regions. The languages spoken in these regions are Neoncis, Tungosi, Chuckchias, and so on. There are some 28 different peoples in these regions and their languages (spoken in the case of the smallest communities by only a few thousands each) are still very undeveloped, although a great deal has been done since the Revolution to develop them. The medium of instruction is the *local language in the very lowest forms* but beyond that it is the Russian language.

15. The compulsory teaching of the Russian language is started from the first form or second form (7 or 8 years of age). Where it is started from the first form, it is commenced in the second term of the first year so as not to conflict with the learning of the local language which is started in the first term. The compulsory teaching of Russian language or literature continues up to the tenth form, that is up to the age of 17 years.

By the time that a student of any nationality comes to the University, he is as familiar with the Russian language as the Russian student himself and can talk, write and comprehend Russian nearly as well as the Russian student. There are many students from non-Russian nationalities for instance, at the Moscow University, and no difficulty is experienced by them *vis-a-vis* Russian national students in understanding or following lectures in Russian or in competing with them in common examinations.

To my question as to whether the starting of a second language, practically at the commencement of the educational career of the child in the primary stage, did not cause, as was believed by psychologists of pedagogy, a 'hyphenation' in the mind of the child, I was told that due to the interval of a term and due to the methods that they follow, in their experience no such confusion or difficulty occurs. It was affirmed to me that this was so even in regions like Georgia where a separate conventional script is in use for the language as distinguished from the other regions in many of which now the local languages are written in the same script as the Russian.

When professors of other regions are employed or go for giving instruction to regions where they do not know the local language and the medium of instruction for the particular class is the local language, lectures are delivered in the Russian language. The matter is viewed wholly pragmatically, and there is no difficulty since the students understand Russian as well as their own local language. While there are a few remaining cases of old professors who are not wholly bi-lingual, in the new generation that is coming up, having undergone a fully bi-lingual training, there is equal proficiency amongst them in the Russian as well as their local languages and the students are able to follow lectures in whichever language they are delivered, although an old professor may prefer to do so in Russian (having all his earlier life studied it in that medium) and may not be able to do so in the local language even when it is his mother tongue.

There would seem to be a great deal of inter-regional migration of teachers and professors. In the Moscow University, for instance, there are large numbers of teachers as well as students from other regions.

16. I was not interested in pedagogical details regarding the curriculum etc. but so far as the teaching of 'Russian language and reading' as it is called is concerned, it appears that the total study hours devoted to this throughout the educational system—particularly from the first to the seventh grade—is a high proportion of the total of study hours available for the entire course. Out of 6,436 total study hours during the first to the seventh grades, 2,508 study hours are devoted to 'Russian language and reading' according to an authoritative account of public education.

17. The foreign or European language starts at the fifth form and goes on till the tenth form, the weekly number of lessons being about three or four. In the schools in the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (that is to say, the Metropolitan Union Republic of Russia) where the mother-tongue is the Russian language and consequently more time is available for other studies, the foreign language is started from the third form whereas elsewhere it is started from the fifth form. The options available in the subject 'foreign language' are English, German and French ; the study of Latin is apparently now excluded from the general schools and is undertaken only in certain special schools.

The knowledge that the student attains in the foreign language is principally a knowledge of comprehension as distinguished from ability to converse. I met many persons who comprehended English quite well but were unable to speak it at all or with any degree of ease or fluency. I was told that generally speaking the student at the end of the foreign language course of the secondary school should be able with the aid of a dictionary, to comprehend books on the subject of his special study in the foreign language. I was also told that the Russian educational authorities are *not* satisfied with the level of attainment in the foreign language (even in the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic where it commences two years earlier than elsewhere) at present reached by their students and efforts are being made to enhance it.

18. There is no compulsory teaching of any non-Russian national languages to Russian students.

Even where local languages are used as a general medium of instruction, there are, at all stages, institutions teaching in the Russian medium as well. The relative number of and accommodation available in these different categories of institutions get determined pragmatically according to demand and supply. No figures were readily available about the relative proportions, apparently because the matter has not been considered of any consequence.

As might be expected, there is a good deal of mixture of national populations of different language groups in all the Republics of the Union. The approach to the medium of instruction in schools in such cases, it would seem, is wholly pragmatic. If a sufficient number of Georgians are living in Uzbekistan in a particular town, there will be a separate class or school with Georgian as the medium of instruction. In Uzbekistan there are several schools with the language media of Kazak, Kirghiz, Karakalpak languages both at the elementary and secondary school stage having regard to the populations of these language groups. This is true not only with reference to the languages of nationalities comprised within the U.S.S.R., but also with reference to pockets of persons speaking foreign languages. In Moscow itself there are schools with French and English as the media of instruction. In all such schools however Russian is taught compulsorily.

I was informed that people of all Republics are extremely anxious to learn Russian, and there is no question of having to force anybody to learn Russian against his will. I was also told that there is no reluctance on the part of authorities in the republics to start or maintain—nor do they look with any disfavour on—institutions with Russian medium (or even any other language as medium) against those with the local language medium. It seems that there is no sense of 'rivalry' as between the various languages prevalent at different levels. All schools in a region whatever the medium they teach in are run and financed by the republic of the region.

19. As regards availability of text-books and other literature, the position varies from language to language. In the languages of Ukraine, Georgia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Byelo-Russia, etc., where there has been a long tradition of science and modern education there is plenty of literature, including scientific books ; and in some cases I was told that even original works are available first in these languages and have to be translated into Russian. Broadly, however, these languages are generally richer in the Humanities as compared to the Russian language, and I was told that to the extent to which there is any special preference exercised as regards the medium of instruction by the students of non-Russian nationalities, in universities and higher educational institutes, the tendency is to resort to the local languages for Humanities and to the Russian language for scientific studies and exact sciences.

A good deal of preparation of text-books, etc., and inter-lingual translation of literature is systematically and continuously organised by the various academies and institutions of the different regions. A good deal of such literature is printed and published by Institutes of Scientific information, publishing houses organised for the purpose etc.

For teaching Russian to different nationalities, different text-books appropriate in the context of the local conditions of those regions have been prepared and are in use.

**Development of languages**

20. A great deal appears to have been done according to the needs of each case for developing the different languages to stages higher than those they had reached previously.

Illustratively, the account that I received about the evolution of script usage and the development of the Uzbek language in Tashkent, the Capital of Uzbekistan (—almost all the specialists and officers of the Academy who attended the meeting were themselves Uzbeks—) might be given. In the five Asiatic Republics, conditions were approximately similar and what is true of the Uzbek language is equally true of all the other four. Kazak, Kirgiz and Uzbek languages are very close to each other ; the Tejik is of Iranian origin.

The languages of these five Asiatic Republics prior to the Revolution had been written for centuries in the Arabic script. Apparently, long ago in the 7th or 8th century, the people of central Turkistan the forbears of the present peoples of these regions had their own scripts. After the Arab invasions of this period, the Arabic script, as I was informed at Tashkent, came to be imposed on the local languages. This continued until the Revolution in 1917. I was told that the Arabic script is inadequate for representing all the sounds of the Uzbek language and that there had been movements for giving up the Arabic script even in pre-Revolution times. The linguistic reform was however, it is said, then opposed by the Muslim Church. During the first few years after the Revolution the Uzbeks attempted to reform the Arabic script itself. It was however felt that this was not a satisfactory or sufficient solution. In 1929 after a good deal of discussion at academic and political levels, the Latin script was adopted. Subsequent to this, Circa 1935, the issue again arose and there was a lot of discussion, about the script in the Republic and there was a wide-spread move to change to the Russian script. After a great deal of public debate in 1940 it was decided to adopt the Russian script for the Uzbek language in place of the Latin script. Certain sound-values of the Uzbek language which could not be accommodated within the Russian or Cyrillic script have been provided by way of diacritical marks as an addition. At present as a rule, ordinary students are not taught and do not know the Arabic script at all. It is only the philological specialists and, the few students who may happen to pick it up in the surviving Muslim ecclesiastical schools, who now know the Arabic script. The actual decision about the change of script was proposed by the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan and was adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the Union Republic in a special session.

All old Uzbek literature has been republished in the new script at a considerable cost. The Russian script has now been in existence for the Uzbek language for the last sixteen years and they profess to be fully satisfied with the results. A good deal of convenience in printing, saving of labour to the children who have now to learn only one form of characters, etc., have been achieved.

The history of the Uzbek language in respect of script is more or less repeated so far as the languages of the other four Asiatic Republics are concerned. It is also true of other minor languages of this region, like Karakalpak language which is spoken by some three lakhs of persons near Aral sea.

It must be pointed out at the same time that *all* the languages current in the U.S.S.R. have not switched over to the Russian or Cyrillic script. The Republics of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania continue, for historical reasons, to use the Latin script. Armenia and Georgia have their own scripts which are neither Latin nor Cyrillic. The current literary output in these languages is not written even to-day in the Russian script.

21. In pre-Revolution time only 10 nationalities had their own scripts. To-day some 80 odd languages of nationalities have been furnished with scripts. The Russian characters are generally speaking the base, with diacritical marks or additional letters for sound values not represented therein, in respect of all these new scripts. It was stated that the furnishing of scripts to languages that did not have any at once gave a great impetus to the expansion of literacy amongst the concerned people.

22. The problem of terminology had to be tackled in numerous Russian languages (for reasons which we can easily imagine) when their use at higher levels of administration, education etc. commenced to be made. The position so far as the Uzbek language is concerned was described to me in detail as follows. I was informed that the same was true to more or less extent of other languages. Immediately, following the Revolution, there was a strong revulsion in favour of using the Arabic terminology only presumably as a reaction to the imposition of the Russian language in the past. The Uzbek language itself possessed several terms and expressions in its indigenous stock of vocables, but many of these had fallen into disuse in recent decades.

Even in regard to the Ukrainian I was told in Kiev that in the early years soon after the Revolution, as a revulsion against the discouragement to the Ukrainian language in Czarist times, there was a tendency amongst the scholars to hunt out and choose pure Ukrainian terms in preference to Russian terms. In the University of Kiev the medium of instruction in the days of the Czars was *not* Ukrainian but the Russian language which was greatly resented by the people. The reaction was however only transient and now the tendency has apparently run out.

Beginning in 1925 strenuous efforts were initiated for evolving new terminology so as to equip Uzbek language for use at higher stages of Education. There was a good deal of confusion at first because different authorities and groups of scholars started evolving their own terms. Since 1930 or so the problem has been tackled scientifically and systematically. Dictionaries of standard terminology have now been prepared and published for numerous branchies of study. For fresh terminology they first turned to the vocables formerly current in their indigenous languages. Failing this source, they borrowed from Russian or international terms but subjecting the 'roots' always to the orthography of the Uzbek language. Committees of terminology were set up by the Council of the Supreme Soviet of the Union Republic initially for evolving standard terms. The evolving of new terms as further required by the needs of scientific advance is attended to by the Academy of Sciences.

In the Turkish group of languages, the terminology is identical. Before new terms are finally adopted, the practice is to agree upon identical terms for the languages of different nationalities as far as possible. Provisional lists of new terms proposed to be added to the language of the nationality are sent by each Republic to all other concerned Republics before finalization. Joint meetings are held between experts of different languages with a view to the choice of terminology.

The Uzbek language is also spoken in a part of Afghanistan. To my query they said that since a high proportion of Uzbeks in Afghanistan are illiterate the question of their being severed from their brethren across the political border due to their having adopted the Cyrillic script was not considered by them of much significance.

In the various regions, when following the Revolution their local languages became eligible for use at levels of administration and education from which they were shut out previously, there was a general tendency to press the claims of their respective languages beyond what was warranted. This was however only a transient phase. In course of time a proper equilibrium was reached in all places as the nationalities realised that it damages their own interests to seek to advance the coverage of their languages beyond their merits.

**Law Courts**

23. For various reasons it would appear that the circumstances in India and in the U.S.S.R. do not furnish for our purposes any points of close correspondence so far as the judicial system is concerned. The situation therefore does not lend itself to any important lessons being derived by the experience in that country in regard to the linguistic medium.

From the point of view of the linguistic media the most difficult choice arises in the Indian judicial system at the level of the High Court in respect of judgments, orders and decrees of the High Courts. The circumstance that case law plays such important part in our judicial system (following the Anglo-Saxon practices), makes it imperative to devise means whereby all such case law as pronounced by the Supreme Court and the several High Courts would be a single corpus intelligible to the generality of Judges comprising these tribunals as well as the subordinate courts of the judicial hierarchy. In the Indian system the problem is to reconcile this necessity with the desirability of a linguistic medium for High Court judgments if possible in the language of the litigants which is also likely to be the linguistic medium of the subordinate judiciary. In the Russian system

this critical point does not arise at all owing to the fact that case law is not relevant in their system in anything like the way it is in our judicial system.

24. First a word very briefly about the machinery for the administration of justice in the U.S.S.R. At the top of the organization at the Federal Centre of the U.S.S.R. there is a Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. being the highest judicial organ of the State. The Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. is charged with the supervision of the judicial activities of all the judicial organs of the U.S.S.R. and of the Union Republics. The Judges of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. numbering some thirty or so are elected by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. for a term of five years.

There is a Supreme Court in each of the Union Republics and Courts in the territories of regions, autonomous republics etc. The Supreme Courts of the Union Republics are elected by the respective Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics for a term of five-years. So are the other courts of the autonomous regions etc. by their corresponding Soviets. Within the Union Republic the hierarchical organisation of the judicial administration is as under :—

Below the Supreme Court of the Union Republic there are regional Courts. Each Republic is divided into a certain number of regions. In the territory of Ukraine, for instance, there are 26 regions. Each region is in its turn divided into districts of which there may be 40 or 50 per region. For every district there is a people's court and there is a regional court for every region. All these courts function for both civil and criminal cases, sitting sometimes in separate benches for the purpose. The people's court at the district level in Ukraine for instance comprises of three persons one of them a people's judge (generally a person with legal qualification) and two others who may be laymen called 'people's assessors'. A list of people's assessors is elected for a period of three years by the people's Soviet at the district level and two persons drawn from this list sit along with the people's judge for trial of cases. At the regional level also the judge and assessors are elected by the corresponding Soviets for a specific period.

The Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. exercises control and supervision over the entire judiciary of the U.S.S.R. as well as the Union Republics.

25. Case law or the quoting of precedent as such does not appear to feature to anything like the extent it features in our judicial system and in the Anglo-Saxon system of jurisprudence. The decision of a superior court is held to be generally applicable only to the case in which it is given. As there is no importance attached to case law or to the quotation of authority derived from judgments of Supreme Courts of any of the Union Republics or of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., there is no question of any linguistic difficulties arising in this connection. There is indeed a published series of Supreme Court decisions of the U.S.S.R. but this is not in any sense a source of law. The series is published in the Russian language. Similarly, in the Union Republics there are similar Digests of cases decided by the Supreme Courts of the Union Republics but they are also not quoted for precedent even in the subordinate courts of the Union Republic, let alone being quoted as such in courts of other Republics.

So far as the convenience of the parties of litigants is concerned in point of linguistic medium, every attempt apparently is made to meet it. In pre-Revolution times the language of the law courts was Russian all over the land. Now generally speaking the language of all courts is the same as the language of the region which they are intended to serve. Difficulties owing to particular witnesses or accused persons not knowing the local language are solved as they are solved in our country by means of interpretations and translations of the depositions. Generally speaking the language in which judgments and decisions are delivered at all levels upto the Supreme Court of the Union Republic is the language of the Union Republic ; although I was informed that there may be cases in which the Supreme Court of the Union Republic may deliver particular judgment in the Russian language instead of in local language depending on the nature of evidence, the composition of the judicial bench etc. As a rule however most of the decisions I was informed in Kiev of the Supreme Court of the Union Republic of Ukraine are in the Ukrainian language.

Appeals lie to the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. in certain specified circumstances against decisions of the Supreme Court of the Union Republic or other courts. The documents are dealt with by the judges of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. in their translations into the Russian language. Generally speaking however the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., which is a large body of some 30 or 35 judges, comprises persons acquainted with the languages of most of the important nationalities of the country and in the formation of benches for consideration of particular cases such linguistic proficiency is apt to be taken into account.

Apart from this normal system of judicial administration, there is a system of administrative tribunals for determination of civil disputes and claims between different commercial enterprises owned by the State. In view of the fact that practically all the 'means of production' are owned by the State, presumably, the bulk of the commercial litigation involving high claims would be referable to such courts of arbitration rather than the normal courts of justice. The courts of arbitration, I was told, although set up by the executive Government are not to be regarded as administrative bodies and are expected to function independently.

It is laid down in Article 40 under Chapter III under the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. that laws passed by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. must be published in the languages of the Union Republics. Thus the laws of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. are published in 16 languages. The laws in the Union Republic are also generally available in official translations in the Russian language. It appears that the chances of accuracy of such translations being challenged are not anything so great in the conditions in the U.S.S.R. as they would seem likely to be in like circumstances in India. As to which text would be considered authoritative in the event of a dispute as between the versions in two linguistic media, I was told in reply to this hypothetical question, that the text in which the law was originally passed would in such event be taken as the authoritative text Academician Koretski, the distinguished lawyer in charge of the Sector of Law of the Academy of Sciences, Ukraine, at Kiev, who gave me information regarding law and the judicial system, added however that in his long experience he did not remember a single case in which any such contention as to the accuracy of a translation was made. It is possible that the significance of this factor is not great in Russian conditions owing to certain circumstances : for one thing the practically universal knowledge of the Russian language amongst all educated persons probably makes inaccurate translation far less likely, secondly it would appear that under the Russian system of jurisprudence, the importance attached to the 'letter of the Law' as such is considerably less than under our systems of justice.

26. It would appear that the system of jurisprudence and judicial administration followed in the U.S.S.R. is different in material respects from the system that obtains in this country ; it seems hardly practicable therefore to draw any useful lessons from their experience of linguistic difficulties as a polyglot country for application to the difficulties to be anticipated in our conditions. The point about case law and precedents has already been noted. It would appear that the Russian legal tradition both under the Soviet and in pre-Revolution times has been one of what is known by jurists as the concept of a 'Parental law' (without implying any judgment as to the benevolence or malevolence of the law substantively) : it is apparently considered the duty of the judiciary to help promote in the community a consciousness in keeping with the system of laws in force. As stated by one authority—

> 'Party directives may tell judges to "intensify the struggle against thefts in the factories", or to make examples of managers who have tampered with the books, or to bear down on some other activity which the Party is seeking to "liquidate". In addition, (fresh) legislation may be enacted without difficulty or delay. As a result, case law loses something of its importance, and historical growth is swamped under by rapid shifts in policy.'

In Article 3 of the Judiciary Act of 1938 it is laid down as under :—

> 'By all their activities the courts shall educate the citizens of the U.S.S.R. in the spirit of devotion to the mother-land and the cause of socialism, in the spirit of strict and undeviating observance of Soviet laws, of care for socialist property, of labour discipline, of honesty toward public and social duty, of respect for the rules of socialist common-life.'

As yet another feature which may be mentioned in passing as indicative of the substantial differences in our concepts of jurisprudence and those operative in the U.S.S.R., the position of the Procurator-General may be mentioned. To refer to it briefly in passing, the Procurator-General of the U.S.S.R., who is appointed by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. for a term of seven years, exercises novel powers as compared by corresponding officers in our judicial system. The supervisory power to ensure the strict observance of the law by all Ministries and institutions subordinated to them as well as by officials and citizens of the U.S.S.R. generally is vested in the Procurator-General in the U.S.S.R. He also appoints Procurators of Republics and lesser territories within the Republics to perform corresponding functions at their levels. This institution of the 'procuracy' is wholly novel to our legal practices. The Procurators are expected to keep watch over the entire system of administration and see that the executive and administrative bodies do not over-step their legal authority. Apart from this, the Soviet Procuracy is supposed to be the

protector of all litigants who are victims of unjust and doubtful judicial or administrative decisions. All Appellate cases before the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. must come either on protest of the Procurator-General of the U.S.S.R. or else on the motion of the court itself.

* * * * * * * * *

**Summary of conclusions**

27. It should hardly be necessary for me to observe that in this note I am discussing only what I was concened with, namely the problem of the linguistic medium : I have narrated the context in the educational and legal fields to the extent necessary for a proper appreciation of this issue and I do not intend to convey any judgments as to the 'contents' or 'quality' of the educational programmes in the U.S.S.R. or the principles that govern Soviet jurisprudence or their system of administration of justice.

* * * * * * * * *

28. To sum up :

Obviously no two cases in a field like this are exactly or even broadly similar ; therefore any lessons to be had from the experience of like circumstances in other countries must be drawn with great care. Ultimately the language problem of our country can be solved only in terms of solutions we can devise ourselves for our specific requirements ; it would be manifestly wrong to expect to find anywhere else a ready-made body of prescriptions immediately applicable to our particular problems.

Nevertheless, broadly-speaking the experience of the U.S.S.R. which is the only experience yet extant as to the successful tackling of multi-lingual problems would appear to lend support to the following broad propositions :

Language issues are best tackled pragmatically *and* on objective considerations. Once it is realised that all languages, as expressions of cultural patterns, will enjoy all the scope they can have the capacity to avail of, the 'subjective' element associated with language issues is neutralised and they lend themselves to solutions broadly acceptable all round.

It is necessary and desirable for obvious reasons to promote the development of all languages including those with small numerical strength : and to provide for them as full a play within their regions as they may be found capable of, in the administrative, educational and other such sectors. Generally speaking, in a 'fair field' in which the potentiality is available for each language to grow up and answer all purposes it can be equipped for, the different languages would tend to fall into an appropriate pattern relative to each other.

As was repeatedly mentioned to me during my discussions in the U.S.S.R., languages of 'smaller nationalities' cannot be used for purposes of higher education beyond their reach ; and that in their own interest the speakers of such languages themselves would eventually accept the position and adopt in their own interest for purposes of higher education etc. other more capable linguistic tools.

At the level of University education, where we have a problem such as that presented in the Indian linguistic scene, the only possible solution is to accord eligibility to both the regional language and the language adopted for pan-Indian purposes; and to leave the volume of instructional facilities to be provided in each medium to be determined in course of time by the free play of the laws of supply and demand.

With reference to the rapid expansion of literacy, scripts have a considerable significance. Every move towards a greater degree of 'standardization' in scripts would deserve encouragement, although of course the progress owards standardization should preferably be on an optional basis.

The Russian experience would also appear to show that, for the objective of eventually achieving a common linguistic medium for purposes of pan-Indian intercourse amongst the various linguistic regions, the wide-spread base of systematic and 'universal' instruction in the language adopted for the purposes of the Union (along-side of their own languages in the different linguistic regions), is essential.

In a sense, the Indian problem is not similar to but sharply contrasted to the Russian In Russia they had a historical tradition as well as the elements of a situation in which a strong pan-Russian medium of expression was readily available ; their undertaking was the comparatively easier, congenial and 'flattering' task of developing and 'enfranchising

local languages that had been suppressed under the weight of too great an insistence on the common linguistic medium. In Indian conditions the problem is that we have strong regional languages and we have to evolve anew a linguistic medium for pan-Indian purposes out of the regional language spoken by the most numerous linguistic group in the country. While the Indian problem is obviously far more difficult than the Russian problem ever was (as was readily conceded in all the numerous discussions I held with Russian scientists and scholars) the broad principles of the Russian experience are not without an element of benefit for our purposes.

During my discussions in the U.S.S.R. the Russian scientists were always keen to know the particulars of the Indian problems and the way we intended to tackle them : I used to narrate to them the broad lines on which the Official Language Commission sought to tackle these issues. I must record that the very definite and strong impression left with me of these discussions was that they considered we were on the right lines.

S. G. BARVE,
*Secretary,*
*Official Language Commission.*

BOMBAY :
31*st July*, 1956.

GIPD—SS—220 M of HA—12-6-57—8,000